NEGRO YEAR BOOK

A Review of Events Affecting Negro Life

1941-1946

JESSIE PARKHURST GUZMAN
Director, Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute
Editor

VERA CHANDLER FOSTER
W. HARDIN HUGHES
Associate Editors

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PREFACE

The Negro Year Book dates back to 1912 when the late Booker T. Washington, founder and first principal of Tuskegee Institute, gave $1,000 to publish the first edition as a service to the public. This sum was the residue of a fund donated for the purpose of collecting and circulating information favorable to the Negro. It was expected that there would be only one edition; however, the Negro Year Book met a wide and continued demand. The volumes published have been as follows: 1912; 1913; 1914-15; 1916-17; 1918-19; 1921-22; 1925-26; 1931-32; 1937-38.

Many agencies and educational institutions, as well as individuals, have used the Negro Year Book extensively as a reference volume. It is specially adapted for use in schools and other places where historical and sociological data on the Negro are needed, and has circulated abroad as well as in the United States.

The late Monroe N. Work, founder of the Department of Records and Research and director from 1908 to 1938, was editor of each edition through 1937-38. The editions, 1912 through 1925-26, gave mainly an account of the achievements of the Negro. The last three editions have not only included achievements, but have also described and explained conditions.

The 1947 Negro Year Book, the tenth edition, covers mainly events from 1941 through 1946, with some historical background. In a few instances, data appearing in the 1937-38 edition have been brought up-to-date. It provides a comprehensive view of events affecting the Negro in the United States, in Africa, in Europe and in Latin America. The present volume differs from all previous editions in one important respect. Specialists from various fields have made contributions to it; thereby adding a breadth of viewpoint and expression not previously realized.

We wish here to pay tribute to Monroe N. Work, pioneer, who died on May 2, 1945. When the Department of Records and Research was established, much of what was then known about the Negro was based on opinion, rather than on fact. In the day-by-day compilation of information and of periodically putting it into succinct form so that people could become intelligently informed on what was happening in Negro life, Mr. Work performed an incalculable service. The Department which he established is still unique, though many agencies disseminating information on the Negro have grown up in the 39 years since it began.

Sincere appreciation is extended to our contributors for their part in making this volume possible.

We also wish to express appreciation to Dr. Joseph R. Houchins, Specialist, Negro Statistics, Department of Commerce and to numerous other persons and agencies for furnishing needed data; to members of the staff of the Department of Records and Research—especially Mrs. Marianna Rabb, Mrs. Vera C. Foster, and Miss Betty Jean Scoggins, student assistant; and to Dr. W. Hardin Hughes, special Associate in Research.

THE EDITOR.

CONTRIBUTORS

Abbott, Cleve L., B. S., South Dakota State College. Director, Department of Physical Education, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Bastien, Remy, graduate, Seminaire College, Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Secretary, the Haitian Bureau of Ethnology. Rockefeller Foundation Fellow at the Escuela Nacional de Antropologia de Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico.

Brown, John S., Jr., Ph. B., Brown University; M. A., Columbia University. Science teacher, Thomas Jefferson High School, Brooklyn, N. Y., retired for free-lance writing. Historian, Negro Actors Guild of America, poet and playwright, New York City.

Brown, Roscoe Conkling, graduate, Howard University Medical School. Senior Health Education Specialist; Chief, Office of Negro Health; United States Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.

Cox, Oliver C., Ph. D., the University of Chicago. Associate Professor of Sociology and Head, Social Studies Division, School of Education, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Davis, Arthur Paul, Ph. D., Columbia University. Professor of English, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dawson, Charles C., attended Tuskegee Institute, the Art Students League of New York and Chicago Art Institute. Free-lance painter and illustrator, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Foster, Vera Chandler, A. B., Fisk University; M. A., University of Nebraska. Assistant in Research, the Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Gomillion, Charles G., A. B., Paine College. Dean, School of Education, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Guzman, Jessie P., A. B., Howard University; A. M., Columbia University. Director, Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Holsey, Albon L., student Atlanta University. Assistant to the President of Tuskegee Institute, in charge of Public Relations. Secretary National Negro Business League for 28 years. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Hooker, Emile Newton, Ph. D., Cornell University. Professor of Agricultural Economics, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia.

Hughes, W. Hardin, Ed. D., the University of California. Special Associate in Research, Pasadena, California.

Lawrence, Charles R., Jr., A. B., Morehouse College; M. A., Atlanta University. Instructor in Sociology, Fisk University. Research Staff—Race Relations: A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends. Nashville, Tennessee.

Lewis, Harold O., A. B., Amherst College; A. M., Howard University. Analyst Foundation for Foreign Affairs. On leave from Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Logan, Rayford W., Ph. D., Harvard University. Professor of History and Head of the Department of History, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Moody, Harold A., M. D., B. S., (Lond.). Founder and President, The League of Coloured Peoples, London, England.

Otis, Jesse Rogers Delbert, Ph. D., Cornell University. State Leader for Negro Work, Alabama Extension Service, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

CONTRIBUTORS—*Continued*

REID, ROBERT D., Ph. D., University of Minnesota. Associate Professor of History, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

SMITH, HOMER. American Newspaper Correspondent, Moscow, USSR.

SUTHERN, II, ORRIN CLAYTON. A. B., Western Reserve University. Associate Professor of Music and Director of Music, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

THOMAS, JULIUS A., A. B., Howard University; Graduate work, Columbia University. Director, Department of Industrial Relations, National Urban League, New York City.

WIESCHHOFF, HEINRICH A., Ph. D., University of Frankfurt, Frankfurt, Germany. African Curator, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

WRIGHT, CLARENCE WILLIAM, B. S., Wilberforce University; M. S., Ohio State University. Assistant Professor, Department of Anatomy, Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee.

WRIGHT, RICHARD ROBERT, JR., Ph. D., University of Pennsylvania, L. L. D., Wilberforce University. Bishop, the African Methodist Episcopal Church; Executive Secretary, National Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, U. S. A., Wilberforce, Ohio.

PART ONE

THE NEGRO
IN THE UNITED STATES

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DIVISION I

POPULATION AND POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS*

By Oliver C. Cox
Tuskegee Institute

NUMERICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Number and Rate of Increase of Negro Population in the United States

Between the decennial censuses of 1930 and 1940 the Negro population of the United States increased by 974,375 or 8.2 per cent, a rate of increase somewhat greater than that (7.2 per cent) for the total population. The increase in the total population for this decade has been limited by the sharp decrease in immigration. In 1940 the Negro population was 12,865,518 or 9.8 per cent of the total population of 131,669,275. This proportion of the Negro population to the total population has remained practically constant for about twenty years. It was 9.9 and 9.7 per cent in 1920 and 1930, respectively. Table 1 indicates the percentage of Negroes in the total population and rate of increase by decennial periods since 1790.

Table 1

Negro Population in the United States as a Per Cent of the Total Population and Rate or Increase, 1790 to 1940

Census Year	Total Population	Negro Population	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent Total	Increase Negro
1940	131,669,275	12,865,518	9.8	7.2	8.2
1930	122,775,046	11,891,143	9.7	16.1	13.6
1920	105,710,620	10,463,131	9.9	14.9	6.5
1910	91,972,266	9,827,763	10.7	21.0	11.2
1900	75,994,575	8,833,994	11.6	20.7	13.8
1890	62,947,714	7,760,000	12.3	25.5	17.6
1880	50,155,783	6,580,793	13.1	30.1	22.0
1870	38,558,371	5,392,172	13.5	22.6	21.4
1860	31,443,321	4,441,830	14.1	35.6	22.0
1850	23,191,876	3,638,808	15.7	35.9	24.5
1840	17,069,453	2,873,648	16.8	32.7	23.4
1830	12,866,020	2,328,642	18.1	33.5	30.5
1820	9,638,453	1,771,656	18.4	33.1	28.6
1810	7,239,881	1,377,808	19.0	36.4	32.9
1800	5,308,483	1,002,037	18.9	35.1	31.7
1790	3,929,214	757,208	19.3	....	....

Population Increase by Regions, Divisions, and States

The Negro population has had an uneven increase in the different areas of the country. It has been lowest in the South and highest in the West, the area to which Negro migrants have been most markedly attracted. On this the Census makes the following report: "The regional and divisional patterns of Negro population increase were quite different from those for the total population. In all three divisions of the South the Negroes showed a smaller proportional increase than the total population between 1930 and 1940, while in the divisions of the North and West their rates of increase were uniformly greater than those for the total population. The Negro population increased 15.8 per cent in the North during the decade . . . 5.8 per cent in the South, and 41.8 per cent in the West. These facts indicate that there was a large migration of Negroes during the 1930's from the South to the North and West, probably out of the rural areas in the South to the urban areas in other parts of the country. Over three-fourths of the Negro population (77.0 per cent) still lived in the South in 1940, but this represents a slight decrease from the proportion of 78.7 in 1930. The North had 21.7 per cent of the total Negro population in 1940, as compared with 20.3 in 1930, and the West had 1.3 in 1940, as compared with 1.0 in 1930." Table 2 presents the comparative population data by regions, divisions and States for 1930 and 1940.

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*Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

Table 2

Negro Population of the United States By Regions, Divisions, and States, 1930 to 1940

(A minus sign (—) denotes decrease)

Region Division, and State	1940	1930	Per Cent Negro in Total Population 1940	1930	Per Cent Increase 1930 to 1940
UNITED STATES ...	12,865,518	11,891,143	9.8	9.7	8.2
REGIONS:					
The North	2,790,193	2,409,219	3.7	3.3	15.8
The South	9,904,619	9,361,577	23.8	24.7	5.8
The West	170,706	120,347	1.2	1.0	41.8
THE NORTH:					
New England	101,509	94,086	1.2	1.2	7.9
Middle Atlantic	1,268,366	1,052,899	4.6	4.0	20.5
East North Central...	1,069,326	930,450	4.0	3.7	14.9
West North Central...	350,992	331,784	2.6	2.5	5.8
THE SOUTH:					
South Atlantic	4,698,863	4,421,388	26.4	28.0	6.3
East South Central...	2,780,635	2,658,238	25.8	26.9	4.6
West South Central...	2,425,121	2,281,951	18.6	18.7	6.3
THE WEST:					
Mountain	36,411	30,225	0.9	0.8	20.5
Pacific	134,295	90,122	1.4	1.1	49.0
NEW ENGLAND:					
Maine	1,304	1,096	0.2	0.1	19.0
New Hampshire	414	790	0.1	0.2	—47.6
Vermont	384	568	0.1	0.2	—32.4
Massachusetts	55,391	52,365	1.3	1.2	5.8
Rhode Island	11,024	9,913	1.5	1.4	11.2
Connecticut	32,992	29,354	1.9	1.8	12.4
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:					
New York	571,221	412,814	4.2	3.3	38.4
New Jersey	226,973	208,828	5.5	5.2	8.7
Pennsylvania	470,172	431,257	4.7	4.5	9.0
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:					
Ohio	339,461	309,304	4.9	4.7	9.7
Indiana	121,916	111,982	3.6	3.5	8.9
Illinois	387,446	328,972	4.9	4.3	17.8
Michigan	208,345	169,453	4.0	3.5	23.0
Wisconsin	12,158	10,739	0.4	0.4	13.2
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:					
Minnesota	9,928	9,445	0.4	0.4	5.1
Iowa	16,694	17,380	0.7	0.7	—3.9
Missouri	244,386	223,840	6.5	6.2	9.2
North Dakota	201	377	—	0.1	—46.7
South Dakota	474	646	0.1	0.1	—26.6
Nebraska	14,171	13,752	1.1	1.0	3.0
Kansas	65,138	66,344	3.6	3.5	—1.8
SOUTH ATLANTIC:					
Delaware	35,876	32,602	13.5	13.7	10.0
Maryland	301,931	276,379	16.6	16.9	9.2
District of Columbia..	187,266	132,068	28.2	27.1	41.8
Virginia	661,449	650,165	24.7	26.8	1.7
West Virginia	117,754	114,893	6.2	6.6	2.5
North Carolina	981,298	918,647	27.5	29.0	6.8
South Carolina	814,164	793,681	42.9	45.6	2.6
Georgia	1,084,927	1,071,125	34.7	36.8	1.3
Florida	514,198	431,828	27.1	29.4	19.1
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:					
Kentucky	214,031	226,040	7.5	8.6	—5.3
Tennessee	508,736	477,646	17.4	18.3	6.5
Alabama	983,290	944,834	34.7	35.7	4.1
Mississippi	1,074,578	1,009,718	49.2	50.2	6.4
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:					
Arkansas	482,578	478,463	24.8	25.8	0.9
Louisiana	849,303	776,326	35.9	36.9	9.4
Oklahoma	168,849	172,198	7.2	7.2	—1.9
Texas	924,391	854,964	14.4	14.7	8.1

Table 2 *(Continued)*

Negro Population of the United States By Regions, Divisions, and States, 1930 to 1940

(A minus sign (—) denotes decrease)

Region, Division, and State	1940	1930	Per Cent Negro in Total Population 1940	1930	Per Cent Increase 1930 to 1940
MOUNTAIN:					
Montana	1,120	1,256	0.2	0.2	—10.8
Idaho	595	668	0.1	0.2	—10.9
Wyoming	956	1,250	0.4	0.6	—23.5
Colorado	12,176	11,828	1.1	1.1	2.9
New Mexico	4,672	2,850	0.9	0.7	63.9
Arizona	14,993	10,749	3.0	2.5	39.5
Utah	1,235	1,108	0.2	0.2	11.5
Nevada	664	516	0.6	0.6	28.7
PACIFIC:					
Washington	7,424	6,840	0.4	0.4	8.5
Oregon	2,565	2,234	0.2	0.2	14.8
California	124,306	81,048	1.8	1.4	53.4

Counties in Which Negroes Constituted 50 Per Cent or More of the Total Population

According to the Census reports: "There were 180 counties in the United States in 1940 in which Negroes constituted 50 per cent or more of the total population as compared with 286 counties of this type in 1900. . . . In accounting for the decrease of 106 in the number of 'majority-Negro counties' emphasis should be placed on Negro migration, for the Negro residents of these counties have had a comparatively high birth rate and practically all of the changes made in the boundaries of these counties have been of a minor character.

"Although there has been a considerable decline in the number of majority-Negro counties, the number of States in which they were found in 1940 includes all of the States which had such counties in 1900 except Maryland. Of the total number of majority-Negro counties in 1940, Georgia had 46; Mississippi, 35; South Carolina, 22; Alabama and Virginia, 18 each; Louisiana, 15; Arkansas and North Carolina, 9 each; Florida and Texas, 3 each; and Tennessee, 2."

Table 3

Number of Counties in Which Negroes Constituted 50 Per Cent or More of the Total Population, By States, 1900 to 1940

STATE	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900
Total	180	191	221	264	286
Alabama	18	18	18	21	22
Arkansas	9	9	11	14	15
Florida	3	4	5	10	12
Georgia	46	48	58	66	67
Louisiana	15	16	22	25	31
Maryland	—	—	—	1	2
Mississippi	35	35	34	38	38
North Carolina	9	9	12	14	18
South Carolina	22	25	32	33	30
Tennessee	2	2	2	2	3
Texas	3	4	4	8	12
Virginia	18	21	23	32	36

The majority-Negro counties have had a constantly decreasing percentage of the total Negro population. In 1900 the 286 majority-Negro counties had 45.9 per cent of the total Negro population of the United States; in 1940 the 180 counties of this type had 20.5 per cent.

"Between 1930 and 1940," the Census reports, "the number of Negroes in 177 identical majority-Negro counties, that is, counties in which the Negro population constituted 50 per cent or more of the total population in both 1940 and 1930, increased from 2,541,543 to 2,602,000, or 2.4 per cent."

Table 4

Negro Population of Counties in Which Negroes Constituted 50 Per Cent or More of the Total Population Both in 1940 and in 1930, By States

(A minus sign (—) denotes decrease)

STATE	Number of Counties	NEGRO POPULATION 1940	1930	Per Cent of Increase
Total	177	2,602,000	2,541,543	2.4
Alabama	18	389,068	380,863	2.2
Arkansas	9	193,308	188,282	2.7
Florida	3	41,616	39,875	4.4
Georgia	46	350,991	365,234	—3.9
Louisiana	14	176,737	165,815	6.6
Mississippi	34	729,713	690,476	5.7
North Carolina	8	137,984	134,345	2.7
South Carolina	22	360,981	353,555	2.1
Tennessee	2	39,543	38,322	3.2
Texas	3	41,050	40,982	0.2
Virginia	18	141,009	143,794	—1.0

"This rate of growth is remarkably low as compared with that for the Negro population of the South as a whole (5.8 per cent), and reflects the fact that the Negro population of 87 of these counties (37 of which are in the State of Georgia) declined during the decade. In 48 counties, however, the rate of growth of Negroes exceeded that of the total Negro population of the South, and in 37 counties of this group the rate of growth of the Negro population was also higher than that of the Negro population of the United States as a whole (8.2 per cent)."

Race and Nativity

In 1940 the Negro population outnumbered the total foreign-born white population of the United States for the first time since 1880. There were 11,419,138 foreign-born and 588,887 persons of other racial groups as compared with 12,865,518 Negroes. During the decade 1930 to 1940, foreign-born whites decreased 18.3 per cent, owing largely to the reduction in immigration and the high death rate of the aged foreign-born population. Of the other races, mainly Indian, Chinese, Japanese and Filipino, the Japanese decreased by 8.6 per cent and the Indian, Chinese and Filipino increased by 0.5, 3.4, and 0.8 per cent, respectively. Table 5 gives the figures for 1930 and 1940.

Table 5

Population By Race and Nativity for the United States, 1940 and 1930

(A minus sign (—) denotes decrease)

RACE	1940	1930	Increase 1930 to 1940 Amount	Per Cent
All Classes	131,669,275	122,775,046	8,894,229	7.2
Negro	12,865,518	11,891,143	974,375	8.2
White	118,214,870	110,286,740	7,928,130	7.2
Native	106,795,732	96,303,335	10,492,397	10.9
Foreign born	11,419,138	13,983,405	—2,564,267	—18.3
Other Races	588,887	597,163	—8,276	—1.4
Indian	333,969	332,397	1,572	0.5
Chinese	77,504	74,954	2,550	3.4
Japanese	126,947	138,834	—11,887	—8.6
Filipino	45,563	45,208	355	0.8
Hindu	2,405	3,130	—725	—23.2
Korean	1,711	1,860	—149	—8.0
All other	780	780	8	1.0

Ever since about the end of the slave trade the Negro population has been predominantly native born. For many decades past, it has been over 99 per cent. There were, in 1940, 83,941 foreign-born Negroes of whom 44,488 were males and 39,453 females. In 1930 and 1940, the total population of the United States was 88.4 and 91.2 per cent native-born as compared with 99.2 and 99.3 per cent, respectively, for Negroes. However, except for a decrease during the decade 1930 to 1940, the Negro foreign-born population has constantly increased numerically since 1870. According to the Census report: "The decline of 14.9 per cent which occurred in the foreign-born Negro population between 1930 and 1940 can be attributed to mortality losses and to the depression. The effect of the depression on the growth of the foreign-born Negro population is indicated by the fact that the number of Negro immigrant aliens admitted to the United States was smaller than the number of Negro immigrant aliens who left the United States. In the more prosperous twenties, the number of Negro aliens who entered the United States was far in excess of the number who departed, and the change in the direction of migration of Negro aliens noted in the thirties occurred despite the increasing restrictions against foreign workers in the Caribbean." Most of the Negro immigrants into the United States are from the West Indies and Central America. Table 6 shows the number and rate of increase of the Negro foreign-born from 1870 to 1940.

Table 6

Foreign-Born Negro Population in the United States, 1870 to 1940

(A minus sign (—) denotes decrease)

YEAR	Foreign-born Negro Population	Increase Over Preceding Censu Number	Per Cent
1940	83,941	—14,679	—14.0
1930	98,620	24,817	33.6
1920	73,803	33,464	83.0
1910	40,339	20,003	98.4
1900	20,336	357	1.8
1890	19,979	5,962	42.5
1880	14,017	4,372	45.3
1870	9,645	——	——

Like most immigrant groups, the Negro foreign-born tend to concentrate in urban centers mainly in the North. "At both the 1940 and the 1930 censuses approximately 93 per cent of the foreign-born Negroes were found in urban areas. In New York City, there were 48,418 in 1930 and 54,754 in 1940." Despite their concentration, "some Negro immigrants were found in every State and in the District of Columbia in both 1940 and 1930."

In 1940, 35.8 per cent of the foreign-born Negroes were naturalized citizens and about 12 per cent had their first papers, that is to say, had declared their intentions of becoming citizens of the United States. Table 7 shows the citizenship of Negro immigrants for selected States.

Table 7

Citizenship of the Foreign-Born Negro Population for Selected States, 1940

(Includes States with 500 or more foreign-born Negroes)

STATE	Total Foreign-born Negro Population	Naturalized	First Papers	No Papers	Citizenship Not Reported
United States	83,941	30,013	10,035	33,986	9,907
Total for Selected States	80,518	28,516	9,824	33,255	8,923
California	1,373	526	140	492	215
Connecticut	1,069	327	144	425	173
Florida	7,779	1,138	473	5,263	905
Illinois	1,261	667	118	237	239
Louisiana	502	266	37	112	87
Maryland	650	253	60	129	208
Massachusetts	7,547	2,522	681	3,598	746
Michigan	2,190	1,157	241	484	308
New Jersey	2,628	1,086	213	792	537
New York	51,286	18,826	7,265	20,501	4,694
Ohio	923	400	81	207	235
Pennsylvania	2,339	1,064	263	509	503
Rhode Island	971	284	108	506	73

URBAN-RURAL POPULATION

Urbanization

Almost half, or 48.6 per cent, of the Negro population of the United States now live in urban communities; in 1910 only 27.3 per cent lived in cities.

Table 8

Urban and Rural Population for Negroes and Native Whites for the United States, 1910 to 1940

RACE AND NATIVITY	1940 Urban	1940 Rural	1940 Per Cent Urban	1930 Urban	1930 Rural	1930 Per Cent Urban
Total Population	74,423,702	57,245,573	56.5	68,954,823	53,820,223	56.2
Negro	6,253,588	6,611,930	48.6	5,193,913	6,697,230	43.7
Native White	58,888,505	47,957,227	55.1	52,109,746	43,388,054	54.6
	1920			**1910**		
Total Population	54,304,603	51,406,017	51.4	42,166,120	49,806,146	45.8
Negro	3,559,473	6,903,658	34.0	2,684,797	7,142,966	27.3
Native White	40,263,101	40,845,060	49.6	29,846,561	38,539,851	43.6

Although the rate of urbanization of Negroes as Table 7 shows has been greater than that of either the total population or of the native whites, Negroes are still not so highly urbanized as the latter groups. "There were," the Census records, "6,253,588 Negroes in urban places in 1940 and 5,193,913 in urban places in 1930, an increase of 1,059,675 persons, or 20.4 per cent. In rural-nonfarm areas, Negroes increased by 92,923 or 4.6 per cent. In spite of the fact that the rate of natural increase is much larger for rural-farm Negroes than it is for urban Negroes, the number of Negroes on rural farms actually decreased by 178,223 persons, or 3.8 per cent, between 1930 and 1940. These facts indicate that large numbers of rural-farm Negroes migrated to the cities and towns in the last decade."

In all three regions of the United States Negroes have been moving into urban communities. Among these, the urban South has had the largest numerical increase between 1930 and 1940, an increase of 649,793; the urban North followed with 367,308; and the urban West with 42,574. The percentage increase was 17.3, 21.9, and 42.9 respectively. Table 9 shows the increase or decrease in the Negro population of the United States, by regions, urban and rural, between 1930 and 1940.

Table 9

Urban and Rural Population for Negroes, United States and Regions, 1930 to 1940

(A minus sign (—) denotes decrease)

AREA	1940	1930	Per Cent of Increase 1930 to 1940
United States	12,865,518	11,891,143	8.2
Urban	6,253,588	5,193,913	20.4
Rural-nonfarm	2,109,630	2,016,707	4.6
Rural-farm	4,502,300	4,680,523	—3.8
The North	2,790,193	2,409,219	15.8
Urban	2,495,637	2,128,329	17.3
Rural-nonfarm	220,893	215,289	2.6
Rural-farm	73,663	65,601	12.3
The South	9,904,619	9,361,577	5.8
Urban	3,616,118	2,966,325	21.9
Rural-nonfarm	1,866,909	1,786,466	4.5
Rural-farm	4,421,592	4,608,786	—4.1
The West	170,706	120,347	41.8
Urban	141,833	99,259	42.9
Rural-nonfarm	21,828	14,952	46.0
Rural-farm	7,045	6,136	14.8

"Almost half the Southern Negroes were on rural farms in 1940, 44.6 per cent as compared with 49.2 per cent in 1930. This was well over twice the proportion who were living in rural-non-farm areas in the South. Few rural Negroes were living on farms in the North and the West."

One reason why Negroes are less urbanized than whites is that Negroes live mainly in the South, a comparatively rural area. Negroes are more highly urbanized than the total population and more than the native whites in the North and West. In the South Negroes are slightly more urbanized than the native whites, and slightly less than the total population. A comparison of the population by divisions, for 1940 also shows that Negroes are more highly urbanized than native whites. Table 10 presents these data.

Table 10

Urban and Rural Population for Total Population, Negroes and Native Whites, By Region and Division, 1940

REGION AND DIVISION	Total Population			Negro			Native White		
	Urban	Rural	Per Cent Urban	Urban	Rural	Per Cent Urban	Urban	Rural	Per Cent Urban
United States	74,423,702	57,245,573	56.5	6,253,588	6,611,930	48.6	58,838,505	47,957,227	55.1
Regions:									
The North	51,005,568	25,114,541	67.0	2,495,637	294,556	89.4	40,710,528	23,126,432	63.8
The South	15,290,483	26,375,418	36.7	3,616,118	6,288,501	36.4	11,232,308	19,800,594	36.2
The West	8,127,651	5,755,614	58.5	141,833	28,873	83.1	6,895,669	5,030,201	57.8
The North:									
New England	6,420,542	2,016,748	76.1	87,631	13,878	86.3	5,067,060	1,763,845	74.2
Middle Atlantic	21,147,543	6,391,944	76.8	1,146,580	121,786	90.4	15,992,563	5,722,459	73.6
East North Central....	17,444,359	9,181,983	65.5	979,300	90,026	91.6	14,339,412	8,617,965	62.5
West North Central....	5,993,124	7,523,866	44.3	282,126	68,866	80.4	5,311,493	7,022,163	43.1
The South:									
South Atlantic	6,921,726	10,901,425	38.8	1,804,272	2,894,591	37.6	4,895,591	7,908,567	38.2
East South Central....	3,165,356	7,612,869	29.4	893,102	1,887,533	32.1	2,239,501	5,709,358	28.2
West South Central....	5,203,401	7,861,124	39.8	918,744	1,506,377	37.9	4,097,216	6,182,669	39.9
The West:									
Mountain	1,771,742	2,378,261	42.7	25,905	10,507	71.1	1,610,245	2,106,679	43.3
Pacific	6,355,909	3,377,353	65.3	115,929	18,366	86.3	5,285,424	2,923,522	64.4

The Cities

In 1940 there were 315 cities in which there were 2,500 Negroes or more. Forty per cent of the Negro population of the United States and 80 per cent of the urban Negro population resided in these 315 cities. The proportion of the Negro populaton to the total population in these urban places ranged from 0.8 to 72.2 per cent; in 237 of these cities, however, Negroes were over 10 per cent of the population.

Negroes have been moving increasingly into the larger cities. "Between 1930 and 1940," the Census points out, "the number of urban places having 2,500 Negroes or more increased from 263 to 315 and the number of Negroes living in such places increased by 966,866, or 23.1 per cent." The rate of increase for the Negro population in all urban places was 20.4 per cent or 2.7 per cent less. This "reflects movement from southern rural areas as well as . . . from smaller cities to larger cities."

Of the total number of urban places which had 2,500 Negroes or more in 1940, 87 were in the North, 219 in the South, and 9 in the West. In the South, the total Negro population of these cities represented only 29.6 per cent of all Negroes in the South; "whereas, 75.8 per cent of the total Negro population of the North and 61.2 per cent of the total Negro population of the West resided in urban places which had 2,500 Negroes or more."

In each region Negroes who lived in urban places with 2,500 Negroes or more represented a large proportion of the urban Negro population: in the North, 84.7 per cent; in the South, 81.1 per cent; and in the West, 73.6 per cent.

Of the eleven cities with over 100,000 Negroes each, New York heads the list with a Negro population of 458,444; but this figure is only 6.1 per cent of the total population of the city, a smaller percentage than that of any of the other cities of this type. Memphis, Tennessee, had the highest percentage of Negroes, 41.5 per cent. Moreover, these eleven cities increased in Negro population at a much faster rate between 1930 and 1940 than any of the other major groups of urban places. See tables 11 and 12.

Table 11

Negro Population in Groups of Urban Places, Classified According to Size of Negro Population for the United States, 1940 and 1930

GROUPS OF URBAN PLACES BY NUMBER OF NEGROES	Number of Places	1940 Negro Population	Per Cent of Total Negro Population of the U. S.
Total	315	5,152,149	40.0
Places of 100,000 or more Negroes	11	2,082,051	16.2
Places of 50,000 to 100,000 Negroes	9	576,971	4.5
Places of 25,000 to 50,000 Negroes	18	656,570	5.1
Places of 10,000 to 25,000 Negroes	56	844,666	6.6
Places of 5,000 to 10,000 Negroes	70	477,541	3.7
Places of 2,500 to 5,000 Negroes	151	514,350	4.0
		1930	
Total	263	4,185,283	35.2
Places of 100,000 or more Negroes	7	1,305,080	11.0
Places of 50,000 to 100,000 Negroes	8	622,489	5.2
Places of 25,000 to 50,000 Negroes	19	702,258	5.9
Places of 10,000 to 25,000 Negroes	46	706,122	5.9
Places of 5,000 to 10,000 Negroes	67	455,253	3.8
Places of 2,500 to 5,000 Negroes	116	394,081	3.3

Table 12

Negro Population of Urban Places Which Had 50,000 Negro Inhabitants or More, 1940

Urban Places	Negro Population	Per Cent of Total Population
100,000 or more		
New York, N. Y.	458,444	6.1
Chicago, Ill.	277,731	8.2
Philadelphia, Pa.	250,880	13.0
Washington, D. C.	187,266	28.2
Baltimore, Md.	165,843	19.3
Detroit, Mich.	149,119	9.2
New Orleans, La.	149,034	30.1
Memphis, Tenn.	121,498	41.5
Birmingham, Ala.	108,938	40.7
St. Louis, Mo.	108,765	13.3
Atlanta, Ga.	104,533	34.6

Table 12 *(Continued)*

Urban Places	Negro Population	Per Cent of Total Population
50,000 to 100,000		
Houston, Texas	86,302	22.4
Cleveland, Ohio	84,504	9.6
Los Angeles, Calif.	63,774	4.2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	62,216	9.3
Jacksonville, Fla.	61,782	35.7
Richmond, Va.	61,251	31.7
Cincinnati, Ohio	55,593	12.2
Indianapolis, Ind.	51,142	13.2
Dallas, Texas	50,407	17.1

Negro Migration, 1940-1944

With the commencement of World War II, the extraordinary demand for labor in industries speeded up the movement of Negroes from the agricultural South to the urban centers of the North, South, and West. From a sample of ten congested areas, the Bureau of the Census concludes: "Major Negro migrations since the beginning of World War II have started in the South and terminated in war-boom cities regardless of geographical location. . . . From 1940 to 1944, Negro population movements usually started in the South and ended at industrial points such as Detroit, Norfolk, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, where Negroes could find employment in shipyards, airplane factories, and other war activities."

Before World War II the spectacular migration of Negroes was to the great metropolitan areas of the North; the significant movement into Southern cities was not so apparent. The outstanding fact concerning Negro migration during World War II, however, was the movement into cities in the West.

Table 13

Resident Non-White Population for Ten Congested Production Areas, 1940 and 1944

(A minus sign (—) denotes decrease)

Area, Date of 1944 Census, and Race	1944	1940	Increase 1940 to 1944	
			Number	Per Cent
Charleston (S. C.) Areas, Total (March, 1944)	64,995[1]	59,618	5,377	9.0
Detroit-Willow Run Area, Total (June, 1944)	259,490[1]	176,552	82,938	47.0
Hampton Roads Area, Total (May, 1944)	140,756	113,956	26,800	23.5
Los Angeles Area, Total (April, 1944)	147,763	128,039	19,724	15.4
Negro	134,519	75,496	59,023	78.2
Other non-white races	13,244	52,543	—39,299	—74.8
Mobile Area, Total (March, 1944)	64,449[1]	51,678	12,771	24.7
Muskegon Area, Total (June, 1944)	4,842[1]	1,893	2,949	155.8
Portland-Vancouver Area, Total (May, 1944)	14,145	7,465	6,680	89.5
Negro	11,316	2,105	9,211	437.6
Other non-white races	2,829	5,360	—2,531	—47.2
Puget Sound Area, Total (June, 1944)	18,756	23,636	—4,880	—20.6
Negro	9,792	5,242	4,550	86.8
Other non-white races	8,964	18,394	—9,430	—51.3
San Diego Area, Total (March, 1944)	9,675	9,720	—45	—0.5
Negro	7,755	4,444	3,311	74.5
Other non-white races	1,920	5,276	—3,356	—63.6
San Francisco Bay Area, Total (April, 1944)	102,025	64,731	37,294	57.6
Negro	64,680	19,759	44,921	227.3
Other non-white races	37,345	44,972	—7,627	—17.0

[1] Separate figures for Negroes and persons of other non-white races are not available.

"In the 5 congested production areas in the West, the Negro population grew from approximately 107,000 in 1940 to about 228,000 in 1944, an increase of more than 113 per cent. . . . The largest absolute increase (59,000) occurred in the Los Angeles area, where the Negro population grew from 75,000 in 1940 to 134,000 in 1944." On the other hand, "the rise in the total number of Negroes in the 2 Northern and the 3 Southern congested production areas between 1940 and 1944 was from 403,000 to 534,000 or 32 per cent."

A final comparison of the recent movement of the Negro population awaits an enumeration in other parts of the country especially in the major urban areas of the North. Table 14 concerns population movements before 1940 but it is significant here as an indication that few Negroes born in the North ever live in the South, while Negro migration from the South tends to be permanent. However, the native white population tends to move in each direction between the North and the South in about equal numbers.

Table 14

Migration of the Native Negro Population and the Native White Population Between the North and the South, 1910 to 1940

(Based on State of Birth Data)

Region and Race	1940	1930	1920	1910
Negro				
Born in the North and living in the South[1]	59,267*	52,338	44,536	39,077
Born in the South and living in the North	1,443,943*	1,355,789	737,423	415,533
Net gain of the North	1,384,676*	1,303,451	692,887	376,456
Net gain of the South	—	—	—	—
White				
Born in the North and living in the South[1]	2,016,212	1,821,678	1,675,085	1,407,262
Born in the South and living in the North	2,013,036	1,931,799	1,412,779	1,110,245
Net gain of the North	—	110,121	—	—
Net gain of the South	3,176	—	262,306	297,017

[1] The North: New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and West North Central Divisions.

The South: South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central Divisions.

*Includes Negroes and other non-white races.

RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES

Males Out-Numbered

For many decades Negro males have been out numbered by females and the ratio of males to females has been decreasing. In the United States, the number of Negro males to every 100 Negro females declined from 97.0 in 1930 to 95.0 in 1940. During these 10 years the increase in the number of Negro males was nearly 150,000 less than the increase in the number of Negro females. Higher mortality rates among Negro males account for most of the sex difference in Negro population growth. The sex ratio at birth for Negroes is lower than that for whites, which is about 106 males per 100 females, but the Negro sex ratio at birth is also above 100. At every age, and for both races, the mortality of males tends to be higher than that for females; thus an aging population will tend to have a lower sex ratio.

Sex and Region

Although the number of white males per 100 white females has also been declining, the white sex ratio has been consistently higher than that for Negroes. Moreover, except for the Mountain Division of the United States, the native white sex ratio is everywhere higher.

The number of Negro males per 100 Negro females is highest in the West and lowest in the South. This reflects the movement of Negroes, particularly Negro men, from the South to the West and also to the North. In the urban areas, however, females are more highly concentrated. In 1940, there were in the United States about 88 Negro males to 100 Negro females living in urban communities, while for rural-farm communities the ratio was 103. Table 15 shows the sex ratio for the total population of the United States, for Negroes, and native whites by area.

Table 15
Urban, Rural-Nonfarm, and Rural Farm Population, By Sex, for Negroes and Native Whites, for the United States, 1940

Area and Sex	Total Population	Negro	Native White	Males Per 100 Females: Total Population	Males Per 100 Females: Negro	Males Per 100 Females: Native White
Urban	74,423,702	6,253,588	58,838,505	95.5	88.1	94.5
Male	36,363,706	2,929,423	28,587,273			
Female	38,059,996	3,324,165	30,251,232			
Rural-Nonfarm..	27,029,385	2,109,630	23,407,379	103.7	99.8	102.8
Male	13,757,516	1,053,699	11,867,146			
Female	13,271,869	1,055,931	11,540,233			
Rural-farm	30,216,188	4,500,683	24,549,848	111.7	103.1	112.2
Male	15,940,370	2,285,916	12,983,114			
Female	14,275,818	2,216,384	11,566,734			

AGE COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

The Aging Population

The median age of the Negro population of the United States, like that of the total population, has increased between 1930 and 1940. In 1940 the median age for Negroes was 25.3 years as compared with 23.5 years in 1930. ("The median age is that age which divides the population into two equal groups—one-half being older, and one-half younger, than the median.")

"The advance in the median age of the population in 1940 as compared with that in 1930 results chiefly from an increase in the proportions in the younger ages. Lower birth rates and lower death rates in the past decade have been major factors in bringing about these changes." In 1940 there were 57.7 per cent of the total Negro population over 21 years of age, while in 1930 there were only 54.9 per cent. For these same periods the Negro population under 5 years of age was 9.7 and 10.3 per cent, respectively. Table 16 shows the age distribution of the population for Negroes and native whites for 1940.

OCCUPATION AND INDUSTRY

Place of Negroes in the Labor Force

In March, 1940, (the date of the Census) Negroes represented 10.2 per cent of the nation's labor force; native white persons, 78.4 per cent; and foreign-born whites 11.0 per cent of the total. Of these three groups, the percentage of the Negro population 14 years of age and over in the labor force is highest. As shown in table 17, while 80.1 per cent of both Negro and foreign-born white males of this class are in the labor force, 37.8 and 18.8 per cent of the females, respectively, are thus occupied. In fact, relatively speaking, Negro females are more highly represented in the labor force than the females of any other population group. This situation is also reflected in the percentage of females not in the labor force but engaged in housework. Only 41.9 per cent of the Negro females as compared with 57.0 per cent of the native-white females, and 68.1 per cent of foreign-born females, are engaged in their own housework.

Table 17
Per Cent Distribution of Persons 14 Years Old and Over, By Employment Status, Class of Worker, Race and Sex, for the United States, 1940

Employment Status	All Classes			Race					
				Negro		Native White		Foreign born White	
	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Persons 14 years old and over....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
In the labor force..	52.2	79.0	25.4	80.1	37.8	78.7	24.8	80.1	18.8
Not in labor force..	47.8	21.0	74.6	19.9	62.2	21.3	75.2	19.9	81.2
Engaged in own housework	28.6	0.5	56.7	0.5	41.9	0.5	57.0	0.7	68.1
In school	8.9	9.1	8.7	7.7	8.4	10.4	9.8	1.0	1.0
Unable to work..	5.2	5.9	4.6	5.8	7.2	5.1	3.8	11.2	7.7
In institutions ...	1.2	1.5	0.8	2.8	0.8	1.3	0.8	1.9	1.3
Other and not reported	3.9	4.0	3.8	3.2	4.0	3.9	3.8	5.1	3.1

Table 16

Age By Sex for Negroes and Native Whites for the United States, 1940

Age	Number						Per Cent Distribution					
		Negro			Native White			Negro			Native White	
	Tota	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Under 5 years.......	1,249,080	621,689	627,391	9,221,184	4,697,251	4,523,933	9.7	9.9	9.5	8.6	8.8	8.5
5 to 9 years........	1,294,546	643,781	650,765	9,307,367	4,733,600	4,573,767	10.1	10.3	9.9	8.7	8.9	8.6
10 to 14 years.......	1,330,660	661,351	669,309	10,298,944	5,231,893	5,067,051	10.3	10.5	10.1	9.6	9.8	9.5
15 to 19 years.......	1,304,606	630,079	674,527	10,799,262	5,433,529	5,365,733	10.1	10.1	10.2	10.1	10.2	10.1
20 to 24 years.......	1,195,227	550,193	645,034	10,130,640	5,014,725	5,115,915	9.3	8.8	9.8	9.5	9.4	9.6
25 to 29 years.......	1,145,284	529,613	615,671	9,479,994	4,698,366	4,781,628	8.9	8.4	9.3	8.9	8.8	9.0
30 to 34 years.......	992,879	467,887	524,992	8,497,387	4,230,325	4,267,062	7.7	7.5	8.0	8.0	7.9	8.0
35 to 39 years.......	985,833	462,559	523,274	7,468,265	3,724,204	3,744,061	7.7	7.4	7.9	7.0	7.0	7.0
40 to 44 years.......	815,096	400,249	414,847	6,673,013	3,338,408	3,334,605	6.3	6.4	6.3	6.2	6.2	6.2
45 to 49 years.......	692,807	348,251	344,556	6,028,851	3,025,658	3,003,193	5.4	5.6	5.2	5.6	5.7	5.6
50 to 54 years.......	550,435	283,120	267,315	5,114,739	2,568,375	2,546,364	4.3	4.5	4.1	4.8	4.8	4.8
55 to 59 years.......	397,219	207,220	189,999	4,108,095	2,054,198	2,053,897	3.1	3.3	2.9	3.8	3.8	3.8
60 to 64 years.......	295,904	154,245	141,659	3,347,818	1,659,153	1,688,665	2.3	2.5	2.1	3.1	3.1	3.2
65 to 69 years.......	296,737	151,990	144,747	2,686,518	1,314,177	1,372,341	2.3	2.4	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.6
70 to 74 years.......	162,948	83,835	79,113	1,799,386	873,177	925,209	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.7	1.6	1.7
75 years and over...	156,257	72,976	83,281	1,835,269	840,494	994,775	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.7	1.6	1.9
21 years and over...	7,427,938	3,597,926	3,830,012	65,119,586	32,334,056	32,785,530	57.7	57.4	58.1	61.0	60.5	61.4
Median age		25.3	25.3		26.7	27.1						

Table 18 shows the kinds of work or major occupations in which Negroes are employed. There is a concentration in domestic service and in other service occupations especially for females. As we should expect, a large proportion of Negro male workers are employed as farm and industrial laborers.

Table 18

Major Occupation Group of Employed Negroes, 14 Years Old and Over (Except on Public Emergency Work) By Sex, for the United States, 1940

Major Occupation	Total	Male	Female	Per Cent Distribution Total	Male	Female
All occupations	4,479,068	2,936,795	1,542,273	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional workers	109,836	46,539	63,297	2.5	1.6	4.1
Semi-professional workers	9,364	6,773	2,591	0.2	0.2	0.2
Farmers and farm managers	666,695	620,479	46,216	14.9	21.1	3.0
Proprietors, managers, and officials, except farm	48,154	37,240	10,914	1.1	1.3	0.7
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers	79,322	58,557	20,765	1.8	2.0	1.3
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	132,110	129,736	2,374	2.9	4.4	0.2
Operatives and kindred workers	464,195	368,005	96,190	10.4	12.5	6.2
Domestic service workers	1,003,508	85,566	917,942	22.4	2.9	59.5
Service workers, except domestic	522,229	362,424	159,805	11.7	12.3	10.4
Farm laborers (wage workers) and farm foremen	483,785	413,574	70,211	10.8	14.1	4.6
Farm laborers (unpaid family workers)	296,527	168,189	128,338	6.6	5.7	8.3
Laborers, except farm and mine	636,600	623,641	12,959	14.2	21.2	0.8
Occupation not reported	26,743	16,072	10,671	0.6	0.5	0.7

Trend of Occupations

Tables 19 and 20 show the trend of Negro employment by major industry. The significant movement of Negro workers is away from agriculture. In 1910 there were 54.6 per cent of all Negro workers engaged in agriculture; in 1940 there were about 33.2 per cent. With the exception of personal service in which Negro females are highly concentrated, Negroes are fairly well distributed over the range of major industries. In each industrial group, however, Negroes are concentrated in the lower range of employment.

Table 19

Major Industry Group of Employed Negroes, 10 Years Old and Over, for the United States, 1910 to 1930

Employment Status and Major Industry	1930 Number	Per Cent	1920 Number	Per Cent	1910 Number	Per Cent
All Industries	5,503,535	100.0	4,824,151	100.0	5,192,535	100.0
Agriculture	1,987,839	36.1	2,133,135	44.2	2,834,969	54.6
Forestry and fishing	31,732	0.6	31,375	0.7	33,776	0.7
Extraction of minerals	74,972	1.4	73,229	1.5	61,129	1.2
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	1,024,656	18.6	901,181	18.7	655,906	12.6
Transportation and communication	397,645	7.2	312,538	6.5	256,098	4.9
Trade	183,809	3.3	141,119	2.9	119,775	2.3
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	50,203	0.9	50,436	1.0	22,229	0.4
Professional service	135,925	2.5	81,771	1.7	68,350	1.3
Domestic and personal service	1,576,205	28.6	1,063,008	22.0	1,121,251	21.6
Clerical occupations	40,549	0.7	36,359	0.8	19,052	0.4

Table 20

Major Industry Group of Employed Negroes 14 Years Old and Over (Except on Public Emergency Work) By Sex, for the United States, 1940

Employment Status and Major Industry	Total	Male	Female	Per Cent Distribution Total	Per Cent Distribution Male	Per Cent Distribution Female
Employed (except on emergency work)	4,479,068	2,936,795	1,542,273	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry and fishery*	1,484,914	1,238,301	246,613	33.2	42.2	16.0
Mining	52,981	52,754	227	1.2	1.8	—
Construction	142,419	141,261	1,158	3.2	4.8	0.1
Manufacturing	515,514	467,286	48,228	11.5	15.9	3.1
Transportation, communication and other public utilities	200,191	196,762	3,429	4.5	6.7	0.2
Wholesale and retail trade	348,760	286,930	61,830	7.8	9.8	4.0
Finance, insurance, and real estate	68,117	56,309	11,808	1.5	1.9	0.8
Business and repair services	48,863	47,783	1,080	1.1	1.6	0.1
Personal services	1,292,524	243,700	1,048,824	28.9	8.3	68.0
Amusement, recreation, and related services	32,187	27,516	4,671	0.7	0.9	0.3
Professional and related services	176,685	84,014	92,671	3.9	2.9	6.0
Government	56,921	48,632	8,289	1.3	1.7	0.5
Industry not reported	58,992	45,547	13,445	1.3	1.6	0.9

*Only about one per cent of all Negro workers is engaged in forestry and fishing.

DIVISION II

SOME INTELLECTUAL AND OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NEGRO

By Jessie P. Guzman
Tuskegee Institute

When one examines scholastic and other distinctions as they relate to Negroes it is found that they cover a wide range, as these data presented below illustrate:

PERSONS LISTED IN WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

"The standard of admissions to *Who's Who in America* divides the eligibles into two classes: (1) those selected on account of special prominence in creditable lines of efforts, making them the subjects of extensive interest, inquiry or discussion; and (2) those included arbitrarily on account of official position—civil, military, naval, religious, or educational."

On the basis of these standards, the names and occupations of Negroes appearing in the 1944-45 edition of *Who's Who in America* are as follows:

*Abbott, Robert Sengstacke, Editor, publisher.
*Adams, Numa Pompilius Garfield, Medical Dean.
Anderson, Marian, Contralto.
Atwood, Rufus B., College President.
Bluford, Ferdinand D., College President.
Bousfield, Midian O., Physician.
Bontemps, Arna Wendell, Author.
Braithwaite, William Stanley Beaumont, Author.
Burleigh, Harry T., Singer, Composer.
Caliver, Ambrose, Educator.
*Carver, George Washington, Educator, Scientist.
*Clair, Matthew Wesley, Bishop.
Clark, Eugene A., College President.
Clark, Felton G., University President.
Clement, Rufus E., University President.
Cobb, James A., Lawyer.
Cotter, Joseph Seamon, Author, Educator.
Daniel, Robert Prentiss, College President.
Davis, Benjamin Oliver, Army Officer.
Davis, John Warren, College President.
Dawson, William L., Congressman.
De Berry, William Nelson, Clergyman.
Demby, Edward T., Bishop, P. E. Church.
Dent, Albert W., University President.
*Dett, R. Nathaniel, Composer.
Dogan, Matthew Winfred, President Emeritus, Wiley College.
Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt, Editor, Author.
Flipper, Joseph Simeon, Bishop.
Fountain, William Alfred, Sr., Bishop.
Frazier, Edward Franklin, Sociologist.
Gandy, John Manuel, Educator.
Grant, George Camron, College Dean.
Gregg, James Edgar, Clergyman, Educator.
Handy, William Christopher, Composer.
Harris, Abram L., University Professor (Economist).
Harris, M. La Fayette, College President.
Hastie, William Henry, Dean of Law.
Hayes, Roland, Tenor.
Haynes, Elizabeth A. Ross, Social Worker.
Haynes, George Edmund, Sociologist.
Hill, Leslie Pinckney, Educator.
Holmes, Dwight Oliver Wendell, College President.
Houston, Charles Hamilton, Lawyer.
Howard, Perry W., Mem. Rep. Nat. Com.
Hubert, Benjamin Franklin, College President.
Hughes, (James) Langston, Author.
Hurston, Zora Neale, Author.
Imes, William Lloyd, Clergyman.
Johnson, Charles Spurgeon, Educator.
Johnson, Mordecai Wyatt, University President.
Jones, David D., College President.
Jones, Eugene Kinckle, Social Work.
Jones, Gilbert E., Educator.
Jones, Lawrence Clifton, Educator.
Jones, Robert Elijah, Bishop.
King, Lorenzo H., Bishop.
King, Willis Jefferson, Bishop.
Lane, James F., College President.
Lanier, Raphael O'Hara, College Dean.
Locke, Alain LeRoy, Professor Philosophy.
Maynor, Dorothy, Soprano.
Mays, Benjamin Elijah, College President.
McCrorey, Henry Lawrence, Educator.
McKay, Claude, Writer.
Mitchell, Arthur W., Ex-Congressman.
Moore, Herman Emmons, Judge.
Murphy, Carl, Journalist.
Murray, Peter Marshall, Gynecologist.
Nelson, William Stuart, University Dean.
Patterson, Frederick Douglass, President, Tuskegee Institute.
Pickens, William, Government Official.
Robeson, Paul, Concert Singer, Actor.
Robinson, Bill, Dancer, Actor.
Schuyler, George Samuel, Author, Journalist.
Scruggs, Sherman Dana, University President.
Shaw, Alexander Preston, Editor, Clergyman.
Shephard, James Edward, College President.
Still, William Grant, Composer.
Terrell, Mary Church, Lecturer, Author.
Trenholm, Harper Councill, College President.
Tobias, Channing H., Y.M.C.A. Secretary.
Walton, Lester A., Diplomat, Journalist.

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*Deceased

Wesley, Charles Harris, University President.
White, Clarence Cameron, Violinist, Composer.
White, Walter F., Author, Secretary N.A.A.C.P.
Williams, Lacy K., Clergyman.
Woodson, Carter Godwin, Author.
*Work, Monroe N., Educator.
Wright, Richard, Author.
Wright, Richard Robert, Educator, Banker.
Wright, Richard Robert, Jr., Bishop, Educator.

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*Deceased

PERSONS APPOINTED TO POSITIONS IN WHITE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING—1941-1946

A number of Negroes have been appointed to the faculties of outstanding white colleges and universities in the country during the past few years. Some of these appointments have been for definite periods; others are permanent. A list of such persons is as follows:

Anderson, Walter F., is the first Negro to receive an appointment as a departmental head. He began his duties on September 1, 1946, as Head of the Department of Music at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Arter, Miss Rhetta M., served as English Instructor at the Hudson Shore Labor School in the summer of 1943.

Brown, Dr. Sterling A., was appointed Visiting Professor of English at Vassar College for the first term of the academic year 1945-46, and to co-instruct with Dr. Arthur P. Davis a course in American Literature, 1946-47 at the New School for Social Research.

Brown, Warren, in 1946, was appointed to offer courses in Sociology and Anthropology at Hunter College.

Buggs, Dr. Charles Wesley, is the first Negro to hold a full-time position on the faculty of Wayne University.

Calloway, Dr. Nathaniel, was appointed lecturer in Internal Medicine at the University of Illinois Medical School in 1946. He formerly taught Pharmacology at the University of Chicago.

Clark, Dr. Kenneth, is on the faculty of Queens City College, New York City, in the Department of Psychology.

Clark, Edgar R., introduced a course in folk music at the New School for Social Research, New York City.

Clift, Dr. Virgil A., Professor of Education at A. and T. College, Greensboro, N. C., was appointed Assistant Professor at Ohio State University during the summer of 1946, directing activities in Intercultural Education for graduate students.

Coggs, Mrs. Pauline, has served as a part-time Assistant in the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work at the University of Wisconsin since September, 1945.

Cuthbert, Dr. Marion, is an Instructor in Sociology at Brooklyn College, New York City.

Davis, Dr. Allison, in 1942, was appointed Assistant Professor of Education at the University of Chicago with duties in both teaching and research.

Drake, St. Clair, co-author of the volume, *Black Metropolis*, was appointed, in 1946, to the faculty of Roosevelt College, Chicago, to specialize in Social Anthropology.

Foreman, Mrs. Madeline Clarke, formerly teacher of Biology at Hampton Institute, is serving as head of the Biology faculty at William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa. She was appointed in 1945.

Gibson, Ralph, was appointed, in the fall of 1946, as Instructor of Elementary Psychology at the University of Michigan.

Griffin, Frank, was appointed in 1946 to the Department of Business Administration, Seaton Hall College, So. Orange, N. J.

Hammond, Dr. Francis M., was appointed in 1946, head of the Department of Philosophy at Seaton Hall College, So. Orange, N. J. He formerly taught foreign languages at Southern University.

Harris, Dr. Abram, formerly of Howard University, was appointed, in 1946, as Associate Professor in Economics at the University of Chicago.

Henry, Dr. Warren E., Head of the Department of Chemistry, Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga., was granted a leave of absence in 1944 to serve as staff member at the radiation laboratory of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Heslip, Mrs. Constance Ridley, since 1931 has been a member of the faculty of the University of Toledo in the Department of Sociology.

Hill, Mrs. Adelaide Cromwell, was named Instructor in Sociology at Smith College, Northampton, Mass., in 1945, and is the first Negro to receive appointment on the faculty. Mrs. Hill is an alumna of Smith College, class of 1940. She formerly taught at Hunter College, New York City.

Huff, Atty. William Henry, was appointed, in 1946, Associate Professor of Law in the Chicago Law School.

Jones, Dr. W. M., Eye Specialist, is Director of the Eye Clinic at Billings Hospital, University of Chicago, and is also Opthalmologist, Department of Surgery, University of Chicago.

Kelsey, Dr. George D., Director of the School of Religion, Morehouse College, was a professor at Andover—Newton during the summer of 1944.

Locke, Dr. Alain L., Professor of Philosophy at Howard University, served in 1946 as Visiting Professor at the University of Wisconsin, teaching courses in the "Philosophy of the Arts and Values." Dr. Locke was also appointed Visiting Professor to the Graduate Faculty of Political Science of the New School for Social Research for the academic year 1946-47.

Marr, Grace E., graduate of Harlem Hospital and of Columbia University is Assistant in Microbiology at Teachers College, Columbia University. She was appointed in 1945.

Martin, Dr. William H. of the Division of Education, Langston University, taught in the summer session of Michigan State College.

McMillan, Dr. Henrietta N., in 1946, was appointed English Instructor at Wilson Junior College, Chicago. She formerly was on the faculties of Spelman College and Atlanta University.

Palmer, Dr. Edward Nelson, Assistant Professor of Sociology at Fisk University, was appointed a member of the faculty of the University of Michigan for the 1946 summer session.

Reddick, Dr. Lawrence D., curator of the Schomburg Collection, was appointed to teach a course, "The Negro in American Life" at the New School for Social Research, New York City.

Reid, Dr. Ira DeA., Chairman, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, was appointed, in 1946, the first full-time Visiting Professor of Negro Culture and Education at New York University, School of Education. He also served as Visiting Professor of Sociology at Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

Rollins, Mrs. Charlemae, of the George Cleveland Hall Library, Chicago, in 1946, was appointed to teach a course in children's literature at Roosevelt College, Chicago.

Starling, Dr. Marian W., was appointed in 1946 to the English Department of Brooklyn College.

Thurman, Dr. Howard, served during the summer of 1946 as Professor of Mysticism and Ethics at the University of Iowa.

Turner, Mrs. Edythe H., was named Assistant in the Departments of Secondary Education and Home Economics at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, on a full-time basis in January, 1946.

Turner, Dr. Lorenzo D., formerly Professor of English at Fisk University, was appointed Professor of English at Roosevelt College, Chicago, in 1946.

Watkins, Dr. Mark Hanna, Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at Fisk University, served as Visiting Professor of Linguistics at the University of Chicago in 1945 and at the National University of Mexico.

Whitby, Mrs. Beulah T., is Instructor in Sociology at Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.

Wiggins, Dr. Forest Oran, Professor of Philosophy at Louisville Municipal College, was appointed full-time instructor in the Department of Philosophy, University of Minnesota, beginning September, 1946.

Woodson, Harold W., was appointed, in 1946, Research Assistant in Biological Chemistry in the College of Medicine at the University of Illinois.

Other appointments have been: Baker, Percy H., Black Mountain College, N. C.; Benjamin, Charles A. H., Sampson College, Geneva, N. Y.; Brice, Carol, Black Mountain College, N. C.; Brown, Raymond, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio; Chandler, Edward, Roosevelt College, Chicago, Ill.; Chase, William, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J.; Daniels, Mrs. Maggie B., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.; Diggs, Dr. Mary Huff, Hunter College, New York City; Duckery, Tannery G., University of Southern California at Los Angeles; Ellis, Wade, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Fax, Mark Ashland, Black Mountain College, N. C.; Frazier, E. Franklin, New York School of Social Work, New York City and Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N. Y.; Gear, Joseph T., University of California at Berkeley; Golightly, Catherine C., Olivet College, Michigan; Golightly, Cornelius L., Olivet College, Michigan; Graham, Alyse, Roosevelt College, Chicago, Ill.; Grant, Lestine, Sampton College, Geneva, N. Y.; Graves, Clifford L., Fenn College, Cleveland, Ohio; Harris, Mrs. Sammie Lee, Fenn College, Cleveland, Ohio; Hayden, Robert, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Hayes, Roland, Black Mountain College,

N. C.; Hinkson, Mary, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.; Hinton, Dr. William A., Harvard Medical School and Simmons College, Boston, Mass.; Holmes, Eugene Clay, College of the City of New York, New York City; Heningburg, Alphonse, New York University, New York City; Jacobs, Marie, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.; Jones, Mrs. Sybil, George Williams College, Chicago, Ill.; Kelsey, Dr. George D., Andover-Newton, Mass.; Lawrence, Jacob, Black Mountain College, N. C.; Liston, Sarah M., University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.; McMillan, Mrs. Henrietta Herod, Chicago Teachers College, Chicago, Ill.; Martin, Alfred E., Hunter College, New York City; Pereira, Sara M., Fenn College, Cleveland, Ohio; Riddle, Mrs. Estelle Massey, New York University; Sparling, Dr. Wilson, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Streator, Olive, Fordham University, New York City; Sutler, Dr. Martin, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Weaver, Mrs. Robert C., Roosevelt College, Chicago, Ill.; Woodruff, Hale, New York University, New York City.

DOCTORS OF PHILOSOPHY*† AND OTHER EARNED DOCTORATES, 1937-1946

Doctor of Philosophy

1937

Bright, William M., University of Illinois, Zoology.
Carroll, Joseph C., Ohio State University, History.
Crawford, Charlotte E., Yale University, English.
Hawkins, Charles C., New York University, Physical Education and Health.
Huggins, Kimuel A., University of Chicago, Chemistry.
Hunter, John M., Cornell University, Physics and Applied Chemistry.
Jackson, Luther P., University of Chicago, History.
Jackson, Reid E., Ohio State University, Education.
Johnston, James H., University of Chicago, History.
Julian, Anna J., University of Pennsylvania, Sociology.
Lockett, John L., Rutgers University, Agriculture.
Oak, Vishnu V., Clark University, Mass., Economics and Sociology.
Robinson, William H., Boston University, Physics.
Wallace, William J. L., Cornell University, Chemistry.
West, Harold D., University of Illinois, Chemistry.

1938

Armstrong, Byron K., University of Michigan, Education.
Boyd, Lawrence E., University of Iowa, Education and Psychology.
Brown, George W., London, History.
Cox, Oliver C., University of Chicago, Sociology.
Dean, William H., Harvard University, Economics.
Drake, J. F., Cornell University, Education.
Gant, Virgil Arnett, University of Illinois, Pharmacology.
Goodlett, Carlton B., University of Southern California, Psychology.
Hansborough, Louis A., Harvard University, Zoology.
Harris, Nelson H., University of Michigan, Education.
Hawkins, W. Lincoln, McGill University, Chemistry.
Hill, Charles L., Ohio State University, Philosophy.
Himes, Joseph S., Ohio State University, Sociology.
Hunton, William A., New York University, English.
Lovell, John W., Jr., University of Chicago, English.
Miller, E. H., Dijon (France), Romance Language.
Moreland, Marc M., Toronto (Canada), Philosophy.
Pierce, Joseph A., University of Michigan, Mathematics.
Walls, Jean H., University of Pittsburgh, Student Personnel Administration.
Wiggins, Forrest O., University of Wisconsin, Philosophy.
Williams, Eric, Oxford (England), Economics and History.

1939

Banks, Floyd R., Jr., University of Pennsylvania, Physics.
Banner, Warren M., University of Pittsburgh, Economics.
Branson, Herman R., University of Cincinnati, Physics.
Bush, Gow M., University of Iowa, Zoology.
Cotton, Carol B., University of Chicago, Psychology.
Davis, Frank G., University of Iowa, Economics.
Dooley, Thomas P., University of Iowa, Biology.
Eagleson, Halson V., Indiana University, Physics.
Griffith, Booker T., University of Pittsburgh, Zoology.
Heningburg, Alphonse, New York University, Education.
Lawson, Hilda J., University of Illinois, English.
Lawson, James R., University of Michigan, Physics.
Lee, Harold F., Ohio State University, Education.
Lee, James S., University of Michigan, Bacteriology.
Lee, Maurice W., University of Chicago, Business.
McGraw, Booker T., Harvard University, Economics.
Perry, Rufus P., University of Iowa, Chemistry.
Reddick, Lawrence D., University of Chicago, History.
Reedy, Sidney J., Colorado State College, Education.
Reid, Ira DeA., Columbia University, Sociology.
Rivers, Gertrude B., Cornell University, English.
Solomon, Thomas R., University of Michigan, Political Science.
Wormley, Stanton L., Cornell University, English.

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*Dr. Harry W. Greene, West Virginia State College collaborated with this list.

†See previous Negro Year Books for data prior to 1937.

1940

Chapman, Oscar J., Ohio State University, Education.
Coleman, Edward M., University of Southern California, History.
Crooks, Kenneth B. M., Harvard University, Biology.
Daniel, Vattel E., University of Chicago, Sociology.
Davis, Toye G., Harvard University, Biology.
Franklin, John H., Harvard University, History.
Gleason, Eliza A., University of Chicago, Library Science.
Gore, George W., Columbia University, Education.
Grant, Ernest A., Cornell University Agricultural Education.
Harris, Ruth M., Columbia University, Education.
Hazzard, James W., Cornell University, Biology.
Higgins, Rodney J., University of Iowa, Political Science.
Inge, Frederick D., New York University, Plant Physiology.
Knox, Clinton E., Harvard University, History.
Knox, Lawrence H., Harvard University, Chemistry.
Loop, Anne, New York University, Education.
Luvalle, James E., California Institute of Technology, Chemistry.
McGuinn, Henry J., Columbia University, Sociology.
Monroe, Clarence L. E., University of Pennsylvania, Bacteriology.
Morris, Kelso B., Cornell University, Inorganic Chemistry.
Nyabonga, Prince Akaki K., Oxford University (England), Philosophy.
Quarles, Benjamin A., University of Wisconsin, History.
Richards, Eugene S., University of Southern California, Sociology.
Smythe, Mabel Murphy, University of Wisconsin, Economics.
Snowden, George, University of Indiana, Government.
Strong, Samuel M., University of Chicago, Sociology.
Tillman, Nathaniel P., University of Wisconsin, English.
Walker, Alexander, University of Iowa, Political Science.
Wall, Limas D., University of Michigan, Zoology.
Woodson, Grace I., Ohio State University, Education.
Wright, Marion T., Columbia University, Education.
Young, R. Arliner, University of Pennsylvania, Zoology.

1941

Alsup, Frederick W., University of Pennsylvania, Zoology.
Baker, T. Nelson, Jr., Ohio State University, Chemistry.
Bembry, Thomas H., Columbia University, Chemistry.
Blackwell, David H., University of Illinois, Mathematics.
Brawley, James P., Northwestern University, Education.
Brown, Howard W., University of Pennsylvania, Education.
Canady, Herman G., Northwestern University, Psychology.
Carpenter, Marie, Columbia University, Education.
Carruthers, Ben F., University of Illinois, Romance Language.
Carter, William T., University of Michigan, French.
Clark, Kenneth B., Columbia University, Psychology.
Coleman, Robert, Columbia University, Education.
Colson, Edna, Columbia University, Education.
Daniel, Walter G., Columbia University, Education.
Daniels, Walter T., Iowa State University, Engineering.
Davis, Walter S., Cornell University, Agricultural Education.
Golightly, Cornelius L., University of Michigan, Philosophy.
Henry, Warren E., University of Chicago, Chemistry.
Hill, Carl M., Cornell University, Chemistry.
Johnson, Lula M., University of Iowa, History.
Lee, J. Warren, University of Iowa, Zoology.
Lloyd, Ruth S., Western Reserve University, Anatomy.
Phillips, Augustus C., Ohio State University, Vocational Education.
Simpson, Cohen T., University of Iowa, Inorganic Chemistry.
Smith, John M., University of Iowa, Philosophy.
Tate, Merze, Radcliffe College, Political Science.
Upthegrone, Campbell, L., University of Southern California, History.
Voss, Joseph E., University of Pennsylvania, Sociology.
Watts, Frederick P., University of Pennsylvania, Psychology.
Williams, Joseph L., University of Pennsylvania, Zoology.

1942

Beale, Robert S., Pennsylvania State College, Chemistry.
Belton, W. Edward, Iowa State College, Chemistry.
Booker, Walter M., University of Chicago, Physiology.
Brazeal, Brailsford R., Columbia University, Economics.
Brooks, Daniel, University of Pennsylvania, Education.
Brooks, Lyman, University of Michigan, Education.
Bullock, Henry A., University of Michigan, Sociology.
Cuthbert, Marion, Columbia University, Education.
Davis, Arthur Paul, Columbia University, English.
Davis, William A., University of Chicago, Anthropology.
Dawson, Earl E., University of Kansas, Education.

Dowdy, William W., Western Reserve University, Biology.
Eason, Sarah M., Ohio State University, Spanish.
Fauset, Arthur H., University of Pennsylvania, Anthropology.
Ferguson, Edward, Jr., University of Illinois, Zoology.
Finley, Harold E., University of Wisconsin, Biology.
Fuller, Oscar O., Jr., University of Iowa, Music.
Gill, Robert L., University of Michigan, History.
Gray, William H., Jr., University of Pennsylvania, Education.
Greene, Lorenzo T., Columbia University, History.
Herod, Henrietta, University of Chicago, English.
Hill, Henry Aaron, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Chemistry.
Holmes, Eugene C., New York University, Philosophy.
Howard, Roscoe C., Cornell University, Zoology.
Maxwell, U(cecil) S., Colorado University, Chemistry.
McKinney, Richard I., Yale University, Religious Education.
McLaurin, Dunbar S., University of Illinois, Economics.
Morton, James T., Northwestern University, Psychology.
Perez, Raoul M., University of Chicago, Romance Languages.
Posey, L. R., University of Michigan, Physics.
Scott, J. Irving, University of Pittsburgh, Education.
Spaulding, George H., University of Pennsylvania, Chemistry.
Steele, Algernon O., University of Chicago, Religious Education.
Taylor, Ivan E., University of Pennsylvania, English.
Towne, Myron B., University of Michigan, Chemistry.
Tymes, James D., Boston University, Religious Education.
Warren, Samuel E., University of Wisconsin, Economics.
Wilkins, J. Ernest, Jr., University of Chicago, Mathematics.
Williams, Marguerite, Catholic University, Geology.
Woolridge, Nancy B., University of Chicago, English.

1943

Bayton, James A., University of Pennsylvania, Psychology.
Boyd, Theodore R., Radcliffe College, Romance Philology.
Brown, Aaron A., University of Chicago, Education.
Burch, Willa C., University of Pennsylvania, Education.
Dedmond, Frederick H., University of Ottawa, French.
Gloster, Hugh M., New York University, English.
Graves, Artis P., University of Iowa, Zoology.
Green, Harry J., Jr., Ohio State University, Chemical Engineering.
Hammond, Francis, Laval University (Canada), Philosophy.
Henderson, James H. M., University of Wisconsin, Botany.
Hooker, Emile, Cornell University, Agricultural Economics.
Hypps, Irene C. M., New York University, Business Education.
Jones, Clifton R., University of Iowa, Sociology.
Jones, Edward A., Cornell University, French.
Lee, Susie O., New York University, History.
Lewis, W. A., London (England), Economics.
Lyda, Wesley J., Indiana University, Education.
Maxwell, U. S., Colorado University, Chemistry.
Myster, Alonzo, Iowa State College, Vocational Education.
Norris, Ernest M., Cornell University, Agricultural Education.
Owens, Susie Lee, New York University, History.
Pipes, William H., University of Michigan, English.
Poag, Thomas Edward, Cornell University, Drama and the Theatre.
Redmond, Frederick H., Ottawa (Canada), Romance Literature.
Rice, Madelein, Columbia University, History.
Roberts, Harry J., Yale University, Sociology.
Smith, Barnett F., University of Wisconsin, Biology.
Stephens, Clarence F., University of Michigan, Mathematics.
Taylor, Moddie, University of Chicago, Chemistry.

1944

Anderson, G. T., University of Chicago, History.
Anderson, W. E., Colorado State College, Educational Psychology.
Boyd, A. M., University of Michigan, Political Science.
Brown, R. A., Catholic University, Latin.
Carter, John H., University of Illinois, French.
Clark, Mamie K., Columbia University, Psychology.
Clift, Virgil A., Ohio State University, Education.
Cooke, Anne M., Yale University, Theatre and Dramatic Criticism.
Cotton, George Robert, Ohio State University, Education.
Dennis, Joseph H., Northwestern University, Mathematics.
Dent, Samuel George, University of Cincinnati, Chemistry.
Drew, J. M., Harvard University, Vocational Guidance.
Dudley, Leone B., Cornell University, Drama and Theatre.
Ellis, W., University of Michigan, Mathematics.
Gibson, William W., Ohio State University, Zoology.
Hogen, M. E., Marquette University, History.
Johnson, Ras O., Columbia University, Sociology and Economic Foundations of Education.
Lloyd, Birtill Arthur, University of Illinois, Chemistry.

Martin, William H., Ohio State University, Education.
Mells, H. F., University of Iowa, Music.
Nixon, Alfred F., New York University, Biology.
Nyabonga, Virginia S., University of Wisconsin, French.
Otis, J. R., Cornell University, Agricultural Economics.
Reddick, Mary L., Radcliffe College, Biology.
Roberts, S. O., University of Minnesota, Child Welfare.
Shippen, Eliza P., University of Pennsylvania, English.
Siegel, B. J., University of Chicago, Anthropology.
Smith, B. F., University of Wisconsin, Zoology.
Snowden, Frank M., Jr., Harvard University, Classical Philology.
Van Dyke, Henry L., Michigan State College, Organic Chemistry.
Webb, Arthur H., University of Illinois, Bacteriology.
Williams, H. H., Cornell University, Ornamental Horticulture.
Woods, Lloyd L., Kansas State College, Chemistry.
Young, Marechal-Neil E., University of Pennsylvania, Sociology.

1945

Baker, Percy H., University of Michigan, Zoology.
Boone, E. B., University of Michigan, Education.
Boyd, William M., University of Michigan, History and Political Science.
Brown, Ruth A., Catholic University, Latin.
Carter, Marian E., Catholic University, French.
Cater, Catherine, University of Michigan, English.
Certaine, Jeremiah, Harvard University, Mathematics.
Chavous, A. M., Ohio State University, Vocational Education.
Collins, Leslie M., Western Reserve University, American Culture.
De Mond, Albert, Catholic University, Economics.
Diggs, Ellen, University of Havana, Anthropology.
Diggs, Mary H., Bryn Mawr, Social Economy.
Diciguid, Lincoln, Cornell University, Chemistry.
Fletcher, T. Thomas, New York University, English.
Ford, Nick Aaron, University of Iowa, English.
Freeman, J. M., Cornell University, Agriculture.
Fuller, Joseph E., University of Pennsylvania, Mathematics.
Gibson, Walter W., Ohio State University.
Hardiman, M. Gordon, University of Iowa, French.
Henry, William, University of Pennsylvania, Education.
Jones, Virginia L., University of Chicago, Library Science.
Lofton, Williston H., American University, History.
Macklin, A. G., Ohio State University, Secondary School Supervision and Administration.
McBay, H. C., University of Chicago, Chemistry.
McConnell, Roland C., New York University, History.
Martin, William Harris, Ohio State University.
Miller, J. Erroll, University of Pennsylvania, Political Science.
Nelson, Bernard H., Catholic University, History.
Palmer, N., University of Michigan, Sociology.
Parrish, Charles Henry, University of Chicago, Sociology.
Reid, Robert D., University of Minnesota, History.
Richardson, Harry V., Drew University, Philosophy and Rural Sociology.
Richards, Mirion A., Iowa State College, Plant Physiology.
Smythe, Hugh H., Northwestern University, Anthropology.
Stewart, William W., University of Nebraska, Secondary Education.
White, Booker T. W., Ohio State University, Chemistry.
Wood, Geraldine P., Radcliffe College, Biology.
Wright, Leon P., Harvard Divinity School, Religion.

1946

Belcher, F. S., Jr., Yale University, Drama.
Brooks, Stella, Cornell University, English.
Chambers, V. Murray, Cornell University, Entomology.
Douglass, Joseph Henry, Harvard University, Sociology.
Edmonds, Helen Grey, Ohio State University, History.
Franks, Cleveland J., McKenley-Roosevelt University, Chemistry.
Hill, Mozell C., University of Chicago, Sociology.
Kelsey, George D., Yale University, Religion.
Lewis, Elsie M., University of Chicago, History.
Lewis, Lillian Burwell, University of Chicago, Zoology.
Lloyd, Raymond G., New York University, Economics and Social Studies.
Mathews, Basil, Fordham University, History.
Nelson, Margaret, Columbia University.
Okongwu, Joel Nnodu, New York University, Education.
Reid, Joseph A., University of Michigan, Comparative Literature.
Robinson, Lawrence Baylor, Harvard University, Chemistry.
Romm, Harry J., Iowa State College, Plant Morphology.
Tatum, Elbert Lee, Loyola University, History.
Williams, Edward B., Columbia University, Economics.

Doctor of Education

1937

Broadhead, John Henry, Temple University, Psychology.
Hamilton, Henry C., University of Cincinnati, Education.
Wilson, Frank T., Columbia University, Education.

1938

Bond, Frederick, New York University, English.
Daniel, Virginia R., University of Pittsburgh, Education.
Moore, James A., University of Cincinnati, Physical and Health Education.

1939

Browne, Rose B., Harvard University, Education.
Duckrey, James, Temple University, Psychology.
Johnson, Preston C., Temple University, Education.
Redd, George N., Columbia University, Education.

1940

Hope, Edward S., Columbia University, Education.
Kirkland, Madeline W., Columbia University, Home Economics Education.
Major, Anthony J., University of Pittsburgh, Education.
McGinnis, Frederick, University of Cincinnati, Education.
Price, Joseph S., Harvard University, Education.
Yeiser, Isabelle, Columbia University, Education.

1941

Turner, Alfred B., Pennsylvania State College, Industrial Education.

1942

DuValle, Sylvester H., New York University, Chemistry (Education).
Mitchell, Eva C., Columbia University, Education.
Talley, Thomasine, Columbia University, Music and Music Education.

1944

McPheeters, A. A., University of Cincinnati, Education.
Whitehead, M. J., New York University, Education.

1945

Brett, T. Ruth, Columbia University, Guidance.
Dorsey, James, Columbia University, Music and Music Education.
Lawlah, M. Evelyn, Stanford University, Education.
Partridge, Deborah C., Columbia University, Education.
Weaver, Harold D., Pennsylvania State College, Education.
Young, Percy, Harvard University, Education.

1946

Alston, Melvin O., Columbia University, Teaching of Mathematics.
Pierce, Juanita C., New York University, Health Education.
Richardson, Archie G., Columbia University, Education.
Thomas, Ruth Marie, New York University, English.

Doctor of Science

1940

Drew, Charles R., Columbia University, Surgery.

Doctor of Social Science

1941

Brown, Warren, New School for Social Research, Sociology.

Doctor of Law

1943

Jefferson, Bernard S., Harvard University, Law.

PERSONS ELECTED TO PHI BETA KAPPA—1937-1946*

1937

Barksdale, Richard Kenneth, Bowdoin College.
Carey, Ruthella Webster, Western Reserve University.
Darby, Alfred C., University of California at Los Angeles.
Hodge, Dorothy Handley, University of Kansas.
Nelson, Margaret, Hunter College.
Scott, Laurabelle, Oberlin College.
Thomas, Sarah E., Cornell University.

1938

Blackwell, David H., University of Illinois.
Chase, Mary, Bates College.
Davis, Charles Twitchell, Dartmouth College.
Lewis, Alma, University of Cincinnati.
Meaux, Edith, University of Southern California.
Payne, Beulah, University of Kansas.
Skinner, Daniel T., Harvard University.

1939

Barnes, Leroy Theodore, University of Pennsylvania.
Black, Beatrice Y., Smith College.
Curtis, Jeanne M., Mount Holyoke.
Williams, S. Gertrude, Dickenson College.

1940

Bullock, Mathew W., Jr., Bowdoin College.
Clark, Felton G., Beloit Wisconsin College (Alumni).
Wilkins, J. Ernest, Jr., University of Chicago.

1941

Ballard, Sylvanus A., University of Chicago.
Clifford, Maurice, Hamilton College.
Dickson, David W. D., Bowdoin College.
Fairfax, Jean Emily, University of Michigan.
White, Gladys M., Smith College.

1942

Childress, Gladys E., Colorado University.

1943

Curry, Virginia F., University of Kansas.
Groves, Harry Edward, University of Colorado.
McCleary, Beatrix, Vassar College.
Nelson, Margaret, Hunter College.
Redding, J. Saunders, Brown University (Alumni membership).

1944

Jackson, Elizabeth B., Pembroke College (Boston University).

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*See previous Negro Year Books for data prior to 1937.

1945

- Boyd, Evelyn, Smith College.
- Collins, Alma, University of California at Los Angeles.
- Reddick, Mary L., Radcliffe College.

1946

- Teal, Goler, University of Pennsylvania.

PERSONS ELECTED TO HONOR SCHOLARSHIP SOCIETIES

1936-1946*

- Academy (honor)
  - 1938—Klugh, Lois, Simmons College.
- Alpha Chi Alpha (Historical)
  - 1938—Nelson, Margaret, Hunter College.
- Alpha Kappa Delta (Sociological)
  - 1937—Jackson, Mildred L., University of Illinois.
    - Palmer, Edward, University of Michigan.
    - Taylor, Joseph T., University of Illinois.
  - 1938—McPherson, J. Westbrook, University of Omaha.
    - Singleton, Marion Margaret, University of Illinois.
  - 1939—Brown, Florence R. Beatty, University of Illinois.
    - Chandler, Vera, University of Nebraska.
  - 1941—Chivers, Walter R., New York University.
    - Fairfax, Jean Emily, University of Michigan.
- Alpha Lambda Delta (National Freshman Honor Society)
  - 1938—Fairfax, Jean Emily, University of Michigan.
- Alpha Kappa Mu
  - 1942—Spaulding, George H., University of Pennsylvania.
- Alpha Omega Alpha (Medical)
  - 1942—Barnes, Leroy T., University of Pennsylvania.
- Artus (National Honorary Economics Society)
  - 1940—McLaurin, Dunbar, University of Illinois.
- Beta Alpha Psi (Accounting)
  - 1937—Campfield, William L., University of Minnesota.
- Beta Kappa Chi (Natural Science)
  - Payton, Noble F.
- Blue Key (National Honor Society)
  - 1938—Pollard, Fritz, Jr., University of North Dakota.
- Delta Sigma Rho (Forensic)
  - 1939—Lythcott, George I., Bates College.
- Gamma Alpha (Graduate Scientific)
  - 1943—Henderson, James Henry M., University of Wisconsin.
- Iota Sigma Pi (Chemistry)
  - 1938—Singleton, Marion Margaret, University of Illinois.
- Kappa Delta Pi (Education)
  - 1938—Wilson, George, New Jersey State Teachers College.
  - 1940—Gore, George, Columbia University.
    - Yeiser, Idabelle, Columbia University.
  - 1941—Amos, Harold, Springfield College.
  - 1943—Groves, Harry Edward, University of Colorado.
    - Hoppin, Erna V., State Teachers College, Trenton, N. J.
    - Whitehead, Mathew J., New York University.
  - 1946—Pierce, Juanita G., New York University.
- Mortar Board
  - 1945—Johnson, Louise W., University of Pittsburgh.
- Omega Beta Pi (Premedical)
  - 1946—Cash, Ruth, University of Illinois.
- Omicron Nu (Home Economics)
  - 1938—Singleton, Marion Margaret, University of Illinois.
- Phi Delta Kappa (Education)
  - 1942—Codwell, John E., University of Michigan.
    - Cruter, Gilbert, Colorado University.
    - Dixon, Dean, Teachers College, Columbia University.
    - Holmes, Wendell P., University of Colorado.
    - Lanier, Raphael O'Hara, New York University.
    - Wright, Stephen J., New York University.
  - 1943—Harvey, Martin L., New York University.
    - Whitehead, Mathew J., New York University.
  - 1944—Chavous, A. M., Ohio State University.
    - Reedy, Sidney J., Colorado College.
  - 1946—Flood, J. Julius, University of Michigan.
- Phi Kappa Epsilon (Historical)
  - 1936—Brown, Florence R. Beatty, University of Illinois.
- Phi Kappa Phi (National Scholastic Honor Society)
  - 1936—Kennedy, W. L., Pennsylvania State College.
  - 1938—Singleton, Marion Margaret, University of Illinois.
  - 1939—Echols, Magnolia E.,
  - 1940—Fairfax, Jean E., University of Michigan.
- Phi Mu Epsilon (Music)
  - 1937—Robinson, Mabel L., Boston University.
- Phi Psi Chi (Psychological)
  - 1942—Nelson, Francis Edwina, University of Illinois.
- Phi Sigma (Biological)
  - 1936—Alexander, Lloyd E., University of Rochester.
  - 1937—Beck, James T.,
    - Caruthers, Bertram, University of Kansas.
  - 1938—Caruthers, Percy, University of Kansas.
  - 1940—Wall, Limas D., University of Michigan.
    - Webb, Arthur H., University of Illinois.
  - 1942—Ferguson, Edward, University of Illinois.
    - Finley, Harold E., University of Wisconsin.
  - 1943—Henderson, James Henry M., University of Wisconsin.
- Pi Delta Phi (French)
  - 1939—Carruthers, Ben F., University of Illinois.

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*See previous Negro Year Books for data prior to 1936.

1943—Jones, Edward Allen, Cornell University.
Pi Epsilon Theta (Philosophical)
1938—James, Albert, University of Southern California.
Pi Gamma Mu (Social Science)
1936—Davis, Russell, Washburn College.
1937—Darby, Alfred C., University of California.
1938—Tate, Merze, Western State Teachers.
1940—Higgins, Rodney C., University of Iowa.
Jones, Clifton R., University of Iowa.
Nipson, Herbert, Pennsylvania State College.
Pi Kappa Lambda (Music)
1936—Allen, William Duncan, Oberlin College.
1943—Davis, Louise, Boston Conservatory of Music.
1946—Knighten, Alleyne Joyce, Oberlin College.
Pi Lambda Theta (Education)
1936—Just, Margaret, Boston University.
1945—Brooks, Stella B., Cornell University.
Lawlah, Evelyn, Stanford University.
Thomas, Ruth Marie, New York University (Graduate Chapter)
1946—Sheffield, Mrs. Helen, Columbia University.
Pi Mu Epsilon (Mathematics)
1938—Blackwell, David H., University of Illinois.
Doxey, Hosea H., University of Nebraska.
1943—Hodge, John Edward, University of Kansas.
1944—Dennis, Joseph J., Northwestern University.
Psi Chi (Psychological)
1939—Brown, Robert Duane, University of Illinois.
Sigma Delta Epsilon (Scientific for Women)
1946—Lewis, Lillian Burwell, University of Chicago.
Sigma Delta Pi (Spanish)
1939—Carruthers, Ben F., University of Illinois.
Sigma Kappa Phi (Foreign Language)
1941—Nelson, Fannetta J. M., University of Pittsburgh.
Sigma Pi Sigma (Physics)
1940—Wiley, James T., University of Pittsburgh.
1941—Baldwin, Thomas W., New York University.
Sigma Xi (Scientific)
1936—Alexander, Lloyd E., University of Rochester.
Anderson, R. L., University of Pittsburgh.
Buggs, Charles W., University of Minnesota.
Carter, Margaret L., Pembroke College of Brown University.
1937—Bright, William M., University of Illinois.
Lockett, John L., Rutgers University.
Wallace, William J. L., Cornell University.
West, Harold D., University of Illinois.
1939—Dooley, T. P., University of Iowa.
1940—Alsup, Fred W., University of Pennsylvania.
Blackwell, David H., University of Illinois.
Clark, Kenneth B., Columbia University.
Harris, H. H., University of Iowa.
Inge, Frederick D., Ohio State University.
Wall, Limas D., University of Michigan.
1941—Bayton, James A., University of Pennsylvania.
Finley, Harold E., University of Wisconsin.
Mason, Clarence T., McGill University.
1942—Ferguson, Edward, University of Illinois.
Spaulding, George H., University of Pennsylvania.
Wortham, Joseph L., Ohio State University.
1943—Dennis, Joseph J., Northwestern University.
Henderson, James Henry M., University of Wisconsin.
1944—Lee, J. Warren, University of Iowa.
Reddick, Mary L., Radcliffe College.
1945—Boyd, Evelyn, Smith College.
Dickerson, Charles E., Ohio State University.
Julian, Dr. Percy L., Northwestern University.
1946—Lewis, Lillian Burwell, University of Chicago.
Munday, Reuben A., Amherst College.
Romm, Harry J., Iowa State College.
Sword and Shield (Sophomore Honor Society)
1938—Dugger, Edward, Tufts College.
Tau Beta Pi (Engineering)
1943—Alexander, Walter Gilbert.
Hubbard, Philip, University of Iowa.
Tau Delta Pi (Social Science)
1936—Davis, Russel, Washburn College.

SPINGARN ACHIEVEMENT AWARDS*†

In 1914, J. E. Spingarn, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, established a gold medal to be given to the man or woman of African descent and American citizenship, who during the year shall have made the highest achievement in any field of human endeavor.

Twenty-two awards were presented through 1936. Since 1936 the awards of the medal have been as follows:

To Walter White, Secretary of the

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*No award was made in 1938. Dr. William A. Hinton who was chosen as the recipient of the award for his outstanding work in Syphilology found himself unable to accept.

†See previous Negro Year Books for data prior to 1937.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the 23rd Award.

"A graduate of Atlanta University, Walter White has been a valued and distinguished official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People since 1918 and its Executive Secretary since 1931. The author of two novels, and of an authoritative study of lynching and its psychology entitled 'Rope and Faggot,' Mr. White has personally investigated forty-one lynchings and eight race riots, sometimes at the risk of his life, often obtaining evidence of great value in the presentation of these cases in law courts or that of public opinion.

"In the last several years, he has devoted himself unsparingly, with remarkable tact, skill and persuasiveness, to the pushing through Congress of the anti-lynching bill which, having passed the House, is now pending in the Senate. It is the testimony of experienced Washington observers that no better job of legitimate championship of a bill has been done in Washington in years. Undiscouraged by the defeat of 1935, he succeeded in getting a vote of 277 to 119 of April 15, last upon the Gavagan bill.

"During all this time, Mr. White has carried a large share of the executive work of the association, presented its case in public innumerable times, and has had a considerable part in bringing to a successful issue in the Supreme Court some of the cases financed and sponsored by the NAACP. In zeal for and loyalty to his race, the Committee believes Mr. White to be surpassed by no one else."

To Marian Anderson, world famous contralto, the 24th award.

"Marian Anderson has been chosen for her special achievement in the field of music. Equally with that achievement, which has won her world-wide fame as one of the greatest singers of our time, is her magnificent dignity as a human being. Her unassuming manner, which has not been changed by her phenomenal success, has added to the esteem not only of Marian Anderson as an individual but of the race to which she belongs."

To Dr. Louis T. Wright, an outstanding medical and civil rights figure, the 25th award.

"He has been a consistent and persistent foe of every form of segregation and denial of opportunity and has played a major part in the establishment of a yardstick of medical proficiency which has done much to change the attitude of both the white and Negro medical world and the public at large.

"But Dr. Wright has not confined his efforts to important crusades for principles. He has made distinguished contributions to medical and surgical development. He was chosen as an outstanding authority to write the section on skull fractures in 'The Standard Treatment of Fractures,' edited by Dr. Charles L. Scudder. In that contribution Dr. Wright broke new ground and successfully challenged and disproved the soundness of previously held theories on the treatment of skull fractures.

"In his original work in the development of more effective treatment of the hookworm, on more successful methods of vaccination, and in other fields, he has pushed forward the frontiers of medical development. His distinguished work as a surgeon led to the color line being broken in the American College of Surgeons through his election as a fellow in 1934. During his service as a surgical director at Harlem Hospital in New York City he greatly improved standards and lowered the mortality rates.

"As an officer in the United States Army during the World War his was one of the outstanding careers.

"Scientist, public servant, indefatigable and uncompromising fighter for complete justice and democracy in all avenues of life as well as in the field of medicine, Dr. Wright is a distinguished citizen of America by any standards and without regard to race, creed or color."

To Richard Wright, writer, the 26th award.

"For his powerful depiction in his books, 'Uncle Tom's Children,' and 'Native Son,' of the effect of proscription, segregation and denial of opportunities to the American Negro. He has given to Americans who have eyes to see a picture which must be faced if democracy is to survive. The Award Committee salutes Mr. Wright as one of the most powerful of contemporary writers."

To A. Philip Randolph, social thinker and worker, the 27th award.

For organizing the Sleeping Car Porters under the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and securing recognition for them; and because of his fearless, determined mobilization of mass opinion that resulted in the President's issuing Executive Order No. 8802, which banned racial discrimination in defense industries and government work.

To William H. Hastie, former Dean of the Howard University Law School, the 28th award.

"William Henry Hastie is selected as twenty-eighth Spingarn medalist for his distinguished career as jurist and as uncompromising champion of equal justice. Though young in years his record of achievement is notable measured by any standard, however absolute or high.

"His scholastic career as honor graduate from Amherst College and as a Doctor of Juridical Science from the Harvard Law School has been continued in quality of service in several capacities. His was a distinguished career as Assistant Solicitor of the Department of the Interior. He made a brilliant record as the first Negro to serve as Judge of a United States District Court, serving in the Virgin Islands. He established a high standard of scholarship and of service in the Virgin Islands. He established a high standard of scholarship and of service to mankind for the students during his period as Dean of the Law School of Howard University.

"As Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War he refused to temporize with racial bigotry, segregation or discrimination. Men of lesser character and of greater selfishness would have closed their eyes to prejudice."

To Dr. Charles R. Drew, Professor of Surgery at Howard University, the 29th award.

"Dr. Drew set up and ran the blood plasma bank in the Presbyterian Hospital in New York City which served as one of the models for the widespread system of blood banks now in operation for the American Red Cross.

"On October 1, 1940, Dr. Drew was appointed full-time medical director of the plasma project for Great Britain with the job of solving the many technical problems which had arisen in this first great experiment in gross production of human plasma. As a final report at the end of the project a very complete summary of the organizational, technical, and medical problems that arose in this work was written. This report was published and served as a guide for the later developments in the United States for the U. S. Army and also for the armies of our allies.

"When it was decided by the American Red Cross to set up blood donor stations with the idea of collecting blood plasma for the American armed forces, Dr. Drew was appointed as the first director and set up the first collection unit with full time people in contradistinction to the largely volunteer help used in the project for Great Britain. When the project had been successfully running for three months Dr. Drew resigned to go to Washington to take the Chair of Surgery at Howard University."

To Paul Robeson, internationally famous actor, concert artist, and athlete, the 30th award.

Mr. Robeson received the award for his outstanding achievements in the theatre, on the concert stage, and in the general field of racial welfare. The latest triumph in his long public career was his appearance in Margaret Webster's production of "Othello."

Mr. Robeson has appeared in numerous legitimate plays including "Emperor Jones," "All God's Chillun," "Porgy," "Black Boy," "The Hairy Ape," and "Stevedore." In the films he has appeared in "Emperor Jones," "Showboat," "Saunders of the River," "King Solomon's Mines," "Jericho," and others.

He gave his first concert performance as a singer in 1925, and made his first concert tour of America in 1929. His concert tours of Europe occurred in 1926-28, 1931 and 1938, with a memorable tour of Russia in 1936.

Mr. Robeson is a graduate of Rutgers College and Columbia University. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa. He was a four-letter man at Rutgers and was All-American end on Walter Camp's team in 1918.

To Thurgood Marshall, Counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the 31st award.

"For his distinguished service as a lawyer before the Supreme Court of the United States and inferior courts, particularly in the Texas Primary Case which conceivably may have more far reaching influence than any other act in the ending of disfranchisement based upon race or color in the country; also in recognition of the unselfishness and courage which he has shown not only in this but in other cases for the right of Negroes to belong to trade unions, in his attack upon the Jim Crow travel system and unequal educational opportunities, and for basic human rights and justice in the courts."

INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES

Negroes have applied their inventive talents to a wide range of subjects. These include: clothing, household furnishings, electrical devices, aeronautics, chemical compounds, mechanical devices, metal work, psychological devices, and many others. Among the inventions and discoveries on which patents were secured during the period 1936-1946 are the following:

1936

Lawson, Herbert, sued Pullman Company charging that the air cooling and conditioning system that he invented was infringed upon by Pullman Company.

Raines, Dr. Morris A., Associate Professor of Botany at Howard University, Washington, D. C., invented a device which makes the root system of plants visible throughout their entire growth.

Redding, J. T., Wilkesboro, N. C., has invented a convertible auto seat which can be turned back and made into a full length bed.

Rhodes, J. A., New York, President of National Robot Company, invented a very simple device for removing pigeons from newly cleaned buildings.

Smith, R. C., Oberlin, Ohio, invented an electrical reversible pressing comb. This is an improvement over others because the heat is steady, it eliminates smoke and grease and does not leave the ends of the hair harsh and brittle.

Stallworth, Elbert, Americus, Ga.,

has invented several electrical household appliances, among them an electrically heated commode for convenience during illness and in homes lacking bathroom facilities; an alarm clock attachment which permits the operation of an electrical machine on a time basis; an electric heater which affords a maximum of heat on a minimum of current.

Timberlake, Jerry, Humboldt, Tenn., invented a power multiplier, which he calls a stepper-upper. His machine can produce 3 horsepower where one would be ordinarily, and it has no gears or belts.

1937

Allen, James Matthew, Smithfield, N. C., ex-Howard University student invented Radio Ace Unit, a device that looks like a fancy electric clock; it sits on the radio and tunes in programs at whatever hour one wishes.

Alston, Rolong, Washington, D. C., secured patent rights on a mechanical adjustable shirt.

Chubb, Dr. Lewis W., Research Director for Westinghouse laboratories, Pittsburgh, Pa., invented a device for use of polarized lights for eliminating headlight glare.

Jones, Dr. William B., Springfield, Mass., granted patent on an improved dental impression tray which reduces the discomfort to patients and speeds up the work of the dentist.

Lee, Arthur, assistant to a Newark, N. J. shipbuilder, invented a popular toy, a flying fish, known as "The China Clipper."

Roberts, Walter, graduate of Carnegie Institute of Technology designed a gate for an intersection on Carnegie's campus. It has no bolts or fasteners. It is all welded.

Robinson, "Doc" Elbert R. (died, 1937, Chicago, Ill., widely known as "Car Wheel" Robinson) is the inventor of many devices; steeling wheels, overhead trolley, interlocking switch. Robinson first attracted public attention decades ago, when working as machinist in a Chicago steel foundry. He discovered a process for making steel car wheels, flanged, which under his process could be made cheaper, were more durable and lasted longer than those made by the prevailing method. Other outstanding inventions were the overhead trolley, now universally used, and the interlocking switch, which enables cars to switch off the main track, and which is now also universally used.

Sutton, John, born in San Antonio, Tex., invented process for production of rope and other fibre material from a rice by-product.

Taylor, Richard, Chicago, Ill., was granted a patent on June 22 on "La Tie," an instrument which he designed to facilitate the handling of sheet music.

1938

Belton, Dr. Waddie, dentist of Philadelphia, Pa., built radio set costing $3,500 because of the many devices and gadgets he has put on it for receiving and transmitting messages here and abroad.

Blauntia, Volono Hopi, Tulsa, Okla., has patented a three section window which eliminates window washing troubles. Each section of the window can be lowered on hinges so that one standing on the floor on the inside of the house can easily wash the window without getting outside.

Bruner, Harvey, Birmingham, Ala., discovered a way of making paint and varnish from the sap of trees without using lead.

Claiborne, Ernest L., Schenectady, N. Y., superintendent of service at the Hotel Van Curler, has invented a rack to contain 50 bound highway maps for the convenience of guests at the hotel. The maps are neatly indexed and route numbers are easily accessible.

Crumble, James H., Brooklyn, N. Y., has invented an ever ready battery in his home-made electric generator. His device charges old batteries by a secret friction process, and the batteries in turn run the machine. Consequently, he has a machine which runs all the time, since there is always plenty of electricity to run it at no cost.

Johnson, Paul E., Chicago, Ill., is the inventor and manufacturer of twenty-seven lamps and other types of physiotherapeutic equipment for use by physicians and in hospitals.

Jones, Walter, a tenant farmer on a plantation near Greenville, Miss., has invented a machine to thin out cotton plants in a row, which he claims is more efficient than any on the market.

Lee, Robert, Savannah, Ga., has been granted a patent for a safety attachment for automotive vehicles. The device provides for blow-out control and

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automatically prevents the sudden swerving which occurs in a blow-out in a front tire and arrests the shifting of the steering connections.

Madison, Walter G., mechanical engineer and inventor of Ames, Iowa is the owner of the W. G. Madison Company which makes and distributes the Eclipse Radiator Bracket which he invented to support any type of steam radiator.

Spears, Edward, recent migrant to New York from Georgia, has patented a television set which can be sold for less than $100.

Turner, William D., New York City, is the inventor of an automatic radio tuning device which operates on much the same order as an alarm clock. By its use it is possible to set the dial hours in advance for a particular program and have the machine automatically go on and off.

1939

Bowen, Henry, Portsmouth, Va., has invented a "fog sweeper" which utilizes both a strong beam of light and a high pressure lane of air which he claims will solve the age old problem of fog on land and sea.

Burton, Gus, Orlando, Fla., invented a device which will enable airplane pilots to unload mail bags without stopping and without damage to the mail or merchandise so unloaded.

Chopin, Arthur, Philadelphia, Pa., designed automobile inspection stickers for the State of Pennsylvania.

Harris, Charles F., Fayetteville, N. C., has invented a device for changing coins in vending and similar machines. The invention, about the size of a brick, is inserted within the vending machine and will handle any of the six coins in circulation in this country. It automatically deducts the purchase price of the article and drops the change in a cup.

Maxie, J. W., Langston University, Oklahoma, sophomore, has invented a device that is expected to eliminate the sheet music industry. It is claimed that the device will not only eliminate the turning of music pages during a musical performance and the possibility of the music sheet being disturbed by the wind, but it will also eliminate the use of sheet music entirely. The invention permits a music performance to be rendered in the dark, except for a small pilot light. It can be attached either to a piano or a music stand, and it can be operated by anyone.

Page, Lionel F., Xenia, Ohio, has invented an auxiliary circulating device for hot water heaters designed to keep autos warm inside even when the engine is not running.

Strickland, O. S., Secretary-General Manager of the Universal Oil, Gas and Mining Company, Inc., a Negro oil company of Shreveport, La., has perfected an electronometer, or oil field detector, which has proved to be ninety-seven per cent accurate in locating and defining metes and bounds of oil and gas fields.

Thomas, Henry, Cleveland, Ohio, has secured patents on fluxes for brass, bronze, aluminum and stainless steel. "Flux Metal Purifier, Inc." was formed to make fluxes and other by-products of the process which it includes.

Yancy, P. R., young minister, has invented an inkless pen that writes with water. The invention consists of a chemical compound discovered by Yancy which is placed in the hollow of an ordinary steel pen where it hardens and sticks fast to the metal. The compound lasts indefinitely; in order to use the pen it is only necessary to dip it in water.

1940

Gibson, John, Columbus, Franklin County, Tenn., has a patent on the body design for a locomotive that is faster and more economical to operate than any in use.

Halo, William, of West Virginia, on April 7, 1925, obtained a patent on a plane "made to hover in the air, ascend and descend vertically and be propelled along the ground as a wheeled vehicle either in a forward or a reverse manner." Fifteen years later there is much excitement over a "new type of airplane which rises perpendicularly without having to take off in the usual manner."

Simmons, John, 18, Philadelphia, Pa., has built several radios. Recently he had created a job for himself by building a machine on which he plays recordings. He fills numerous engagements with his machine.

1941

Burton, Gus, Wadley, Ga., has patented two types of models. One is an emergency device for airplanes when its landing wheels will not operate or are shot away; and a mail pick-up device for airplanes.

Dox, Thrash, artist of Philadelphia, Pa., in collaboration with a group of WPA project artists discovered the carborundum print process which is regarded as one of the most important developments in the technique of fine print reproduction. Because of this new process, printmakers and artists are able to widen the range of tone in black and white as never before.

Ritnour, Charles C., Memphis, Tenn., has applied for a patent for a mechanical cotton-picker designed especially for the 20-100 acre farmer of limited means. The picker operates on the same principal as a vacuum cleaner and will operate 10 hours on one gallon of gas. Mounted on pneumatic tires and weighing less than 150 pounds, the picker can be operated by one man and will harvest about 650 pounds of cotton a day, or about as much as three men will pick.

Wheeler, Samuel, Muncie, Ind., has invented a device for laying concrete blocks that guarantee perfect block laying with mathematical precision and a saving of 40 per cent of mortar.

1942

Blair, Joseph N., Detroit, Mich., is reputed to be one of the most talented speed boat inventors in America.

Dixon, William James, has invented a re-railer, which is used to replace cars on rails when they are derailed.

1943

Alleyne, Dr. Ernest P., Nashville, Tenn., has been granted a patent on a device which will take the place of six other instruments in obstetrical surgery. It is small enough to carry in the vest pocket.

Burton, Gus, Savannah, Ga., carpenters' helper, has patented an invention for air fields which he believes will be instrumental in saving lives when disabled planes come in. The device is intended to provide a safe landing for planes when their retractable landing gear fails to work or in war times when planes return with their undercarriage shot away or damaged.

Crichton, Frank D., Washington, D. C., invented a picture frame which changes pictures at the owners' will. Pictures are placed on a roll and when a new face or scene is desired the roll is turned and a new picture appears in the frame. Mr. Crichton is also inventor of an automatic flag staff. It contains ball bearings inside allowing the staff to revolve according to the cloth banner's whims and thus does not wrap around the pole to which it is attached.

Jones, Clinton, instructor in Mathematics at A. and T. College in Greensboro, N. C., has developed an instrument for the study of the motion of projectiles and artillery shells. The apparatus permits complete study of the physical principles underlying artillery and small arms trajectories and laboratory determination of the range, height and velocity of projectiles as a function of angular elevation and other principles of such study.

Kirkland, William, Jersey City, N. J., has invented a magnetic air mine which will float mid-air, is invisible but will explode when contacted by enemy craft. Mr. Kirkland has also invented a new air pump which is in use at the arsenal where he is employed.

Redmond, Sidney D., Jackson, Miss., invented a mine sweeper which patent examiners ruled was different from anything previously patented or known.

Ruth, George A. P., Maryland, perfected a new invention for charging auto batteries quickly. The gadget does away with the necessity of taking the battery to the charger, since it is portable and independent of outside electric currents.

Walton, Dr. U. S., Memphis, Tenn., was granted on March 23, 1943 a patent on an instrument for improving dentures.

White, George, Washington, D. C., invented a device which when attached to an auto or airplane motor will propel the vehicle over mileage equivalent to that obtained from 123 gallons of gasoline while using only a single gallon.

1944

Blair, Joseph N., Detroit, Mich., has announced the perfection of an aerial torpedo for long range bombing.

Crumble, James H., Brooklyn, N. Y., has invented a bicycle driving mechanism which is like a motorcycle operated without gasoline. His bicycle operates by pedaling with a storage spring as the gear driving power. It also operates without use of the spring. The invention contains exceptional velocity and driving power. It will travel uphill as easily as on a level stretch, anywhere a gasoline driven machine will operate.

Durrant, Nancy Agnes, fifteen years old, of Washington, D. C., senior at Dunbar High School was acclaimed for her invention of a non-burnable metallic cloth. She was awarded a $2,400 scholarship in The Third Annual Talent Search sponsored by Westinghouse Electric Company. Along with 39 other students, Miss Durrant is the first Negro to be among the 40 finalists. She has also invented a machine to crush old electric bulbs and has developed a process for salvaging the tungsten filaments used in the electric light.

Edwards, Robert, Oklahoma City, Okla., invented a device for boxing cylinders.

Huffstead, P. L., has invented a "tell the time round the world clock." It is about three feet in diameter and is equipped with large hour, minute, and second hands indicating the correct time in New York. Smaller clock dials placed equal distances from each other inside the circle of the larger clock show the time in the large cities in different parts of the world.

Lewis, Charles Sinclair, janitor of El Paso, Tex., has perfected and patented an invention which not only will save countless lives lost annually in highway accidents but also will be the means of conserving rubber.

Parsons, James A., electrical engineer, has been granted patents for the determination of the silicon content of alloys. He is in charge of research and metallurgy for Durion Company, Dayton, Ohio. In 1943 at the Nineteenth Exposition of Chemical Industries, held at Madison Square Garden, New York City, products made possible by the inventions of Mr. Parsons were displayed.

Redmond, Dr. S. D., and *McCoy, Dr. A. H.*, Jackson, Miss., were granted a patent on their invention, a torpedo arrester and insulator. The object of the device is to prevent torpedoes and mines from exploding when they strike ships.

Ruth, William C., Gap, Pa., converted his plant for farm tools into a war production plant by turning out sole plates for use on Navy mine sweepers, shear pins, trunnions and clamps for Army trucks.

Schuler, Corporal Booker T., New York City, has invented a medical air ambulance kit that filled emergency medical equipment needs of an air evacuation Transport Squadron stationed in the South Pacific. Schuler designed and made an original model of his kit, and finally out of scanty available supplies, manufactured by hand 40 units.

Young, Fred W., Atlanta, Ga., has invented a coin wrapping machine which is automatic.

1945

Atkins, Dr. Cyril Fitzgerald and *Brooks, Ulysses Simpson*, members of the faculty of Johnson C. Smith University, have discovered a new paper producing process for the manufacture of a very good corrugated shipping container from cotton stems ordinarily left standing in the fields after the cotton is picked.

Blanton, John W., research engineer in thermodynamics and power plants in Buffalo, New York, helped to design and build the first jet-propelled plane in America, the P-59, Air-Comet Fighter. After two years with Bell Aircraft, he took a position as Chief Thermodynamics Engineer for Frederick Flader, Inc., Buffalo, New York.

Gary, Alvin C., Brooklyn, N. Y., has designed a mirror which will aid in parking cars in cramped spaces or at the curbs. Motorists will be able to observe remote fenders as well as nearby fenders avoiding striking fenders against objects. He also holds a patent on a pair of extractive pliers by means of which objects such as glass, tacks, etc., which become lodged beneath the surface of pneumatic auto tires may easily be extracted.

Jones, Frederick, a native of Cincinnati, Ohio, has invented an automatic mobile refrigerator which makes it possible for service men in the South Pacific jungles to have fresh meat and vegetables on their menus. It is automatic to the extent that it requires no attention except that of providing gasoline.

Pierre, Leo, a Haitian student at Hampton Institute, Va., invented a combination tool which can be used to assemble and dismount machine guns and other mechanical equipment. Two other patents are pending—one for a pocket machine gun, and another for an automatic magazine for machine guns.

Snyde, Walter H., of Mt. Pleasant, S. C., invented a power-driven caulker's chisel, doing the work formerly required of four men working with mallet and chisel to repair leaking boats.

Turner, Joseph, Charleston, S. C., a "scaler" at the branch plant of the Carnegie Illinois Steel Corporation, is in charge of a mechanical chisel that removes scale from steel plates. The machine is operated by compressed air. Mr. Turner invented and perfected an attachment that cools the point of the chisel, hence preserving its temper and greatly lengthening its life. It reduces labor by half and doubles production.

1946

Schuler, Booker T., New York City, has invented a mouse trap that can catch and drown as many as a half dozen mice at a time. The trap is so arranged over a pail of water that when a mouse falls in the pail it drowns right away because there isn't enough room to swim around in.

FIRST NEGRO GOVERNOR APPOINTED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

The confirmation of William Henry Hastie as Governor of the Virgin Islands, a territory of the United States, makes him the first Negro Governor of the United States.

Mr. Hastie was born at Knoxville, Tenn., November 17, 1904. He received the A. B. degree from Amherst College in 1925, the LL. B. degree from Harvard University in 1930; S.J.D., 1933.

He taught at Bordentown, N. J. Manual Training School in 1925-27, was admitted to the bar of the District of Columbia in 1931, beginning practice with Houston and Houston, lawyers, of Washington, D. C. From 1930 to 1937 he was a member of the faculty of the Howard University School of Law; Assistant Solicitor of the United States Department of the Interior, 1933-37; Judge of the District Court of the Virgin Islands, 1937-39; Dean of the Howard University School of Law, 1939; and Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War 1940-42. He is Vice-President of the National Lawyers Guild and a Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Hastie was confirmed by the Senate on May 1, 1946, and was inaugurated on May 7, 1946, at Charlotte Amalie, Virgin Islands.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON COMMEMORATIONS

The Booker T. Washington Stamp

The first United States postage stamp to commemorate the life of a Negro was issued on April 7, 1940, at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. This stamp bears the likeness of Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute, and is of the 10-cent denomination.

Over 200,000 stamps were sold, a record for the 10-cent "famous American" series. Approximately 175,000 "first day" philatelic envelopes were issued.

Postmaster General James A. Farley made the first sales at Tuskegee Institute and delivered the Founder's Day address.

The idea of issuing the Booker T. Washington stamp as one of the "famous American" series originated with Dr. R. R. Wright, Sr., President of the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company, Philadelphia, Pa.

Booker T. Washington Elected to Hall of Fame

On October 31, 1945, Booker T. Washington was elected to the Hall of Fame for Great Americans, which is located on the campus of New York University, in the tenth quinquennial election. He is the first Negro to be thus honored.

On May 23, 1946, Gloria Davidson Washington, granddaughter of Booker T. Washington, unveiled the bronze bust, the work of Richmond Barthe, noted Negro sculptor, in the presence of a distinguished gathering of more than a thousand persons. Tuskegee Institute and Hampton Institute assumed responsibility for raising the $5,000 necessary for the erection of the bust.

Below the bust was placed a bronze tablet bearing a quotation from an address which Dr. Washington delivered before the Southern Industrial Convention in Huntsville, Alabama, on Columbus Day, 1899. It reads, "The highest test of the civilization of a race is its willingness to extend a helping hand to the less fortunate."

Speakers at the ceremony were Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute; Dr. James Rowland Angell, Director of the Hall of Fame; Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Secretary of Tuskegee Institute during the lifetime of Dr. Washington; Dr. Harold O. Voorhis, Vice-Chancellor and Secretary at New York University; Dr. Jackson Davis, Associate Director of the General Education Board and Dr. Ralph P. Bridgman, President of Hampton Institute.

Dorothy Maynor, soprano, and the Tuskegee Institute Choir furnished a musical program for the ceremonies. The Hampton Institute Creative Dance Group appeared in a prologue with an original pantomimic interpretation of the educator's life.

The mantle that covered the bust was presented to Mrs. Portia Washington Pittman, only daughter of the great educator.

A letter from President Harry S. Truman said in part: "Booker T. Washington has a living monument in Tuskegee Institute. Now he is numbered among the immortal Americans in the Hall of Fame. In the years to come he will be an inspiration to every American who forges ahead, despite the obstacles his birth or origin may place in his way. We are proud to have an America that counts this man among its heroes."

The Hall of Fame was established in 1899 at New York University and houses the busts of 77 famous Americans, chosen since the first election in 1900.

The names to be inscribed in the Hall of Fame are chosen every five years by a college of electors, "consisting of approximately one hundred American men and women of distinction, representing every State of the Union and several professions." The busts and tablets are the gifts of associations or individuals.

Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial

The plantation on which Booker T. Washington was born, known as the "Burroughs Farm," located at Hales Ford, Franklin County, Virginia, was purchased by the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial Association of which S. J. Phillips, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, is President and Emmett J. Scott, Washington, D.C., is Secretary. The Association plans not only to restore the log cabin in which Booker T. Washington was born but also as outlined in its charter, to establish a perpetual memorial in commemoration of the life of Booker T. Washington, monuments and other similar markings at places connected with the life of Booker T. Washington and to collect and distribute [illegible] lest facts and literature which are [illegible] serve as the purpose of the new corporation.

Other aspects of the planning are: A memorial museum showing the African background of the Negro in America, a consolidated elementary school, a regional vocational school, a radio station and the organizing of better workers institutes throughout the country where there are large concentrations of the population.

On March 16, 1946, the Virginia General Assembly voted an appropriation of $15,000 to be expended for the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial for the erection of permanent buildings.

Ground breaking ceremonies were held at the birthplace on April 5, 1946. The Association plans eventually to have a $2,000,000 memorial.

Coin Honoring Booker T. Washington Authorized

On August 7, 1946, President Truman signed a bill authorizing the minting of five million 50-cent pieces in honor of Booker T. Washington, the coins to be sold for $1.00 each to help establish a birthplace memorial. (See above.) Present at the signing of the bill by President Truman were S. J. Phillips, President of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial Association, and Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Secretary. The Booker T. Washington coin went on sale December 16, 1946.

There have been some 58 memorial coins of the type authorized. The first was in 1892 for the Columbian Exposition and the most recent was in 1937, commemorating the Battle of Antietam.

Under the premium price plan, the organization to be benefited designates banks or other agencies at which the coins may be bought. The face value goes to the government, the amount above that to the beneficiary.

The coin was designed by Isaac

Hathaway and is the first one to be minted in honor of a Negro in America; and the first to be designed by a sculptor of the Negro race. Mr. Hathaway is head of the Department of Ceramics, Tuskegee Institute. His model was accepted because it more nearly conformed to specifications than any other model submitted.

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER DAY

Saturday, January 5, 1946, was proclaimed by President Truman as George Washington Carver Day in commemoration of the achievements of this noted scientist.

The text of the proclamation follows:

> "Whereas it is fitting that we honor the memory of George Washington Carver, who contributed to the expansion of the agricultural economy of the nation through his diligent research as an agricultural chemist; and
>
> "Whereas by a joint resolution approved December 28, 1945 (Public Law 290, 79th Congress), the Congress has designated January 5, 1946, as George Washington Carver Day and has authorized and requested me 'to issue a proclamation calling upon officials of the Government to display the flag of the United States on all Government buildings on such day';
>
> "Now, Therefore, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America, do hereby call upon the officials of the Government to have the flag of the United States, displayed on all Government buildings on January 5, 1946, in commemoration of the achievements of George Washington Carver.
>
> "In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.
>
> "Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-eighth day of December in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-five and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventieth."

Mrs. Alma Illery of Pittsburgh, Pa., was the originator of the idea of George Washington Carver Day. She secured the support of high officials of the city of Pittsburgh and of the State of Pennsylvania and finally of Congressman Robert J. Corbett of Pittsburgh who introduced the resolution into Congress. Mrs. Illery is an outstanding clubwoman, a leader of civic affairs and founder of the Achievement Clubs, Inc., a national organization.

AMERICAN MOTHER OF 1946

The Golden Rule Foundation selected as the "American Mother of 1946" Mrs. Emma Clarissa Clement, 71-year-old mother of Louisville, Ky. In making the selection Mrs. David de Sota Pool, Chairman of the Mothers' Committee, said:

"In selecting her as the American mother for 1946, the committee gives recognition not only to her great personal qualities as a mother of children who are devotedly serving their country and their people; as a partner in her husband's ministry in his lifetime; as a social and community worker in her own right; but it gives recognition also and pays tribute to the great spirit of America.

"Our Republic has struggled through many phases of national development to achieve the freedom, equality and brotherhood which must remain our goal as they are our slogans."

The qualifications for the honor of being the American Mother for the year are:

> "First, she must be a successful mother as evidenced by the character and achievements of her individual children;
>
> "Second, she must embody those traits most highly regarded in mothers —concern for others, courage, patience, affection, kindliness, understanding, home-making ability;
>
> "Third, she must have an interest in social and world relationships, and must have been active in her own community, or in some other service for public benefit;
>
> "Fourth, she must make friends and meet people easily, and be one who can take her place as a leader among mothers if considered for the American Mother."

All seven of her children received degrees from Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C., where she and her husband graduated in 1898; and are engaged in worthwhile pursuits.

Mrs. Clement, widow of the late Bishop George Clinton Clement of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, is the 12th mother selected since the beginning of the award in 1935 and the first Negro woman to be so honored. She is the grand-daughter of a slave and was born in Providence, R. I. Her public services include work with the Young Women's Christian Association; the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Women's Societies of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Inter-racial Co-operation Committees and the American Field Army Cancer Society.

DIVISION III

THE NEGRO IN THE SCIENCES

THE NEGRO IN THE NATURAL SCIENCES

By CLARENCE W. WRIGHT
Meharry Medical College

THE NEGRO IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

By JESSIE P. GUZMAN
Tuskegee Institute

The following is a partial survey of Negro genius and talent in the field of the sciences and is to be considered merely as a cross-sectional report. A more thorough survey would contain the names of many others who are entitled to recognition.

THE NEGRO IN THE NATURAL SCIENCES

Bacteriology:

Brown, Russell Wilfred was born at Gray, Louisiana, in 1905. Following his graduation from the high school department of Straight College, 1922, Brown entered Howard University where he received the B. S. degree in Natural Science in 1926. Subsequently, he received the degree M. S., in 1932, and the Ph. D. from Iowa State College in 1936. During his last three years at that institution, Brown was a Research Fellow in the Department of Bacteriology. The following are among his published research studies: *Priopionic Acid Bacteria, Journal of Bacteriology*, Vol. 26, pp. 393-417, 1933; *Physiological Studies and Classification of Butyric Acid Butyl Alcohol Bacteria, Iowa State College Journal of Science*, Vol. 2, p. 39, 1936; *The Degradation of Heavy-Carbon Butyric Acid from the Butyl Alcohol Fermentation, The Journal of the American Chemical Society*, Vol. 66, pp. 1812-1818, 1944; and *Mechanism of the Butyl Alcohol Fermentation with Heavy Carbon Acetic and Butyric Acids and Acetone, Archives of Biochemistry*, Vol. 6, pp. 243-259, 1945. Dr. Brown is a member of several scientific societies: Phi Kappa Phi, Sigma Xi, and the Society of American Bacteriologists. He is Director of the George Washington Carver Foundation, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Poindexter, Hildrus Augustus was born in Memphis, Tenn., in 1901. After graduation from the public schools of his native city, Poindexter had an extraordinary series of educational experiences. First, he entered Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, graduating in 1924 with the A. B. degree; then, after five years of study at Dartmouth and Harvard, he received the M.D. degree from the Harvard University Medical College in 1929. He was a General Education Board Fellow at Columbia University, 1929 to 1931, receiving the M. S. degree in 1930 and the Ph. D. degree in Bacteriology in 1932.

From 1931 to 1934, Dr. Poindexter was Assistant Professor of Bacteriology, Preventive Medicine, and Public Health in the School of Medicine at Howard University, becoming head of his department in 1934, a position which he still holds.

The following contributions of Dr. Poindexter to the medical journals are significant; *Artificial Acidosis in Trypanosoma Lewisi, Journal of Experimental Medicine*, 43: pp. 575-579, November, 1931; *Studies in Cultivation of Parasitic Intestinal Protozoa, Puerto Rico Journal of Public Health and Tropical Medicine*, 7: p. 417, June, 1932; *Observations on the Defensive Mechanism in Equiperdum and Trypanosoma Lewisis Infections in Guinea Pigs and Rats, American Journal of Tropical Medicine*, 13: pp. 555-575, November, 1933; *Tuchereria (Filia) Bancrofti: Infection in Man with Unusual History and Case Report, Journal of Laboratory and Clinical Medicine*, 19: pp. 864-869, May, 1934; and *A Consideration of the Effects of Focal Infection on the Susceptibility of Certain Endothelial-Lined Cavities, Journal of National Medical Association*, 30: pp. 54-57, May, 1938.

Biology:

Buggs, Charles Wesley was born in Brunswick, Ga., in 1906. Having graduated from Morehouse College in 1928 with the A. B. degree, Buggs entered the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota where he received the M. S. degree in 1931 and the Ph. D. in 1934, at the University of Chicago. Subsequently, he accepted a professorship and chairmanship of the Division of Natural Sciences at Dillard University. While in this position, Dr. Buggs published a book entitled, *Lecture Outlines and Syllabus on the Principles of Animal Biology.* Dr. Buggs has attracted attention in the scientific world by his collaboration with other scientists in the following studies: *Properties of Homogenized Herpes Virus, Journal of Infectious Diseases,* 58: pp. 98-104, January-February, 1936; and *Experimental Investigations in Hemorrhagic Encephalitis, Journal of Infectious Diseases,* 62: p. 293, May-June, 1938. Other publications of which Dr. Buggs is author or joint-author are: *The In Vitro Action of Streptomycin on Bacteria, Journal of American Medical Association,* 130: pp. 64-67; *The Presence in Normal Serum of Inhibiting Substances Against Bacillus Subtilis. Science,* 103: pp. 363-364, March 22, 1946; and *Absorption, Distribution and Excretion of Streptomycin in Man, Journal of Clinical Investigations,* 25: pp. 94-102, January, 1946.

Dr. Buggs, first Negro to hold a full time position on the faculty of Wayne University, where he has been since 1943, has become a key figure in research on the treatment of wound infections and burns. So new are some of his discoveries which include a method of healing from the inside out, that officials at the university guarded them as a war secret.

Nabrit, Samuel Milton, born in 1905, is a native of Macon, Ga., where he remained until the completion of his high school education. Subsequently, he did his under-graduate work at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., receiving the B. S. degree in 1925. At Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, he received the M. S. degree in 1928 and the Ph.D. degree in 1932. Among his published papers are the following: *Differentiation of Fins of Fishes in Nine Days, Journal of Experimental Zoology,* 79: pp. 299-308, 1938; *Studies on Regeneration in Central Nervous System of Fundulus Heretoclitus Embryos, Anatomical Record,* 75: p. 119, December, 1939; and *Further Studies on Regeneration in Fundulus Embryos, Biological Bulletin,* 77: 336, 1939. Dr. Nabrit was instructor in Biology at Morehouse College from 1925 to 1927. Since 1928, he has had the rank of professor in the same institution.

Just, Ernest Everett was born in Charleston, S. C., in 1883. He received his early education in the city of his birth. Subsequently, Just attended the Industrial School of Orangeburg, (now South Carolina State College), Kimball Academy, New Hampshire, and Dartmouth College where he graduated with the A. B. degree in 1907, the only magna cum laude of his class. He received special honors in Zoology and History as well as membership in Phi Beta Kappa. The doctorate in Experimental Zoology was conferred upon him by the University of Chicago in 1916.

Just began his graduate studies at the Marine Biological Laboratory, Woods Hole, Massachusetts, in 1909, first in Marine Invertebrates and later in Embryology. In 1911 and 1912, he acted as Research Assistant in the subject of fertilization and breeding habits in Nereis and the sea-urchin Arbacia. These studies focused his interest on marine eggs which became the center of many of his investigations. His first paper (1912) was an interesting study in which he showed by an ingenious method that the plane of symmetry of development is determined by the polar bodies and the point of entrance of the spermatozoon in a meridian of the spherical egg of the annelid Nereis. This was followed by approximately fifty research papers in the next twenty-five years dealing with fertilization and experimental parthenogenesis in marine eggs, in addition to a number of theoretical contributions. In 1939, Dr. Just published two books: the first, *Basic Methods for Experiments in Eggs of Marine Animals;* the second, *The Biology of the Cell Surface, and Manual.* This latter brought together his work and thought in the fundamental field of cellular physiology.

From 1907 to his death in 1941, Dr. Just was on the faculty of Howard University. In the meantime, he had spent twenty summers at the Marine Laboratories, Woods Hole; had carried on studies in various laboratories of Europe—the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut fur Biologie in Berlin, the Sorbonne in France, Naple's Zoological Station, Italy—where he was respected and honored for his scientific scholarship.

Turner, Charles Henry was born February 3, 1867, at Cincinnati, Ohio. He is one of the earliest Negro scientists in America to make an impression in the field of Zoology. He received the B. S. degree from the University of Cincinnati in 1891, the M. S. degree from the same institution in 1892 and the Ph. D. degree from the University of Chicago, 1907. While at the University of Chicago, Dr. Turner collaborated with the noted neurologist, his teacher, Dr. C. L. Herrick, on *Synopsis of the Entomostraca of Minnesota, Geology and Natural History Survey of Minnesota*, p. 552, 1895. Among the numerous studies of Dr. Turner are: *Morphology of the Avian Brain, Journal of Comparative Neurology*, 1891; *Psychological Notes on the Gallery Spider, Journal of Comparative Neurology* 2: 95-110, 1892; *Preliminary Notes on the Nervous System of the Genus Cypris, Journal of Comparative Neurology* 3: 35-40, 1892; *Synopsis of North American Invertebrates: Fresh Water Astrocoda, The American Naturalist*, 1899. Some of his studies on animal behavior, which rank him among the best along this line, include: *A Preliminary Note on Ant Behavior, Biological Bulletin* 12: 31-36, 1906; *The Homing of Ants, Journal of Comparative Neurology and Psychology* 17: 367-434, 1907; *Do Ants Form Practical Judgments? Biological Bulletin* 13: 333-343, 1907 and *Experiments on Color-vision of the Honey Bee, Biological Bulletin* 19: 257-79, 1910. Dr. Turner died in 1923.

Turner, Thomas Wyatt was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1877. After completing elementary and high school in his native city, he entered Howard University where he received the A. B. degree in 1901 and the M. A. in 1905. Subsequently, he studied at Johns Hopkins University, Catholic University of America, and Cornell University, receiving the Ph. D. degree from Cornell in 1921. In his professional work, Dr. Turner has combined successful teaching and productive research. Among the institutions in which he has taught are: Tuskegee Institute, Howard University, and Hampton Institute. In 1945, he was retired from Hampton as Professor Emeritus of Biology.

Much of Dr. Turner's research is of an applied nature. In 1918 and 1919, he was selected by the United States Department of Agriculture to investigate certain plant phenomena at Presque Isle, Maine. Among his much quoted research contributions are *Studies of the Mechanism of the Physiological Effects of Certain Mineral Salts in Alternating the Ratios of Top Growth to Root Growth in Seed Plants, American Journal of Botany*, Vol. 9, pp. 415-445, October, 1922; *The Effect of Varying Nitrogen Supply on the Ratios Between the Tops and Roots in Flax, Soil Science*, Vol. 21, pp. 303-306, 1926. Ten years of experiments in cotton breeding led Dr. Turner to the discovery of a strain of cotton which is practically pure for fine lock bolls. He found, also, that southern blight, suspected chiefly among herbaceous plants and caused by sclerotium rolfsil, will attack woody plants such as young apple trees. His studies on scotch broom (cytisus Scoparius) led to the development of methods for overcoming delayed germination in its seeds.

Chemistry:

Barnes, Robert Percy was born in Washington, D. C., in 1898. After graduating from high school, he studied at Amherst College, receiving his A. B. degree in Chemistry. In his Senior year at Amherst, he won a Phi Beta Kappa Key and was made Assistant in Chemistry. He then entered the Graduate School of Harvard University and became a brilliant student in Organic Chemistry. After receiving the M. A. degree in 1930, he continued graduate work at Harvard and received the Ph. D. degree in 1933.

Dr. Barnes has done extensive research on diketones. He is author and co-author of twenty or more research papers in leading scientific journals. Some of these are as follows: *The Tautomerism of Alpha*

Diketones .1. *Bendyl Phenl Diketones, Journal of the American Chemical Society*, Vol. 56, p. 211, 1934; *The Second Order of Beckmann Rearrangement*, Ibid., p. 1148; *The Action of Alkali on Certain Acylated Ketoximes* .1., *Effect on Structure and Configuration, Journal of the American Chemical Society*, Vol. 57, p. 1330, 1935; and *Steric Hindrance in Alpha Diketones Mesitylbenslgloxal*, Ibid., p. 937; *Preparation and Properties of o-Bromophenylbenzylgly-oxalmethylation of Alpha Diketones, Journal of the American Chemical Society*, Vol. 58, p. 1300, 1936. Dr. Barnes is recognized as one of America's outstanding organic chemists.

Calloway, Nathaniel O. was born at Tuskegee Institute, Ala., in 1907, where he received his elementary and secondary education. From 1926 to 1933, he was a student at the University of Iowa, receiving the B. S. degree in Chemistry in 1930 and the Ph. D. degree in Organic Chemistry in 1933. He was a Fellow in Chemistry during his graduate study at that institution. His doctoral dissertation, entitled, *Condensation Reactions of Furfural and Its Derivatives*, is considered significant. He collaborated with Dr. Henry Gilman in several original investigations, the findings of which were published jointly in several of the scientific journals. Among the joint studies of Calloway and Gilman were: *The Germicidal Action of Alkylated Deroic Acid, Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science*, Vol. 40, p. 81, 1933; *Friedel-Crafts Systhesis, The Chemical Review*, Vol. 17, pp. 327-392, 1935; and *Reaction in the Presence of Metallic Halides 1 Unsaturated Ketane Formation as a Side Reaction in Friedel-Crafts Alkalation, Journal of the American Chemical Society*, Vol. 59, pp. 809-811, 1937. These and other important studies in this field have been incorporated in Dr. Henry Gilman's two-volume edition on *Organic Chemistry*, which is used as a source book in many colleges and universities.

After completing his graduate work at the University of Iowa, Dr. Calloway accepted an appointment at Tuskegee Institute where he was Head of the Department of Chemistry from 1933 to 1935. During the following four years he was a member of the faculty of Fisk University in the Department of Chemistry. In 1940, Dr. Calloway became Research Fellow in the Department of Pharmacology, University of Chicago and Assistant Instructor in that department in 1942. While carrying on his work at the University of Chicago, he studied medicine in the University of Illinois Medical School, Chicago, receiving the M. D. degree in 1944. Soon thereafter, Dr. Calloway was appointed to the staff of the University of Illinois Hospital in Chicago, in charge of the ward of research medicine. He is especially interested in the application of chemistry to clinical endocrinology. He has already made substantial contributions to the field of endocrinology, significant among which is *Some New View-Points Concerning the Functions and Properties of the Melanophore Hormone.* In collaboration with Doctors R. M. McCormack and E. M. R. Geiling of the University of Chicago he has recently undertaken *Studies on the Chemistry of the Melanophore Hormone of the Pituitary Gland.*

Carver, George Washington, Agricultural Chemist, was born of slave parents in a one-room cabin near Diamond Grove, Mo., about 1864, possibly earlier. At the age of ten years, he was permitted by the Carvers, his former master and mistress, whose name he bore, to attend a small school for colored children at Neosho, a village eight miles distant. Subsequently, Carver went to Minneapolis, Kansas, where he completed his high school studies. After three years attendance at Simpson College, he entered Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts at Ames, graduating in 1894 with the B. S. degree, and a record of high scholarship in the various aspects of plant life and Agriculture. For two years more, Carver was a graduate student in the same institution, having been placed in charge of the greenhouse of the Horticultural Department. He received his M. S. degree in 1896. Soon thereafter, he received an invitation from Booker T. Washington to become a member of the faculty at Tuskegee Institute, which he accepted. Here, during a period of forty-seven years, Dr. Carver carried on scientific and practical work in Agriculture of the highest quality earning for himself and his institution recognition throughout the world.

Immediately upon his arrival at Tuskegee Institute, Dr. Carver became active in helping to solve the problems of Agriculture, peculiar to the South, with a view to improving the wasteful and haphazard methods of farming which were almost everywhere in evidence. He began to teach the farmers how to grow a better grade of cotton; how to have a more varied and palatable diet; how to make better use of their natural resources; how to diversify their crops profitably. To help the rural population of the South, he prepared and published for free distribution circulars, leaflets, and bulletins on such subjects as: *Experiments with Sweet Potatoes; Saving the Sweet Potato Crop; Possibilities of the Sweet Potato Crop in Macon County, Alabama; How to Grow the Cow Pea and Forty Ways to Prepare it as a Table Delicacy; How to Grow the Tomato and 105 Ways of Preparing it for Human Consumption; Saving the Wild Plum and 43 Ways to Save the Wild Plum Crop; The Canning and Preserving of Fruits and Vegetables in the Home;* and hundreds of other bulletins and leaflets of a very practical nature.

A natural event in 1914 motivated the practical researches of Dr. Carver for awhile. The coming of the cotton boll-weevil from Mexico at that time threatened to destroy the major, almost single, cash crop of the South. By the summers of 1915 and 1916, the boll-weevil's ravage had extended over large sections of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida. Dr. Carver gave his attention to the possibility of developing other crops that might in time become permanent cash crops in Alabama and in other sections of the Cotton Belt. The sweet potato and the peanut, he thought, were better than most other crops for this purpose. The United Peanut Association of America, being convinced of the possibilities, and seeking aid from the Federal Government in the form of a protective duty against foreign peanuts, arranged for the appearance of Dr. Carver before the House Ways and Means Committee in Washington. In his presentation to the Committee, he astonished its members by the following facts:

The lowly peanut, Dr. Carver pointed out, had already yielded about one hundred and forty-five different foods and other useful articles. These included ten kinds of milk, five kinds of punches — blackberry, cherry, lemon, orange, and plum—salted peanuts, two grades of flour, two grades of meal, five breakfast foods, novel flavorings for ice-cream, cakes, and various confections, nine wood stains, black ink, face cream, face powder, and four kinds of stock food. Since 1921, when this list of products from the peanut was demonstrated, numerous other discoveries by Dr. Carver have brought the total up to three hundred. Included in the newer list are: cheese, dyes, instant coffee, lard, linoleum, axle grease, printer's ink, shampoos, and oil for medical purposes. Dr. Carver also developed one hundred and eighteen products from the sweet potato. Among these are chocolates, caramels, dyes, flavorings, flour, ginger, meal, molasses, paste, rubber compounds, shoe polish, and wood-fillers. In addition to the scientific products mentioned above, eighty-five from the pecan have been credited to the genius of Dr. Carver. To particularize his hundreds of scientific discoveries would require volumes.

In 1939, Dr. Carver was awarded the Theodore Roosevelt Medal by the Roosevelt Memorial Association for distinguished achievement in science. The medal was presented with the following eulogy:

"For the medal for distinguished service in the field of science, Mr. President, I have the honor to present not a man only, but a life, transfused with passion for the enlarging and enriching of the living of his fellow man; a prolific inventor; a patient investigator of the diseases of plants; a scientist, humbly seeking the guidance of God; a liberator, to men of the white race as well as the black; a bridge from one race to the other, on which men of good will may learn of each other and rejoice together in the opportunities and potentialities of their common country."

Many other honors have come to this distinguished scientist. In 1916 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, London; in 1923, he received the Spingarn Medal, an annual award given by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the person of African descent making the highest achievement in a specific field of endeavor for a given year; in 1928 Simpson College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Science and in 1941 the University of Rochester conferred upon him the same degree; in 1935 he was appointed collaborator in the Bureau of Plant Industry, United States Department of Agriculture, Division of Mycology and Disease Survey; in 1941 also he was presented a silver plaque which carried with it an award of $1,000 by the Variety Clubs of America, naming him the outstanding humanitarian of 1940.

The George Washington Carver Foundation came into being on February 10, 1940 when Dr. Carver donated his life's savings of $33,000 to establish it; and before his death on January 5, 1943 he bequeathed his entire estate to the Foundation making a total of approximately $60,000. In 1938, the Trustees of Tuskegee Institute had set apart a brick building on the campus to house the George Washington Carver Museum, the priceless collections, laboratories, and office of Dr. Carver. The great scientist, supervised the setting up of the exhibits in the Museum where many of his discoveries and art productions are now preserved. Dr. Carver did more than any other Negro scientist to make known the scientific potentialities of his race.

The research program of the Carver Foundation emphasizes two major areas of interest: (1) the utilization of agricultural wastes, which offer economic possibilities; and (2) the development of food products from agricultural resources with the point of view of creating new markets for such foods.

The commercial program of the Carver Museum offers graduate students the opportunity to gain experience by actually working on industrial problems. The program was initiated in September, 1944. Some of the projects which the Foundation has investigated or has under investigation are: (1) the utilization of agricultural wastes for making pulp for paperboard, sponsored by a New York firm which manufactures package containers, and carried on by Dr. C. T. Mason, a member of the Foundation; (2) research on ink, sponsored by the Parker Pen Company by Miss Gladys Williams, under Dr. Mason's direction; (3) research on certain food products, sponsored by a food manufacturing company in Chicago and carried on by Miss Katheryn Emanuel under the direction of Dr. W. E. Belton of the Department of Chemistry and of the Carver Foundation.

Dr. Belton and Mr. E. J. Jefferson of the Poultry Husbandry Department have also collaborated on research relating to poultry nutrition.

Hall, Lloyd A. was born in Elgin, Illinois, in 1894. He is a graduate of Northwestern University, from which institution he received the Ph. C. degree in 1914 and the B. S. degree in 1915. He was a Sanitary Chemist, Department of Health Laboratories, Chicago, 1915 to 1919; Chief Chemist, John Morrell and Company, Ottumwa, Iowa, 1919 to 1921; President of Chemical Products Corporation, Chicago, 1921 to 1924; Consultant for Griffith's Laboratories, Chicago, 1925 to 1929; Chief Chemist and Research Director of the same corporation from 1929 to the present. Mr. Hall has published several papers having to do with the following: *Colloids and Emulsions; Protein Hydrolysates; Sterilization of Foods, Colloids and Enzymes; Chemotherapeutic Products;* and *Food and Biological Chemistry.* About seventy-five patents in the United States, Canada and Great Britain are in his name. He is a member of the three-man Illinois Foods and Standards Commission; Fellow of the American Institute of Chemists; member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; a member of the American Public Health Association; and charter member of the Institute of Food Technologists. During World War II, Mr. Hall served as a consultant in the subsistence development and research laboratories of the Quartermaster Corps of the United States Army.

Julian, Percy L., born in Montgomery, Ala., in 1899, is one of America's foremost chemists. After graduating from high school in his native State, he did his undergraduate study at DePauw University, graduating in 1920 as valedictorian of his class and as Phi Beta Kappa orator. Julian then studied at Harvard University, receiving the M. S. degree in Organic Chemistry. Later, he went to Austria where he received the Ph.D. degree in Chemistry at the University of Vienna in 1931. While a student there, he first became interested in the soy bean, which was being imported to Germany for the manufacture of certain drugs, among them physostigmine. Julian noticed that despite considerable work over a seventy-year period, no one knew the exact chemical constitution of physostigmine nor why it caused the pupil of the eye to contract.

After returning to America, Dr. Julian was made Research Professor at DePauw University in which position, with the assistance of Dr. Josef Pipl, a German scientist, and six student assistants, he carried on research having to do with the structure and synthesis of physostigmine.

After much careful research he presented two papers before the American Chemical Society in which he announced a drug, the precursor of physostigmine. While Dr. Julian's work on Corydalis has been of great interest to phyto-chemists, his work on the structure of physostigmine is considered by his fellow scientists to be even more important. Chemists in many parts of the world—Germany, France and Japan—have praised his major researches in Chemistry. Karrer, in Switzerland, published in his *Treatise on Chemistry* a special reference to Julian's scientific work. The annual reports of the Chemical Society of London gave liberal space to Julian's findings. Likewise in his new two-volume treatise, *Organic Chemistry*, Gilman devoted several pages to his contributions.

After holding responsible positions in both white and Negro universities, Dr. Julian became a director of research and manager of the Fine Chemicals Department in the Soya Products Division of Glidden Company, Chicago. In this capacity, he discovered a new process for isolating and preparing commercially soy bean protein and hormones. Within a year's time, it is reported, he had converted a $35,000 loss to a $135,000 profit. Recent patents applied for by Glidden Company are in Dr. Julian's name. These deal with the isolation of pure protein from oleagenous seeds, the preparation of plastic materials, the making of cold water paints and the isolation of sterole from soy bean oil. Dr. Julian has prepared the way for the entrance of many Negroes into the field of industrial chemistry.

Knox, William Jacob was born in Bedford, Mass., in 1904. He received his B. S. degree from Harvard University, 1925; M. S. from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1929; and his Ph. D. degree from that institution in 1935. Dr. Knox was instructor at Johnson C. Smith University, 1925-1928; Howard University, 1928-1934; Professor and Head of the Department of Chemistry, Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, N. C., 1935-1937; and Professor in Department of Chemistry, Talladega College since 1937. Two of his published papers are: *Dissociation Constants* and *Absorption Spectra.*

Dr. Knox supervised the work of a small group of Negro scientists at Columbia University on the atomic bomb.

Mathematics:

Blackwell, David H. was born in Centralia, Ill., in 1919. After receiving the A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Illinois, he did advanced work in Mathematics, 1941-42, as Rosenwald Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J. Dr. Blackwell has published original studies in some of the standard journals of Mathematics. The following are some of his contributions: *Idempotent Markoff Chains, Annals of Mathematics*, Vol. 43, pp. 560-567, 1942; *The Existence of Anormal Chains, The American Mathematical Society*, Vol. 51, pp. 465-468, 1945.

Claytor, William Schieffelin was born in Virginia in 1908, where he received his early education. His undergraduate work was done at Howard University, at which institution he majored in Mathematics, receiving the B.S. degree in 1929. Later, at the University of Pennsylvania, after three years of graduate study in Mathematics and related studies, he received the Ph.D. degree. His paper, read before the American Mathematical Society in 1933, based on his doctorate dissertation under the title, *Immersion of Peanian Continum in a Spherical Surface, was* later published in the official bulletin of *The American Mathematical Society*, June-January, 1933 edition.

Having been granted a Rosenwald Fellowship for further research in Mathematics, Dr. Claytor engaged in post-doctoral studies, 1935-36, at the University of Michigan. Becoming interested in Topology, he did some special studies in this field, the results of which he published in some of the scientific journals. Two of these should be mentioned: *Topological Immersion of Peanian Continum in Spherical Surface, Annals of Mathematics*, Vol. 35, pp. 808-835, 1934; and *Continua Imbeddable in a Spherical Surface, Annals of Mathematics*, Vol. 38, pp. 631-646, 1937.

Coleman, Robert, Jr. born in Texas in 1915, evidenced great talent and promise in Mathematics. At the age of seventeen, Coleman received the B.S. degree from Western Reserve University, the youngest student ever to graduate from that institution. His excellent and outstanding scholarship won for him the coveted Phi Beta Kappa Key. In 1940, Coleman was granted a Rosenwald Fellowship which enabled him to complete advanced studies in Mathematics at Columbia University. Here he received the Ph.D. degree in June, 1941. His doctor's dissertation was entitled, *The Development of Informal Geometry.* Coleman's very promising career was brought to an end by his death in Los Angeles, California, November 21, 1941.

Pierce, Joseph A. was born at Waycross, Ga., in 1902. Upon graduating from Atlanta University where he received the A.B. degree in 1925, he began his teaching career. After spending four years as a classroom teacher, Pierce studied a year at the University of Michigan, majoring in Mathematics, and receiving the M.A. degree in 1930. For the following eight years, he taught in Wiley College. Returning to the University of Michigan, he completed the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in Mathematics in June 1938. In 1940, Dr. Pierce, in collaboration with Professor Ralph A. Edmonson, also of Wiley College, wrote a textbook on Mathematics entitled, *Introduction to College Mathematics With Applications.* In 1940, Dr. Pierce published *A Study of a Universe of N-Finite Populations with Applications to Moment Function Adjustment for Grouped Data, Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, Vol. II, pp. 311-334, 1940. Three years later, he published another study, *Correction Formulas for Moments of Grouped Distribution of a Discreate Variate, Journal of American Statistical Association*, Vol. 38, pp. 57-62, 1943. His most recent contribution is entitled *On the Summation Progressions Useful in Times Series Analysis, Journal of American Statistical Association*, Vol. 39, pp. 387-389, 1944. Dr. Pierce is constantly engaged in productive research. He is now a member of the Atlanta University faculty.

Wilkins, J. Ernest, Jr. is the youngest among the accomplished Negro mathematicians. After completing high school in Chicago, his native city, he entered the University of Chicago where he graduated with honors in 1940 at the age of sixteen. In the three and a half years during which he was an undergraduate student there, he had completed a regular four year college course, had qualified for membership in Phi Beta Kappa, and had been selected as one of six ranking students in the National Mathematics Contest sponsored by the Mathematical Association of America. Young Wilkins continued his graduate studies at the University of Chicago receiving his M.S. degree in 1941 and his Ph.D. in Mathematics in 1942. His doctoral dissertation was entitled, *Multiple Integral Problems in Parametric Form in the Calculus of Variations.* As a Julius Rosenwald Fellow, Dr. Wilkins continued the advanced study of this problem at Princeton University in the Institute for Advanced Study.

The areas of Mathematics in which Dr. Wilkins has made substantial contributions are Calculus and Geometry. His other contributions in the form of publications are as follows: *On the Growth of Solutions of Linear Differential Equations, The American Mathematical Society*, Vol. 50, pp. 388-394, June, 1944; *A Special Class of Surfaces in Projective Differential Geometry, Duke Mathematical Journal*, Vol. 10, December, 1943; *The First Cononical Pencil, Duke Mathematical Journal*, June, 1943; and *Definitely Self-*

Conjugate Adjoint Integral Equations, Duke Mathematical Journal Vol. 11, March, 1944.

Dr. Wilkins is now working for the American Optical Company, New York City, as a research mathematician. Previous to this, he spent two years on the faculty of Tuskegee Institute and worked during the war with an atomic bomb group of scientists.

Woodard, Dudley Weldon, who received his Ph.D. degree in Mathematics at the University of Pennsylvania in 1928, has made special contributions in his major field. His dissertation offered in partial fulfillment of the requirements for this degree was entitled, *Two Dimensional Analysis Situs With Special Reference to the Jordon Curne Theorem.* While Professor of Mathematics at Tuskegee Institute he published a study, *The Tuskegee Geometry,* which appeared in *School Science and Mathematics,* Vol. 13, p. 400, 1933. He is also author of the textbook, *Practical Arithmetic,* which was published by Tuskegee Institute. Dr. Woodard is now devoting a large part of his research efforts to one of the unsolved problems of Topology; namely, the characterization of the H-dimensional manifold. He has published studies in line with the solution of these problems, among which should be mentioned: *The Characterization of the Closed N-Cell, Transactions of the American Mathematical Society,* 1937.

Medicine:

Drew, Charles Richard was born in Washington, D. C., in 1905. After completing his primary and secondary education in Washington, he entered Amherst College, where he achieved the Phi Beta Kappa key and the A.B. degree with honors in 1926. He then enrolled in the McGill University Medical College, Montreal, Canada, majoring in Surgery and receiving the M.D. degree in 1933. Subsequently, he studied at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, where he was awarded a doctorate in Medical Science. He also received at Johns Hopkins Hospital in 1941 a certificate issued by the American Board of Surgeons, of which he is a member.

Dr. Drew is author and co-author of numerous articles in the field of his special interest, among which are: *Studies in Blood Preservation, Journal of Laboratory and Clinical Medicine,* 25: pp. 240-245, 1939; *Studies in Blood Preservation, Journal of American Medical Association,* 112: pp. 2263-2271, 1939; *Studies on the Preservation of Placental Blood, American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology,* 70: p. 859, 1940; and *Newer Knowledge of Blood Tranfusions, Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine,* 1941.

Dr. Drew is recognized as an authority on the preservation of blood plasma for emergency transfusions. His dissertation for the D.Sc. degree in Surgery at Columbia University was on "Banked Blood." Soon after completing his researches in this connection, Dr. Drew received a call from London for help. This was in 1940 when the German Luftwaffe blitzes were creating havoc in that city. Drew answered the call and accepted the position of Medical Supervisor in the Blood Plasma Division of the Blood Transfusion Association in New York in charge of the collection and preparation of blood plasma for the British Army. In February of 1941, after a year of invaluable service in this capacity, Dr. Drew was made Director of the Red Cross Blood Bank in New York City and Assistant Director of Blood Procurement for the National Research Council. In this position, he had charge of the collecting of blood plasma for use by the United States Army.

Dr. Drew returned to Howard University where he was soon promoted to a full professorship and made head of the Department of Surgery. In 1942, the American Board of Surgery made him an examiner and in the same year he was given the E. S. Jones Award for Research in Medical Science at the John A. Andrew Memorial Clinic at Tuskegee Institute. In recognition of his blood plasma work, he was awarded the much coveted Spingarn Medal.

Hernandez, Rafael born of Spanish-speaking parents in Toa Baja, Puerto Rico, in 1897, is a talented scientist of varied interests and accomplishments. Dr. Hernandez obtained his first college instruction in the field of Pharmacy at the University of Puerto Rico where he was granted a license to practice this profession in 1919. Soon after, he came to the United States where his achievements have been widely recognized. Condensed to their briefest form, the account of the accomplishments of Dr. Hernandez, listed chronologically, are as follows:

1925—Licensed to practice Pharmacy in the State of Michigan.
1928—Received M.D. degree, magna cum laude, Meharry Medical College, Nashville, and licensed to practice Medicine by the Tennessee State Board.
1930—Became Clinical Assistant, Neurological Institute of New York.
1931—Assistant in Neurology, Vanderbilt Clinic, Presbyterian Hospital, New York City.
1936—Certified to practice Neurology by American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology.
1937—Certified to practice Psychiatry by American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology.
1940—Received Bachelor of Laws degree, Kent College of Law, Nashville.
1941—Licensed to practice Law in the State of Tennessee.
1942 to 1945—Served as Major in the Medical Corps, United States Army, specializing his service as a Neuro-psychiatrist. In 1944, he completed a United States Army course in Electro-encephalography at Mason General Hospital, Brentwood, New York.

Dr. Hernandez, Chairman of the Department of Anatomy of the Meharry Medical College, is recipient of many awards for meritorious service to the United States. Chief among his scientific publications, frequently quoted by fellow scientists, are *Lead Poisoning*, *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 6:1, pp. 121-146, and II, pp. 319-355, 1932; and *Acute Aseptic Meningitis*, *Journal National Medical Association*, 27: p. 115, August 1935. Dr. Hernandez has two textbooks to his credit: *A Laboratory Guide to Microscopic Anatomy*, 1945, and *Applied Neuro Anatomy*, in process of revision.

Johnson, Joseph Lealand was born in Philadelphia, Pa., 1895. After completing his high school studies in the city of his birth, he entered Pennsylvania State College, graduating with the B.S. degree in 1919. Majoring in Physiology and Medicine at the University of Chicago, he received the M.D. degree and the Ph.D. degree from that institution in 1931. The following partial list of his published contributions indicate his research interests: *Experimental Chronic Hyperparathyroidism*, *Transactions of the Association of American Physicians*, 46: pp. 162-170, 1930; *Experimental Chronic Hyperparathyroidism Osteitis Fibrosa Produced in Rats*, *American Journal of Medical Sciences*, 183: pp. 761-768, June 1932; *Experimental Chronic Hyperparathyroidism: Osteitis Fibrosa Produced in Puppies*, *Ibid.*, pp. 169-175; *Experimental Chronic Hyperparathyroidism: Effects of Administration of Irradiated Ergosterol*, *Ibid.*, pp. 776-784. Other studies include: *Endocrine System in Relation to Dental Problems*, and *Influence of Calcium Salts Upon Blood Sugar.* Since 1931, Dr. Johnson has been a member of the faculty of the School of Medicine at Howard University.

Lawless, Theodore Kenneth was born in New Orleans in 1892. He received the A.B. degree from Talladega College, 1914; the M.D. degree from Northwestern University, 1919, and M.S. from that institution in 1920. He has studied in Austria, Switzerland, Germany and France. During the year 1919-20, Dr. Lawless was in charge of medical laboratories in Northwestern University. He has been extraordinarily successful in the treatment of skin diseases. His attractive, well-equipped offices in South Side Chicago, in a Negro neighborhood, are constantly crowded with waiting whites, who constitute approximately 90 per cent of his patients. Not only patients but doctors in many parts of the world have sought his advice and help. The research laboratory at Chicago's Provident Hospital was donated by Dr. Lawless. Here he lectures frequently to doctors, internes and nurses on Dermatology. For more than twenty years, Dr. Lawless has taught and lectured in the Medical College of Northwestern University.

Quinland, William Samuel was born in Antigua, British West Indies, in 1885. Before leaving the West Indies, he began his higher education with a teacher's training course. Coming to the United States, Quinland's training record, briefly stated, is as follows: One year at Howard University, 1914-15; graduated from Oskaloosa College with B.S. degree; received M.D. from Meharry Medical College in 1919; did graduate study in Pathology and Bacteriology, Harvard Medical School, 1919-1922; and was Assistant in Pathology, Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, Boston, 1921-22; was certified by the American Board of Pathology, 1937.

Since 1922, Dr. Quinland has been a member of the faculty of Meharry Medical College, where he is Professor of Pathology and Secretary to the Medical Faculty.

Among Dr. Quinland's published contributions are: *Two Cases of Carcinoma of the Kidney; One with Invasion of the Inferior Vena Cava and Right Heart, Boston Medical and Surgical Journal,* 185: No. 13, 1921; *Congenital Malformation of the Intestine Artesia and Imperforate Anus: A Report of Twenty-Seven Cases, Boston Medical and Surgical Journal,* 187: No. 24, 1927; *Cancer of the Prostate—A Clinical Pathologic Study of 34 Cases in Negroes, Journal of Urology,* 50; No. 2, 1943; *Carcinoma of the Esophagus, Journal of the National Medical Association,* 27: p. 115, 1935; *Report of Three Cases of Melano-Sarcoma in Negroes—One With Massive Hemorrhagic Cystic Degeneration of Liver, Journal of National Medical Association,* 29: pp. 49-62, 1936; and *Stercoral Appendix in Negroes, Journal of National Medical Association,* 32: pp. 53-63, March, 1940. Dr. Quinland is widely recognized in the field of Pathology.

Physics:

Banks, Floyd R. was born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1913. Majoring in Physics, he graduated from Temple University in 1934. Three years later, he received the M.S. degree in the field of Physics at the University of Pennsylvania. Banks was a Fellow in Physics during the year 1938-39 in the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania, receiving the Ph.D. degree at the end of that year. His doctoral dissertation was entitled, *The Measurement of Self-Diffusion by the Use of Radio-Active Indicators.* This was the first time self-diffusion by radio-activity was done in zinc.

Dr. Bank's problem was initiated in the General Electric Laboratories where he experimented under the guidance of Dr. Louis N. Ridenour of the Randall Morgan Laboratory of the University of Pennsylvania. He is author and co-author of scientific papers explaining some original discoveries in Physics as follows: *The Measurement of Self-Diffusion in Metallic Zinc, The American Physical Review,* Vol. 57, p. 1067, 1939; *The Measurement of Self-Diffusion in Zinc, Single Crystals, The American Physical Review,* Vol. 59, p. 943, 1941. Recently, Dr. Banks accepted a position as Research Associate of Radiation at the laboratories of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Eagleson, Halson Vashon is a native of Bloomington, Ind. Born in 1903, he received his A.B. degree from the University of Indiana in 1926. During his undergraduate course, he proved himself an excellent student of Physics. The year following his graduation was spent in the Graduate School of the same institution from which he received the M.A. degree in Physics. In 1939, Eagleson was awarded the Ph.D. degree in Physics by the University of Indiana.

Among Dr. Eagleson's publications are the following: *The Effect of Humidity on the Reverberation Period of a Room, The Indiana Academy of Science Proceedings,* Vol. 40, p. 259, 1930; *A Simple Arrangement for Demonstrating or Photographing Diffraction Effects, The Morehouse Journal of Science,* Vol. 6, pp. 34-35, 1940. His most recent contribution was, *An Experimental Method for Determining Coefficient of Sliding Friction, The American Journal of Physics,* Vol. 13, pp. 43-44, 1945. Dr. Eagleson is Professor of Physics at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

Imes, Elmer Samuel, born in Memphis, Tenn., in 1883, graduated from Fisk University in 1903, and from the University of Michigan in 1918 with the Ph.D. degree; did noteworthy research in the field of Physics. His doctoral dissertation, *Measurement of the Near Infra-Red Absorption Spectra in Certain Diatomic Gases,* established for the first time that the quantum theory could be extended to include the rotational states of molecules. Imes' work was verified by other physicists and was found by them to be of practical use in industry. The German scholar, Arnold Sommerfeld, included Imes' studies in the German textbook, *Atombau Und Spektrallinien,* and stated therein that "the first important results were obtained by Imes for HF, HC1 and HBr." Imes' investigations include a joint study done with Dr. H. M. Randall, *The Fine Structure of the Near Infra-Red Absorption Bands of Gases, HC1, HBr and HF,*" which was published in *The*

Physical Review, Vol. 15, pp. 152-155, February, 1920. His doctor's dissertation had already appeared in *Astrophysical Journal*, Vol. 50, pp. 251-276, November, 1919. Dr. Imes died in 1941.

The Negro Scientist In Industry

Among other Negro scientists trained as chemists, chemical engineers and bacteriologists, who now hold important posts in industry, are the following: Thomas Mayo, Chief Chemist for B. Heller and Company in Chicago; Dr. Nelson Glover, Senior Bacteriologist in the Chicago Department of Health Laboratories; Dr. Floyd Cooke, Research Chemist for the Corn Products Refining Company, Argo, Illinois; Wilburn Mollison Process Supervisor for the American Maize Products Company, Roby, Indiana; James Parsons, Chief Metallurgist for the Durion Company, Dayton, Ohio; Emile Beekman, Plastics Consultant, New York City; Dr. Henry Hill, Vice-President in charge of Organic Research for the Atwood Corporation, Newtonville, Massachusetts; Dr. W. Lincoln Hawkins, Research Chemist, Westinghouse Electric Company, Schenectady, New York; Dr. James Du Valle, Research Chemist, Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, New York; David Crosthwait, Research Engineer, C. A. Dunham Company, Michigan City, Indiana; and Maurice Moore, Purchasing Agent, Department of Drugs and Chemicals, New York City. Negro scientists are doing a commendable job as harbingers of interracial good will. Even before World War II, there were approximately 125 chemists employed in industry, a number which has increased to about 250.

Negro Scientists Contribute To The Atomic Bomb

Among the several thousand physicists, chemists, mathematicians, research associates and laboratory assistants who were employed by contract in certain developments of the atomic bomb, the War Department released the names of 12 Negro scientists.

"Employed by the Metallurgical Laboratories of the University of Chicago, under contract to the Manhattan District (on July 1, 1946, these laboratories became known as the Argonne National Laboratories) were the following:

*Edward A. Russell, Chicago, Illinois.
Moddie Taylor, Chicago, Illinois.
Harold Delaney, Chicago, Ilinois.
Benjamin Scott, Chicago, Ilinois.
**J. Ernest Wilkins, Chicago, Illinois."
Jasper Jeffries, Chicago, Illinois.

"The following, employed by the S. A. M. Laboratories of Columbia University, New York City, under contract to the Manhattan District, have a B.A. degree or better and have job classifications of research associate or higher:

George Sherman Carter, New York City.
Clarence DeWitt Turner, New York City.
Cecil Goldsburg White, Brooklyn, New York.
George Warren Reed, Jr., Washington, D. C.
Sydney Oliver Thompson, Brooklyn, New York.
William Jacob Knox, Jr., New York City."

Negroes Listed in "American Men of Science"†

There are included in the directory, American Men of Science, seventh edition, the names of Negro scientists who have contributed to the advancement of pure science or who are found in the membership lists of certain national societies as follows:

Alexander, Professor Lloyd Ephraim, Embryology, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.
Anderson, Professor Russell Lloyd, Zoology, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, North Carolina.
Baker, Professor Thomas Nelson, Jr., Organic Chemistry, Virginia State College, Ettrick, Virginia.
Banks, Professor Floyd Regan, Jr., Physics, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland.
Barker, Dr. Prince Patanilla, Neurology, Veterans Administration Facility, Tuskegee, Alabama.
Blackwell, Dr. David Harold, Mathematics, Statistics—Southern University, Scotlandville, Louisiana.
Branson, Professor Herman R., Biophysics, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
Brown, Dr. Russell Wilfred, Bacteriology, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.
Buggs, Professor Charles Wesley, Biochemistry, Bacteriology, Zoology, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

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*Chemist; **Mathematician.
†Prepared by the Editor.

Chase, Professor Hyman Yates, Zoology, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Cobb, Professor William Montague, Anatomy, Physical Anthropology, Washington, D. C.

Cooper, Professor Stewart Rochester, Chemistry, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Coruthers, Professor John Milton, Agriculture, Prairie View College, Prairie View, Texas.

Cox, Professor Elbert Frank, Mathematics, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Crooks, Dr. Kenneth B. M., Biology, Parasitology, Happy Grove College, Hectors River, Jamaica, British West Indies.

Crouch, Professor Hubert Branch, Zoology, Kentucky State Industrial College, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Cuff, Dr. John Reginard, Medicine, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dailey, Dr. Ulysses Grant, Surgery, Chicago, Illinois.

Davis, Dr. Toye George, Parasitology, West Virginia State College, Institute, West Virginia.

Derbigny, Dean Irving Anthony, Chemistry, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Dooley, Dr. Thomas Price, Genetics, Cytology, Prairie View College, Prairie View, Texas.

Dowdy, Professor William Wallace, Biology, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Eagleson, Professor Halson Vashon, Physics, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Finley, Professor Harold Eugene, Protozoology, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Forbes, Dennis Arthur, Chemistry, Nashville, Tennessee.

Green, Professor James Henry, Analytical Chemistry, State N. I. A. and M. College, Orangeburg, South Carolina.

Hall, Lloyd Augustus, Chemistry, Chief Chemist and Director Griffith's Laboratories, Chicago, Illinois.

Hansborough, Professor Louis Armstead, Embryology, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Harvey, Professor Burwell Towns, Jr., Chemistry, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Hazzard, Professor James William, Jr., Morphological Zoology, Southern University, Scotlandville, Louisiana.

Henry, Dr. Warren Elliott, Physical Chemistry, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Hill, Dr. Carol McClellan, Organic Chemistry, A. and T. College, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Hill, Dr. Henry Aaron, Organic Chemistry, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Hinton, Dr. William Augustus, Pathology, Bacteriology, State Department of Health, Boston, Massachusetts.

Howard, Professor Roscoe Conklin, Biology, Virginia State College, Ettrick, Virginia.

Hunter, Professor John McNeile, Physics, Virginia State College, Ettrick, Virginia.

Inge, Professor Frederick Douglass, Plant Physiology, Florida A. and M. College, Tallahassee, Florida.

Jason, Dr. Robert Stewart, Pathology, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Jeffries, Professor Louis Freeman, Chemistry, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia.

Johnson, Dr. Joseph Lealand, Physiology, Medicine, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Jones, Professor William Warren, Mathematics, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Kennedy, Professor Wadaran Latamore, Dairy Husbandry, A. and T. College of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Kildare, Professor Albert Alexander, Physics, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Kittrell, Dean Flemmie P., Nutrition, Hampton Institute, Virginia.

Knox, Professor William Jacob, Jr., Physical Chemistry, Talladega College, Alabama.

Lawless, Dr. Theodore Kenneth, Medicine, Chicago, Illinois.

Lawson, Professor James Raymond, Physics, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Lee, Professor James Summer, Bacteriology, Protozoology, North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham, North Carolina.

Lewis, Dr. Julian Herman, Pathology, Chicago, Illinois.

Lu Valle, Dr. James Ellis, Physical Chemistry, Rochester, New York.

McKinney, Professor Roscoe Lewis, Anatomy, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Maloney, Professor Arnold Hamilton, Pharmacology, Howard University School of Medicine, Washington, D. C.

Mack, Professor Jesse Jarue, Plant Physiology, Kentucky State Industrial College, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Mason, Dr. Clarence Tyler, Chemistry, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Maxwell, Professor U(cecil) Seymour, Biochemistry, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Moore, Professor Paul Joaquin, Organic Chemistry, West Virginia State College, Institute, West Virginia.

Morris, Professor Kelso Bronson, Chemistry, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

Murray, Dr. Peter Marshall, Gynecology, New York City.

Nabrit, Professor Samuel Milton, Morphology, Physiology, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

O'Hara, Professor Leon P., Physiology, Physiological Chemistry, Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama.

Perry, Dean Rufus Patterson, Organic Chemistry, Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma.

Pierce, Professor Joseph Alphonso, Mathematics, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

Poindexter, Professor Hildrus Augustus, Bacteriology, Parasitology, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Robinson, Professor William Henry, Mathematics, Physics, Tillotson College, Austin, Texas.

Rolfe, Dr. Daniel Thomas, Physiology,

Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee.

Simpson, Professor Cohen Thomas, Analytical Chemistry, Montgomery, Alabama.

Spaulding, Professor Major Franklin, Agronomy, Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma.

Sumner, Professor Francis Cecil, Psychology, Washington, D. C.

Talbot, Dr. Walter Richard, Mathematics, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Thornton, Professor Robert Ambrose, Physics, Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama.

Turner, Dr. Thomas Wyatt, Botany, Hampton Institute, Virginia.

Wall, Professor Limas Dunlap, Parasitology, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia.

Ware, Professor Ethan Earl, Zoology, Florida A. and M. College, Tallahassee, Florida.

West, Professor Harold Dadford, Biochemistry, Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee.

Wilkerson, Dr. Vernon Alexander, Biochemistry, Howard University, School of Medicine, Washington, D. C.

Williams, Professor Joseph Leroy, Zoology, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

Wilson, Professor Henry Spense, Inorganic Chemistry, Louisville Municipal College for Negroes, Louisville, Kentucky.

THE NEGRO IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES*

Sketches of social scientists who have made outstanding contributions in their respective fields are given below. For a broader view of contributions by others in the field of the Social Sciences see Part Five.

Bunche, Ralph Johnson, Political Science, was born in Detroit, Mich., August 7, 1904. He received the A.B. degree from the University of California, 1927; the A.M. degree from Harvard University in 1928 and the Ph.D. degree from the same institution in 1934. His post-doctoral work in Anthropology and Colonial Policy was done at Northwestern University, London School of Economics and the University of Capetown, South Africa, 1936-37.

He was Ozias Goodwin Memorial Fellow at Harvard, 1929; and received a Rosenwald Fellowship to Europe, England, North and West Africa, 1931-32; the Social Science Research Council Post-doctoral Fellowship in Europe, South and East Africa, Malaya and Netherlands Indies, 1936-38. He was a member of the staff of the Carnegie Corporations Survey of the Negro in America, Southern United States, 1939.

Dr. Bunche has been Assistant in Political Science, University of California, 1925-27; Instructor in Political Science, Howard University, 1928-29, Assistant Professor, 1929-33, Assistant to the President, 1930-31, Associate Professor, 1933-38, Professor, 1938 and Head of the Department, 1939. He was Co-Director of the Institute of Race Relations, Swarthmore College, 1936; Senior Social Science Analyst in charge of research on Africa and other Colonial areas, British Empire Section, Office of Strategic Services, 1941-42; Deputy Chief, near East-Africa Section, 1943; Chief, African Section, 1943. Represented the United States at the West Indian Conference, 1946; is a member of the Caribbean Commission and Chief, Division of Trusteeship, United Nations Organization, 1946.

He is the author of "*A World View of Race*," 1936; and has contributed to numerous scientific journals and magazines.

DuBois, William Edward Burghardt, History and Sociology, was born at Great Barrington, Mass., on February 23, 1868. He received the A.B. degree in 1888 from Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., and from Harvard University, in 1890. In 1891, he received his M.A. from Harvard and in 1895 his Ph.D. from the same institution. He has also studied at the University of Berlin. Honorary degrees conferred upon him are the LL.D. degree by Howard University, Washington, D. C., in 1930 and by Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga., in 1938; the Litt. D. degree was conferred by Fisk University in 1938; and the L.H.D. degree by Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio in 1940.

During his long and useful career, Dr. DuBois has been Professor of Greek and Latin, Wilberforce University, 1894-96; Assistant Instructor, University of Pennsylvania, 1896-97; Professor of Economics and History, Atlanta University 1897-1910; Director of Publications, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Editor of the Crisis Magazine, 1910-32; Head of the Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, 1933-44; Editor of Atlanta University Studies, 1897-1911; Editor-in-Chief of the Encyclopedia of the Negro since 1933; Editor, Phylon

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*Sources: Who's Who in America, 1946-47; Who's Who in Colored America, 1941-44; Data in the Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute.

Quarterly Review, 1940-44; Director of Special Research, N. A. A. C. P. since 1945; Fellow A. A. A. S.; Founder of the Pan-African Congresses.

Besides belonging to numerous learned societies, Dr. DuBois was elected to the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1944, being the first Negro so honored. The Liberian Government made him *Knight Commander of the Liberian Humane Order of African Redemption*. He was designated by President Coolidge as special representative at the second inaugural of President King of Liberia with the rank of *Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary*.

Dr. DuBois is a prolific writer, contributing articles to the outstanding magazines and journals of the country. His books are well known and are used extensively as text and reference volumes. He is the author of *The Suppression of the Slave Trade*, 1896; *The Philadelphia Negro*, 1899; *The Souls of Black Folk*, 1903; *John Brown*, 1909; *Quest of the Silver Fleece*, 1911; *The Negro*, 1915; *Darkwater*, 1920; *The Gift of Black Folk*, 1924; *Dark Princess*, 1928; *Black Reconstruction*, 1935; *Black Folk: Then and Now*, 1939; *Dusk of Dawn*, 1940; *Color and Democracy*, 1945; *The World and Africa*, 1946.

For almost fifty years the voice of DuBois has been heard either from the platform or through his writings on matters pertaining to the development and status of the Negro, not only in the United States but the world over.

Frazier, E. Franklin, Sociology, was born in Baltimore, Md., September 24, 1894. He received the A.B. degree, cum laude, from Howard University, in 1916; the A.M. degree from Clark University, (Worcester, Mass.), in 1920; the Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago in 1931. During the year 1920-21, he was Research Fellow at the New York School of Social Work; Fellow, American-Scandinavian Foundation to Denmark, 1921-22; Fellow, Guggenheim Foundation to Brazil and West Indies, 1940-41; Fel'ow, A. A. A. S. In 1945, he was elected President of the Eastern Sociological Society, the first Negro so honored, and in 1946 he was named a member of its Executive Committee.

During his career, Dr. Frazier has been a teacher at Tuskegee Institute, 1916-17; at St. Paul School, Lawrenceville, Va., 1917-18; the High School, Baltimore, Md., 1918-19; Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C., 1922; Morehouse College, 1922-24; Director of the Atlanta School of Social Work, 1922-27; Professor of Sociology, Fisk University, 1929-34; Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology, Howard University since 1934; lecturer in the New York School of Social Work.

Dr. Frazier is noted for his researches on the Negro family. Besides contributing to the leading sociological and current journals and magazines, he is the author of *The Negro Family in Chicago*, 1932; *The Free Negro Family*, 1932; *The Negro Family in the United States*, (Anisfield award for the best book in the field of race relations), 1939; *Negro Youth at the Crossways*, 1940.

He is a militant leader in matters pertaining to the status of the Negro.

Harris, Abram Lincoln, Economics, was born in Richmond, Va., January 17, 1899. He received the A.B. degree from Virginia Union University in 1922; the M.A. degree from the University of Pittsburgh, 1924; and the Ph.D. degree from Columbia University, 1931.

He was a member of the Consumers Advisory Board, National Recovery Administration, 1934; was awarded the John Simon Guggenheim Fe'lowship, 1935-36 and in 1943-44; the Simon Nelson Patten Fellowship, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1934.

He was Instructor in Economics, West Virginia State College, 1924; Secretary, Minneapolis Urban League, 1925-26; Assistant Professor of Economics, Howard University, 1927-28; Associate Professor, 1930-36, Professor, 1936; and Head of the Department, 1936-46. He was lecturer in Economics at the College of the City of New York in the summer of 1942.

He is the author of the following volumes: *The Black Worker*, 1931 (with Sterling D. Spero); *The Negro as a Capitalist*, 1936; and has contributed essays and articles to leading scientific journals, the Encyclopedia Britannica, and the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.

Haynes, George Edmund, Sociology, was born in Pine Bluff, Ark., May 11, 1880. He received the A.B. degree from Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. ir

1903 and the A.M. degree from Yale University in 1904. He studied at the University of Chicago during the summers of 1906 and 1907. In 1910 he was graduated from the New York School of Social Work and received the Ph.D. degree from Columbia University in 1912.

Dr. Haynes was Secretary, Colored Men's Department, International Committee, Y.M.C.A., 1905-08; Professor of Social Science, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn, 1910-20; Special Assistant on Negro Economics to the Secretary, United States Department of Labor, 1918-21; Co-founder and former Executive Director, National Urban League for Social Service Among Negroes; Special Adviser on Negro Work, Interchurch World Movement of North America, 1920-22; Member of the President's Unemployment Conference, 1920-21; Consultant on Work Among Natives in South Africa, International Survey of the Y.M.C.A., 1930; Secretary, Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 1922 to January 21, 1947. He is the originator of Race Relations Sunday and of the Inter-racial Clinic; Founder and first Secretary of the Association of Negro Colleges and Secondary Schools and formerly Vice-Moderator and First Vice-President of the Home Board of the Congregational Christian Churches.

His publications include, *The Negro at Work in New York City*, 1912; *The Negro Newcomer in Detroit, Mich.*, 1917; *The Trend of the Races*, 1922; articles, *American Negro Economic Life*, in *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1929 and 1939, and *Book of the Year*, 1938, 1939. *Negroes*, in the *Social Work Year Book*, 1935 and 1939; *Along the Interracial Front*, 1945. Co-Author: *Studies in Cotton-Growing Communities, No. 1, Alabama*, 1933; *Studies in Cotton-Growing Communities, No. 2, Arkansas*, 1935 and *The Clinical Approach to Race Relations. How to Promote Interracial Health in your Community*, 1946. He has also contributed to numerous journals and magazines.

Jackson, Luther Porter, History, was born at Lexington, Ky., July 11, 1892. He received the A.B. degree in 1914 from Fisk University, the A.M. degree, 1922, from Columbia University and the Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago, 1937. Since 1922, he has been Professor of History at Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

In civic and educational circles Dr. Jackson has been active and influential. He is founder and President, Virginia Voters League, Petersburg, Va.; Secretary, Civic Education, Virginia Association for Education, State Teachers Association; State Chairman, Better Civic Participation, Negro Organization Society and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; State Director, Civil Liberties, Virginia State Association of Elks; Member, Virginia World War II History Commission since 1944; Board of Directors, Southern Regional Council and Executive Committee, Virginia State Conference, N.A.A.C.P.

Besides lecturing widely on the history of the Negro and on civic participation, he has contributed historical articles to magazines and newspapers; has been columnist since 1942 for the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* and is the author of the following volumes: *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860; A History of the Virginia State Teachers Association; The Virginia Negro Soldier and Sailor in the American Revolution; Negro Officeholders in Virginia 1865-1895; The Voting Status of the Negro in Virginia* (annual handbook, since 1942, Virginia Voters League).

Johnson, Charles Spurgeon, Sociology, was born at Bristol, Va., on July 24, 1893. He received his A.B. degree from Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va., 1917; the Ph.B. degree from the University of Chicago in 1918. Virginia Union conferred the honorary degree, Litt. D. upon him in 1928 and in 1941 Howard University conferred the L.H.D. degree.

He was awarded the William E. Harmon gold medal for distinguished achievement among Negroes in Science for the year 1930; in 1945, he received the Chicago University alumni citation in recognition of his public service to the community, the nation and humanity. In the same year he was made President of the Southern Sociological Society. In 1946 he was one of the twenty educators on the American Commission who went to Japan to formulate a new educational program for that country. He was the American Member of the Commission appointed by the League of Nations to investigate forced labor in Liberia, 1930; Secretary of the Committee on Negro

Housing, President Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, 1931; Trustee of the Delta Cooperative Farm; Trustee, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Bethune-Cookman College, Encyclopedia of the Negro, Schomburg Negro Collections (New York Public Library); Director, Southern Rural Division of the Negro Youth Study for the American Youth Commission and Council on Education; Chairman, American Missionary Association Division, Board of Home Missions; Director, Race Relations Program, American Missionary Association; Co-Director, Race Relations Program, the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Secretary-Treasurer of the Sociological Research Association, 1943-44; Member of the Sociology Committee of the Tennessee Valley Authority, 1934; Member of the Executive Committee, Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching and of the Southern Sociological Society; Member of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy and of the Technical Committee on Tenancy; Member, Executive Committee, Southern Policy Committee; Member, Advisory Board of the National Youth Administration of Tennessee; Member of the Executive and Planning Committee, 1940 White House Conference on Children in a Democracy; Member, Editorial Board, American Sociological Review.

Dr. Johnson's activities in the field of Sociology have been many and varied. He was Director of Research and Investigations, National Urban League, 1921; Editor, Opportunity, 1923-29; and has been Director, Department of Social Science, Fisk University, 1928-1946; Director of the Institute of Race Relations, Swarthmore College since 1933; was elected President of Fisk University in the fall of 1946.

Besides his connections with various organizations, Dr. Johnson has written the following volumes: Editor, *Ebony and Topaz*, 1927; Co-author: *The Negro in Chicago*, 1922; *Race Relations*, 1923; *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*, 1935. Author: *The Negro in American Civilization*, 1930; *Economic Status of the Negro*, 1933; *Shadow of the Plantation*, 1934; *Preface to Racial Understanding*, 1936; *The Negro College Graduate*, 1936 (Anisfield Award, 1938). *Growing Up in the Black Belt*, 1941; *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties*, 1941; *Patterns of Negro Segregation*, 1943; *To Stem This Tide*, 1943; *Education and the Cultural Process*, 1944.

His contributions to scientific and other current journals and magazines have been numerous. Dr. Johnson is one of the leading authorities in America in the field of Race Relations.

Locke, Alain Leroy, Philosophy, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on September 13, 1886. He was graduated from the Philadelphia School of Pedagogy in 1904 and received his A.B. degree from Harvard University in 1907. He was Rhodes Scholar from Pennsylvania at Oxford University (England), 1907-10. He studied at the University of Berlin, 1910-11; and received his Ph.D. degree from Harvard University in 1918.

Dr. Locke has been connected with Howard University since 1912 as Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Education, 1912-16 and Professor of Philosophy since 1917. He was statistician of the New Jersey Semi-Centennial Commission of the Negro, 1912-14 and Personnel Officer and Instructor, War Aims, Howard U.S.A.T.C., 1917-18. In 1943, he was Inter-American Exchange Professor to Haiti, and in 1946 was elected President of the National Adult Education Association, the first Negro so honored.

Besides being a member of a number of learned societies Dr. Locke has written numerous articles for leading journals and magazines. He is the author of *Race Contacts and Interracial Relations*, 1916; *The New Negro*, 1925; *The Negro in America*, 1933; *Frederick Douglass, a Biography of Anti-Slavery*, 1935; *The Negro and His Music*, 1936; *Negro Art—Past and Present*, 1937; *The Negro in Art*, 1941; Co-Author, *When People Meet: A Study in Race and Culture Contact*, 1941; Editor, *Plays of Negro Life*, 1927; *Bronze Booklet Series-Associates in Negro Folk Education*, 1937.

"His philosophical writings include, *The Problem of Classification in Theory of Value; Values and Imperatives in American Philosophy: Today and Tomorrow.* His studies on the philosophy of value are regarded as original contributions in a highly controversial field."

Dr. Locke has also made a notable

contribution to the aesthetic side of Negro life as a critic of outstanding note and as a patron of the fine arts.

Logan, Rayford W., History, was born in Washington, D. C., January 7, 1897. He received the A.B. degree from Williams College in 1917; the A.M. degree from Harvard University, 1932; and the Ph.D. degree from the same institution in 1936. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and was made *Commander of the National Order of Honor and Merit of the Republic of Haiti.* He is also a member of the Advisory Committee of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, remained a number of years in Europe as Secretary and Interpreter of the Pan-American Congresses and has served as Secretaire-adjoint of the Pan-American Association.

He has been Head of the Department of History and Government, Virginia Union University, 1925-30; Assistant to the Editor of *The Journal of Negro History*, 1932-33; Head of the Department of History, Atlanta University, 1933-38; Professor of History, Howard University, 1938-42; and Head of the Department of History, Howard University since 1942.

The writings and publications of Dr. Logan include: Editor of *The Attitude of the Southern White Press Toward Negro Suffrage, 1932-1940*, 1940; *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776-1891*, 1941; *The Operation of the Mandate System in Africa, 1919-1927, With an Introduction on the Problem of Mandates in the Post-War World*, 1942; *What the Negro Wants*, 1944; *The Negro and the Post-War World*, 1945; *The Senate and the Versailles Mandate System*, 1945.

He is not only known for his contributions to scientific journals and magazines, but is considered an authority on Latin-American problems.

Reid, Ira DeA., Sociology, was born in Clifton Forge, Virginia, July 2, 1901. He received the A.B. degree from Morehouse College, 1922; A.M., University of Pittsburgh, 1925; Ph.D., Columbia University, 1939; London, 1939. Instructor, Texas College, 1922-23; Douglas High School, Huntington, West Virginia, 1923-24; Industrial Secretary, New York Urban League, 1925-28; Director of Research, National Urban League, 1928-34; Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University, 1934-44; Consultant, Social Security Board, 1936-41; Chairman, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, 1944—; formerly Associate Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta; Visiting Professor of Sociology, School of Education, New York University, 1946—; Visiting Professor of Sociology, Haverford College, Pennsylvania, 1946—. Author: *Adult Education Among Negroes*, 1936; *The Urban Negro Worker in the United States*, 1938; *Negro Membership in American Labor Unions*, 1930; *The Negro Immigrant*, 1939; *In a Minor Key*, 1940; and, with Arthur Raper, the volume, *Sharecroppers All*, 1941. Editor of *Phylon, The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture*, 1944—.

Articles published have appeared in the following journals: *Phylon*, *The Virginia Quarterly*, *Social Forces*, *Opportunity*, *Crisis*, *International Journal of Religion*, *Journal of Negro Education*, and others.

Wesley, Charles Harris, History, was born in Louisville, Ky., December 2, 1891. He received his A.B. degree from Fisk University in 1911, his M.A. degree from Yale University in 1913. He was a student at The Guilde Internationale, Paris, 1914 and at The Howard University Law School, 1915-16. The Ph.D. degree was conferred by Harvard University in 1925.

In 1928, he received the honorary degree, D.D., from Wilberforce University; the degree LL.D. from Allen University in 1932, from Virginia State College in 1943 and from Morris Brown University in 1944.

He held positions at Howard University as follows: Instructor in the Teaching of History, 1913; Instructor in History, 1914-18; Assistant Professor of History, 1918-19; Associate Professor of History, 1919-20; Professor and Head of the Department of History, 1921-42; Director of the Summer School, 1937; Acting Dean, College of Liberal Arts, 1937-38; Dean of the Graduate School, 1938-42. Since 1942 he has been President of Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio.

He was Guggenheim Fellow, London, 1930-31; and received a Grant-in-Aid, Social Science Research Council, 1936-37.

He is the author of the following studies: *Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925*, 1927; *Richard Allen: Apostle of Freedom*, 1935; *The*

History of Alpha Phi Alpha, 1930; revised editions, 1935 and 1942; *The Collapse of the Confederacy*, 1938; *A Manual of Research and Thesis Writing for Graduate Students*, 1941: Editor, *The Negro in the Americas*, 1940; Contributor to *What the Negro Wants*, 1944.

Besides contributing to scientific journals and magazines, Dr. Wesley has lectured widely on various phases of the history of the Negro.

Woodson, Carter Godwin, History, was born at New Canton, Buckingham County, Va., on December 19, 1875. He studied at Berea College (Ky.), for two years and at La Sorbonne, Paris. He received the A.B. degree from the University of Chicago in 1907, the A. M. degree from the same institution in 1908 and the Ph.D. degree from Harvard University in 1912. The honorary degree, LL. D., was conferred on him by Virginia State College in 1939.

During his distinguished career, Dr. Woodson has been teacher in the high schools of Washington, D. C., 1909-18 and Principal of Armstrong Manual Training High School, Washington, D. C., 1918-19; Dean of the School of Liberal Arts, Howard University, 1919-20; Dean at West Virginia Collegiate Institute, W. Va., 1920-21; Executive Director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; President and Chairman of the Board of the Associated Publishers, Inc., Washington, D. C.; Founder and Editor since 1916 of the Journal of Negro History, and of the Negro History Bulletin, 1937. In 1925 he founded Negro History Week.

Dr. Woodson is considered an authority on the history of the Negro. His outstanding publications are: *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, 1915; *A Century of Negro Migration*, 1918; *History of the Negro Church*, 1921; *The Negro in Our History*, 1922; *Negro Orators and Their Orations*, 1925; *Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830*, 1925; *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830*, 1925; *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters During the Crisis*, 1925; *African Myths*, 1928; *Negro Makers of History*, 1928; *The Rural Negro*, 1930; *The Negro Professional Man and the Community*, 1934; *The Story of the Negro Retold*, 1935; *The African Background Outlined*, 1936; *African Heroes and Heroines*, 1939. Joint author: *The Negro Wage Earner*, 1930; *The Negro as a Business Man;* Editor, *The Works of Francis J. Grimke*, 1942 and other volumes.

Dr. Woodson has perhaps done more than any single individual to collect, preserve and publish the historical records of the Negro by making people generally interested in the Negro's background and in stimulating and training others to do scholarly research in the field of Negro history.

Work, Monroe Nathan, Editor, Bibliographer, was born in Iredell County, N. C., August 15, 1866. He graduated from the Chicago Theological Seminary in 1898, received the Ph.B. degree from the University of Chicago, 1902 and the A.M. degree from the same institution in 1903. In 1928, he received the William E. Harmon first award consisting of a gold medal and $400 for scholarly research and educational publicity. In 1942, he received the University of Chicago Alumni citation in recognition of his forty years of public service. Howard University conferred upon him the honorary degree, D.Litt., in 1943.

During his long and useful life, Mr. Work served as Professor of Pedagogy and History at the Georgia State Industrial College, Savannah, Ga., 1903-08; was founder and Director of the Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute 1908-38, from which he issued nine editions of the Negro Year Book. He was retired in 1938 and became Director Emeritus of the Department of Records and Research. In 1928, his *Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America*, was published, which is the most extensive bibliographical reference ever issued on matters pertaining to Negro life.

From 1938 to 1943, Mr. Work worked continuously on another and more comprehensive bibliography of worldwide scope and from the point of view of the contact of races and cultures, entitled, *A Bibliography of European Colonization, and the Resulting Contacts of Peoples, Races, Nations and Culture*. His death prevented his completing this work.

A valuable and unique collection of sociological and historical material, is that in the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, where a systematic day by day record of what is happening in the life of the Negro is kept, and where information is furnished to persons not only in the United States but all over the world. Besides contributing to sociological and other journals, Mr. Work was interested in all problems relating to the Negro and was particularly interested in lynching statistics, which he meticulously kept.

He died at Tuskegee Institute on May 2, 1945.

DIVISION IV

THE NEGRO AND EDUCATION

By W. Hardin Hughes

Pasadena, California

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Educational Equalization A National Problem

In a nation pledged to equal opportunity for all, the existence of educational imbalance anywhere becomes a serious problem. This is especially true at a time when opportunities not only to rise but even to enter the various spheres of economic, cultural, and civic life are increasingly conditioned by educational status. Only by equalizing educational opportunity and by providing the normal conditions for effective incentive can we insure the other kinds of opportunity so essential to democratic living. While each community and State can do much to reduce the imbalances that now exist, the ultimate problem of equalization is a national one.

Educational Problem Greatest in Rural America

In rural America, and especially in that part of it which lies south of the Mason and Dixon Line, the problem is greatest. There are between 12,000,000 and 13,000,000 children of school age born in the rural regions of America. Considerably more than half of these children, approximately 7,500,000, were born in the rural South, on the farms and in the villages and towns of less than 2,500 population. These constitute three-fourths of all the children of the South.

In the Southern Region, according to the United States Census Reports, the excess of birth rate over death rate has been sufficient to insure a continuing surplus of population. Especially is this true in the Cotton Belt of the South and in wide areas of the southern Appalachians. Within the South, however, there is a constant migration from rural to urban centers. The streams of migrating people sweep on into other States and, eventually, into other and distant regions. It has been pointed out by students of population that each generation more than 3,000,000 people born in the South move to other States than those in which they were born. All parts of the South have contributed their share to the out-of-state movement. The bearing of these facts on the problem of equalizing opportunity is obvious. When millions of southern migrants, whether white or Negro, become citizens of other States in which the people are better educated, they find themselves at a disadvantage in competition for work and positions in which there are educational requirements. For them, public education, by its regional imbalances, has reduced their relative status and opportunities.

Mobility of population, however, has not been sufficient to counter-balance the effects of human fertility in the South. Referring to the 1940 United States Census Report, we find a much higher ratio of school-age children to the general population in the South than in any other considerable section of the country. Of the 17 States having 250 or more children, ages five to seventeen years, per 1,000 population, 13 are Southern States. In four of these—Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina— there are more than 270 children of school age per 1,000 population, South Carolina leading the list with 296. When we compare this number with 197 in Illinois, 193 in New York, 178 in California, and with an average of 227 in the entire nation, we can comprehend the gravity of educational load in the South. Not only are there more children in each 1,000 population to be educated, but the number of adults to support the educational load is inversely affected.

Variation in Ability of States to Support Education

Variation in economic ability to support education is even more striking than imbalance in educational load.

If the two variables were parallel and in the same direction, the problem of equalization would be simplified; but since load and ability are inversely related, the difficulty of the problem is thereby multiplied. Almost without exception, the areas richest in number of school-age children are poorest in amount of wealth and income.

The eight States of the Union in which income per school-age child is least—listed in ascending order—are Mississippi, South Carolina, Arkansas, Alabama, North Carolina, Georgia, New Mexico, and Kentucky. Next above these, in ascending scale, are Tennessee, Louisiana, Oklahoma, West Virginia, North Dakota, Virginia, and Texas. Only one of the thirteen States usually designated as Southern, namely, Florida, is outside the group of sixteen in which the financial ability to support education is least.

Florida, although superior to twelve other Southern States in this respect, had in 1940 an income per school-age child of only $2,094, which is 83 per cent of the average for the entire nation. This, however, is large in comparison with approximately 37 per cent each for Alabama, Arkansas, and South Carolina, and 28 per cent for Mississippi. For the thirteen States in which Florida stands highest, the median ability to support public education is only 50 per cent of the national norm. It should be noted in this connection that the financial ability to support education in these Southern States is a wide variable—three times as great in the richest as in the poorest.

Variation in Effort of States To Support Schools

In the South, as in other regions of the United States, the effort made by the several States to support education is a variable. In the light of data published by the National Industrial Conference Board for the year 1940, we make the following observations: In terms of per cent of their total income which goes to the support of their public schools in thirteen Southern States, the financial effort to support education in these States is fairly representative of the country at large. On this basis, five States—Virginia, Florida, Arkansas, Georgia, and Tennessee—are somewhat below the average for the forty-eight States, the index numbers for effort in the five being 81, 84, 92, 95, and 98, respectively. The financial effort of Texas and Louisiana is represented by an index of 105 each in comparison with 100 for the nation as a whole.

The remaining six States of this Southern group, in ascending order according to effort—Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, West Virginia, and Oklahoma—have effort indexes of 107, 111, 111, 133, 133, and 144, respectively. While three of these States—Mississippi, West Virginia, and Oklahoma—stand high on the scale of financial effort, it is not correct to conclude that the Southern States are characterized by extraordinary effort. More than a third of these States, in fact, are not up to the average degree of effort of the other States of the nation. To thirteen Western and Mississippi Valley States belong the credit for greatly exceeding the normal degree of effort in supporting their public schools. The median index of effort for this group of non-Southern States is 130 as compared with 105 for the thirteen Southern States indicated above.

Variation In Educational Expenditures by States

The wide variation in expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools, together with the per cent of total income spent for public education in the several States, may be seen in table 1. It will be noted that the States which support a dual system of segregated schools, with few exceptions, spend the least for classroom instruction.

Table 1.

Comparative Expenditures For Public Elementary and Secondary School Education 1939-1940.

Expenditure Per Average "Standard Classroom" for the Year	State	Per Cent of Income Spent for Education	Expenditure Per Average "Standard Classroom" for the Year	State	Per Cent of Income Spent for Education
$4150	New York	2.61	1526	Iowa	3.15
3592	California	2.64	1520	Kansas	3.63
3281	New Jersey	2.88	1503	New Mexico	4.27
2535	Connecticut	1.89	1495	Idaho	3.34
2454	Massachusetts	2.20	1395	*Texas	2.71
2374	Rhede Island	2.02	1382	Nebraska	3.09
2364	Nevada	2.21	1378	Vermont	2.46
2271	Illinois	2.30	1316	*West Virginia	3.43
2248	*Delaware	1.90	1291	*Florida	2.15
2245	Washington	2.63	1256	*Louisiana	2.71
2168	Arizona	3.55	1255	*Missouri	2.55
2100	Michigan	2.30	1222	Maine	2.20
2056	Pennsylvania	2.49	1221	*Oklahoma	3.69
2042	Ohio	2.43	1107	South Dakota	4.14
1909	Wisconsin	2.63	1046	*South Carolina	2.86
1895	Oregon	2.53	922	*North Carolina	2.84
1820	Wyoming	3.16	910	North Dakota	3.41
1793	New Hampshire	2.24	862	*Virginia	2.09
1778	Minnesota	3.10	819	*Georgia	2.45
1772	Indiana	2.69	800	*Tennessee	2.51
1769	Colorado	2.95	748	*Alabama	2.74
1754	Montana	3.30	732	*Kentucky	2.45
1742	Utah	3.63	509	*Arkansas	2.37
1595	*Maryland	1.78	448	*Mississippi	3.41
			1600	United States	2.57

Sources: American Council on Education Report, 1944 and National Conference Board Record, 1941.
*States in which Negro-White Segregation prevails.

Problem Increased By Dual System of Education

Still further complicating the problem of equalization in education, is the dual system of segregated schools in the South. This system, doubly enforced by law and by mores even less flexible than law, exists throughout the Southern and Border States and in the District of Columbia. Approximately four-fifths of all Negroes in the United States have had access to none other than segregated schools for their public education. To thousands of Negroes in the South, not even segregated schools have been available.

How important, then, that we consider the extent to which equality of opportunity is provided in the general set-up and practices of this bifurcated system. Not only do the recent decisions of the courts suggest the wisdom of such consideration, but the interests of all, in the long run, require that we concern ourselves more seriously with the problem of equalization. Since there is, as many informed citizens in the South believe and as all comparative surveys show, a general tendency to make provision for white children first, to the neglect of Negro children, the facts should be carefully examined with a view to bringing practice more nearly in line with the American democratic creed.

EDUCATIONAL DISCRIMINATION

Educational Discrimination As Seen By Southern Editor

In an editorial of the Jackson, Mississippi, *Daily News* of June 4, 1942, the general fact of educational discrimination in the South is fairly stated as follows:

> "There has been deliberate neglect of school facilities for Negroes in Hinds County and in all counties throughout the state, and in the South generally. . . . This negligence has been quite bad enough in Jackson, but in the rural portions of the county, where we have a white population of only 5,331 as compared with a Negro population of 24,094, school facilities for Negro children are pitifully inadequate. . . .

Despite the fact that our enrollment of educable children is 43 per cent white and 57 per cent Negro, the Negro schools get only 9 per cent of the budget and white schools get 91 per cent. This is not only shameful, but in flagrant violation of decisions of the United States Supreme Court."

While discrimination is known to be great in matters pertaining to the education of Negroes throughout many States of the South, the discrimination is not equally great everywhere. But first let us get the general picture by examining the comparative expenditures per standard classroom unit in the segregated schools of the South. Table 2, derived from data in *Public School Expenditures*, by Norton and Lawler and published by the American Council on Education in 1942, reveals significant imbalances. While the correlation between expenditures and excellence in education is not perfect, it is nevertheless positive and significant.

Table 2.

Percentage Distribution of Classroom Units According to Levels of Current Expenditures in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1939-1940

Expenditure Level	1 United States	2 "Northern" States	3 17 Southern States & D. C.	4 Southern States & D. C. White	5 Southern States & D. C. Negro
$6000—6099.......	.08	.13			
5500—5999.......	.03	.08			
5000—5499.......	.12	.19			
4500—4999.......	.40	.62	.02	.03	
4000—4499.......	5.33	8.56	.00	.00	
3500—3999.......	3.77	5.86	.16	.21	
3000—3499.......	6.93	9.75	2.36	2.48	1.51
2500—2999.......	9.76	14.79	1.48	1.57	1.17
2000—2499.......	12.78	17.91	4.33	4.95	2.26
1500—1999.......	16.59	18.97	12.69	15.93	2.00
1000—1499.......	19.47	13.04	30.07	36.62	8.13
500— 999.......	19.26	9.73	34.93	35.70	32.36
0— 499.......	5.49	.27	14.06	2.56	52.59
Total Per Cent...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median.........	$1674	$2224	$1015	$1160	$476

Source: Public School Expenditures by John K. Norton and Eugene S. Lawler, American Council on Education, 1944.

Explanation: By "classroom unit" is meant: Thirty children enrolled in elementary or grammar school with twenty-seven in average daily attendance; or twenty-seven enrolled in high school, with twenty-five in average daily attendance. Read as follows: .08 of 1.00 per cent of the standard classroom units in the United States cost $6,000 or more per unit; while the median expenditure per standard classroom in the United States was $1,674. The other columns are to be read in the same way.

The contrasts in support of schools for white and Negro schools are appalling. It will be noted in columns 4 and 5 of table 2, for example, that the median expenditure per standard classroom unit in schools for white children is $1,160 as compared with $476 for Negro children. Only 2.56 per cent of classrooms in the white schools fall below the $500 cost level while 52.59 per cent of the classrooms for Negro children are below this level. By totaling the appropriate numbers, it will be noted that 61.8 per cent of classrooms for white children cost $1,000 or more per classroom unit while only 15.1 per cent of the classrooms for Negro children are at this cost level.

In table 3 may be seen the thirteen Southern States ranked according to the median expenditure for each per standard classroom unit. The ratio of imbalance for each State is also given. In column 1 of the table, it will be noted that Texas ranks first in median expenditure per unit as indicated by $1,395 in contrast with Mississippi's $448.

Table 3.

Southern States Ranked According to Expenditures Per Standard Classroom Unit, School Year, 1939-40

1 Median Expenditure Per Unit		2 Median Expenditure Per Classroom Unit In White and Negro Schools Compared				3 Difference Between White and Negro Expenditure Per Classroom Unit	
White and Negro Schools Combined		White Schools		Negro Schools			
State	Dollars	State	Dollars	State	Dollars	State	Dollars
Tex.	1395	Fla.	1478	W. Va.	1250	Okla.	—1
W. Va.	1316	Tex.	1469	Okla.	1221	W. Va.	73
Fla.	1290	La.	1376	Tex.	724	Tenn.	145
La.	1255	W. Va.	1323	Tenn.	676	Ark.	312
Okla.	1220	S. C.	1294	N. C.	599	Va.	403
S. C.	1022	Okla.	1220	Fla.	598	Ala.	537
N. C.	942	N. C.	962	Va.	548	Ga.	624
Va.	876	Va.	951	S. C.	432	Miss.	630
Ga.	819	Ga.	945	La.	352	N. C.	695
Tenn.	807	Ala.	840	Ga.	321	Tex.	745
Ala.	748	Tenn.	821	Ala.	303	S. C.	862
Ark.	508	Miss.	784	Ark.	265	Fla.	880
Miss.	448	Ark.	577	Miss.	154	La.	1024
Median State	942	Median State	962	Median State	548	Median State	624

Source: Public School Expenditures in the United States by John K. Norton and Eugene S. Lawler, American Council on Education, 1944.

These figures are for white and Negro classrooms combined. The range of expenditure per classroom unit in the Negro schools of these Southern States, as will be noted in section 2 of the table, is much greater. West Virginia with a median expenditure of $1,250 contrasts sharply with Mississippi's $154. In other words, West Virginia, during the normal school year 1939-40, paid eight times as much as Mississippi for each Negro classroom unit. Other striking comparisons may be seen in the same column. Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, for example, spent less than half as much as West Virginia per unit, while Alabama spent only one-fourth as much.

Not only is there a wide variation in the expenditures for Negro education in these States, but the ratios of imbalance between expenditures for Negro and white classrooms are significant. Only one State of the thirteen, Oklahoma, as can be seen in section 3 of table 3, had equalized expenditures for Negro and white classrooms. In Mississippi during the same period, 5.1 times as much was paid per white classroom unit as per Negro unit; while the median State, Arkansas, spent 2.2 times as much per white as per Negro classroom.

The following significant statement is quoted from Norton and Lawler's *Unfinished Business in American Education*: "In the United States there are 1,723,642 children of average daily attendance in 80,946 classroom units which are supported at a level of less than $600 a year. The seventeen states which maintain separate schools for white children and Negroes contain 92 per cent of such classroom units; in the other 31 states only 8 per cent are found.

"The classroom units costing less than $600 a year in the United States are accounted for as follows:

"1. Sixty-nine per cent (44,993 classroom units with an attendance of 1,270,881 children) are for Negro children in the seventeen states maintaining dual school systems.

"2. Twenty-three per cent (18,250 classroom units with an attendance of 383,981 children) are for white children in the seventeen states with dual systems.

"3. Eight per cent (6,703 classroom units with an attendance of 68,780 children) are for children in the 31 states which do not maintain dual school systems."

Imbalance In Salaries for White and Negro Teachers

The variables in teachers' salaries are no less conspicuous than the variables in total school expenditures. In Table 4, comparisons for white and Negro teachers in eleven Southern States are given. For the pre-war year, 1939-40, it will be noted in table 4, the salaries of white and Negro teachers in the public schools of these States were $910 and $504, respectively. The ratio of white to Negro salaries ranged from practically 1.0 in Oklahoma to 3.5 in Mississippi, the median ratio for the eleven States approximating 1.8. In other words, the average white teacher in these States received a salary 80 per cent greater than that of the average Negro teacher. A careful survey of salary differentials in the Southern States reveals that approximately $25,000,000 annually would have to be added to the salaries of Negro teachers to bring them up to the level of salaries received by white teachers. If, however, both salaries and teaching loads had been equalized, more than $30,000,000 would have been required in addition to the amount actually spent for public education in the Southern States.

Table 4.

Comparative Salaries of White and Negro Public School Teachers, 1939-1940

Annual Salaries				Difference Between White and Negro Salary	
White Teachers		Negro Teachers			
State	Dollars	State	Dollars	State	Dollars
La.	1193	Okla.	971	Okla.	27
Tex.	1153	Tex.	667	Ark.	263
Fla.	1147	N. C.	645	N. C.	265
Okla.	998	Va.	608	Va.	300
S. C.	953	Fla.	583	Ala.	466
N. C.	910	La.	504	Tex.	486
Va.	908	Ala.	408	Ga.	498
Ga.	901	Ga.	403	S. C.	562
Ala.	874	S. C.	391	Fla.	564
Miss.	821	Ark.	375	Miss.	586
Ark.	638	Miss.	235	La.	689
Median State	910	Median State	504	Median State	486

Source: Data in Report of Southern States Work-Conference on School Administrative Problems, 1941.

Comparative Teaching Loads In White and Negro Schools

Comparing the actual numbers of children enrolled in the classes of white and Negro teachers, we find that the white teacher, on the average, had a teaching load only 81 per cent as heavy as the Negro teacher. In Louisiana, the difference in load was greatest, being 66 per cent as great for the white teacher as for the Negro. It will be noted in table 5 that the average number of children enrolled in the Negro classroom of that State was 14 greater than the average number in the white classroom. Referring to table 4, we find that the average salary of the white teacher in Louisiana was more than twice that of the Negro teacher.

Table 5.

Comparative Teaching Loads in White and Negro Schools 1939-1940

Number of Children Per Teacher				Difference Between White and Negro Teacher's Load	
White Teacher		Negro Teacher			
State	Number	State	Number	State	Number
La.	27.5	Okla.	27.0	Okla.	2.0
Tex.	27.5	Fla.	32.1	Fla.	3.8
S. C.	27.9	Tex.	34.6	N. C.	4.3
Fla.	28.3	Va.	36.8	Va.	5.6
Okla.	29.0	S. C.	38.1	Tex.	7.1
Ga.	31.2	N. C.	38.2	Ga.	8.3
Va.	31.2	Ga.	39.5	S. C.	10.2
Ala.	31.7	La.	41.8	Ark.	10.3
N. C.	33.9	Ala.	42.3	Ala.	10.6
Miss.	34.0	Ark.	44.3	Miss.	13.5
Ark.	34.3	Miss.	47.5	La.	14.3
Median State	31.2	Median State	38.2	Median State	8.3

Source: Data in Report of Southern States Work-Conference on School Administrative Problems, 1941.

Comparative Values of School Plants for White and Negro Children

In eleven of the Southern States for which data were available, the ratios of imbalance in values of school plants for white and Negro children are great. The comparative inequalities may be seen in table 6. It should be noted that Louisiana, a State in which the value of school plant per white child is relatively high for the South, has the lowest rank of all in the matter of equalizing school plants for white and Negro children. The value of school plant per white child in this State is 6.7 times the value per Negro child. Excepting Kentucky, every State of this group has provided from 2.4 times to 6.7 times as liberally for white school plants as for Negro school plants, the median State providing 3.8 times as well for white children as for Negro children. It will be noted that in these eleven Southern States, an estimated $265,463,860 would be required to equalize the Negro school plants to the level of the white school plants. Furthermore, it should be said that even this amount spent for equalization would not make the Southern States school plants equal to the average of the country as a whole.

Table 6.

Comparative Values of Public School Plants and Amounts Needed to Equalize For Whites and Negroes, 1940

Value Per Child Enrolled				Value of School Plant Ratio of White to Negro		Amount Needed to Equalize for White and Negro	
White		Negro					
State	Dollars	State	Dollars	State	Ratio	State	Dollars
Fla.	269	Ky.	118	Ky.	1.2	Ky.	918,800
Tex.	243	Tex.	72	Va.	2.4	Ark.	9,253,000
La.	227	Va.	58	N. C.	3.0	Va.	12,762,520
S. C.	172	Fla.	54	Tex.	3.4	Ala.	22,065,000
N. C.	164	N. C.	54	Ark.	3.6	Fla.	22,673,900
Miss.	162	La.	34	Ga.	3.8	Ga.	26,188,200
Va.	142	Ga.	34	Ala.	4.8	N. C.	30,045,600
Ky.	139	S. C.	33	Fla.	4.9	S. C.	30,129,540
Ga.	129	Ark.	31	S. C.	5.2	La.	33,199,900
Ala.	116	Miss.	28	Miss.	5.8	Tex.	38,131,900
Ark.	111	Ala.	24	La.	6.7	Miss.	40,095,500
Median State	162	Median State	34	Median State	3.8	11 States Combined	265,463,860

Source: Data in Report of Southern States Work-Conference on School Administrative Problems, 1941.

Imbalances in Training For White and Negro Teachers

The comparative quality of education provided in white and Negro schools is affected by the training of white and Negro teachers in the schools of the South. Whether we consider the per cent of teachers who have completed four or more years of college study or the per cent who have less than two years of college education, the differences are greatly in favor of the white teachers. In tables 7 and 8, the comparative educational status of teachers is shown.

Table 7.

Comparative Education of White and Negro Public School Teachers, 1940

Had Completed 4 or More Years of College				Difference in Percentage of White and Negro Teachers in This Respect	
White Teachers		Negro Teachers			
State	Per Cent	State	Per Cent	State	Per Cent
N. C.	83.5	Okla.	65.8	W. Va.	16.2
S. C.	74.5	W. Va.	60.1	Okla.	4.2
Tex.	73.9	N. C.	55.9	Tenn.	4.3
Okla.	70.0	Tex.	54.3	Ark.	11.1
Miss.	62.2	Tenn.	37.8	Va.	14.0
La.	58.5	Va.	34.6	Tex.	19.6
Fla.	52.7	La.	28.9	Ga.	25.6
Ala.	51.9	Fla.	25.7	Fla.	27.0
Va.	48.6	S. C.	22.3	N. C.	27.6
Ga.	47.7	Ga.	22.1	La.	29.6
W. Va.	43.9	Ark.	20.6	Ala.	33.3
Tenn.	42.1	Ala.	18.6	Miss.	52.1
Ark.	31.6	Miss.	9.1	S. C.	52.2
Median State	52.7	Median State	28.9	Median State	25.6

Source: Data in Report of Southern States Work-Conference on School Administrative Problems, 1941.

Table 8.

Comparative Education of White and Negro Public School Teachers, 1940

Had Completed Less Than 2 Years of College				Difference in Percentage of White and Negro Teachers in This Respect	
White Teachers		Negro Teachers			
State	Per Cent	State	Per Cent	State	Per Cent
Okla.	0.5	Okla.	0.6	Okla.	0.1
N. C.	0.9	Tex.	3.0	Tex.	0.4
Tex.	2.6	W. Va.	3.3	Ark.	3.7
La.	3.1	N. C.	5.2	Va.	4.0
Va.	5.3	Va.	9.3	N. C.	4.3
Ala.	6.0	Tenn.	19.9	W. Va.	5.6
S. C.	6.9	Fla.	25.4	Tenn.	6.5
W. Va.	8.9	Ark.	32.2	Fla.	8.1
Ga.	10.3	La.	32.8	Ala.	29.6
Miss.	11.0	Ala.	35.6	La.	29.7
Tenn.	13.4	S. C.	40.4	S. C.	33.5
Fla.	17.3	Ga.	48.7	Ga.	38.4
Ark.	28.5	Miss.	84.7	Miss.	73.7
Median State	6.9	Median State	25.4	Median State	6.5

Source: Data in Report of Southern States Work-Conference on School Administrative Problems, 1941.

LEGAL EFFORTS TO EQUALIZE SALARIES OF WHITE AND NEGRO TEACHERS

Equalization Suits In Maryland

In November, 1939, Maryland became the testing ground in a legal battle destined eventually to outlaw on Federal Constitutional grounds the whole system whereby Negro teachers in the public schools of the Southern and Border States had been paid lower salaries than whites for the same kind of educational services. While this discriminating practice was general in the South, Maryland was the only State in which discriminating salary schedules were maintained by statute. Over a considerable period of time, however, the Negro teachers and principals of Maryland had been petitioning the legislature to repeal the discriminating statutes and to pass a law providing for equal salaries.

Equalization Suit In Montgomery County, Maryland

In 1936, attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were requested by the Negro teachers and principals to take the necessary legal action to remove the discrimination. The first case was in the form of a petition for a writ of mandamus filed in the Circuit Court of Montgomery County in the latter part of 1936 on behalf of William Gibbs, a Negro teacher-principal, to require the Board of Education of Montgomery County to equalize his salary with the salaries of white employees of like qualification.

An examination of the records of the Board of Education of the county and the scale of salaries revealed that white high school teachers were receiving maximum salaries of $1,571, as compared with $859 for colored teachers, or a difference of $712; and that white elementary teachers were receiving maximum salaries of $1,362 as compared with $631 for colored elementary teachers, or a difference of $731. Incidentally, these proportional differences in Montgomery County at that time were fairly representative of the differences in other counties of Maryland; but much less than those prevailing in the Southern States more distant from the border. This case was settled by an agreement with the County Board to equalize salaries.

Equalization Suit In Calvert County, Maryland

A second effort at equalization was made in Calvert County, Maryland, in November, 1937, and here as in Montgomery County, the legal case was settled out of court through an agreement by the Board of Education to equalize salaries. While further actions in other parts of the State were in the offing, they were withheld pending the approaching meeting of the legislature in which it was hoped salaries would be equalized by statute. Instead, the legislature increased the salary scale for white teachers, but refused to do anything about the Negro salaries, thereby increasing the differential.

Thereupon, action for an injunction was filed in the District Court of the United States for the District of Maryland by Walter Mills, plaintiff, for an injunction to restrain the State Board of Education from distributing the "Equalization Fund" of Maryland because of the discriminatory salary schedules in the Maryland code. Motion to dismiss was filed by the State officials. After argument, Judge W. Calvin Chestnut rendered an opinion on March 1, 1939, that the complaint should be dismissed unless the County Board of Education was a party.

The opinion of Judge Chestnut marked the first court opinion on the point of discrimination in teachers' salaries. This case also marks the first trial on the merits of such consideration and the decision is the first of its kind. The purpose of the plaintiff was to have the salary schedule in the statutes of Maryland declared unconstitutional and to secure an injunction.

The groups backing the contest for equalization of salaries pointed out that the differential of a half-million dollars in Maryland alone was a serious economic handicap not only to the Negro teachers, but to Negro citizens generally. The point was emphasized that the equalization in Montgomery County alone had brought an addition of some thirty thousand dollars annually into the pay envelopes of Negro teachers and that a subsequent survey disclosed that this money went into purchase and improvement of homes, the education of children, and the improvement of the teachers themselves through advanced training.

Equalization Suit In Anne Arundel County, Maryland

In November of the same year, Walter Mills sought in the District Court an injunction to restrain the Board of Education of Anne Arundel County and George Fox, County Superintendent of Schools, "from making any distinction solely on the grounds of race or color in the fixing of salaries paid white and colored teachers and principals in the schools of Anne Arundel County." The jurisdiction of the Federal Court was sought under the so-called Civil Rights statutes, title 8, sections 41 and 43.

In the decision of the court, favorable to the plaintiff, Judge Chestnut declared: "The court is not determining what particular amounts of salaries must be paid in Anne Arundel County, either to white or colored teachers individually, nor is the Board in any way to be prohibited by the injunction in this case from exercising its judgment as to the respective amounts to be paid to individual teachers based on their individual qualifications, capacities and abilities. It is only enjoined from discrimination in salaries on account of race or color."

Following the decision of the United States District Court in Mills vs. Anne Arundel County Board of Education, all cases pending in the State courts of Maryland to compel equalization of teachers' salaries were dismissed with the stipulation that equal salaries would be paid beginning with the school year 1940-1941. The decision rendered by Judge Chestnut was hailed everywhere by the believers in Constitutional rights as having far-reaching significance in that it provided a standard and precedent not only for the State of Maryland but for other Southern States as well.

Suit For Equalization In Norfolk, Virginia

A case similar to that of Mills' had been filed in the State courts of Virginia in 1939, but was denied. An appeal was prepared, but was not carried out by reason of the fact that the petitioner was dismissed by the School Board of the City of Norfolk before the appeal became perfected. As a result, the case became moot. Immediately, however, a new case was filed in the United States District Court, as the Mills' case had been, on behalf of Melvin O. Alston against the same defendants as in the previous case. To this suit the Board of Education filed a motion to dismiss chiefly on the grounds that Alston had signed a contract to teach during the year 1940-1941 for the alleged discriminatory salary and by so doing had waived any right to object to the unconstitutional basis upon which the salary was fixed. After a full day's argument, February 12, 1940, the court sustained a motion to dismiss, basing its decision upon the "sanctity of contract," holding that one who had voluntarily accepted the benefits of a contract could not question the constitutionality of its inception.

Against this view, counsel for Alston argued, in vain, that where two types of salary contract are offered—one for white teachers and another for Negro teachers—the acceptance by a Negro of the latter, where he has no choice as to the former, is not an election or waiver as to the benefits of the former. The tenor of this argument was that there can be no choice when the Negro is told that his only alternative is to accept the only contract offered him solely because of his race and color, or refuse to accept the position at all.

The case was then appealed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, where the decision rendered by that court characterized the differentials in salaries paid white and colored teachers in the Norfolk public school system as "discriminatory" and in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Hereupon, the School Board of the City of Norfolk carried the case to the United States Supreme Court, which refused to review the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals. This refusal on the part of the Supreme Court coupled with the seeming willingness of the defendants to accept the refusal as final and to settle with the Negro teachers without further litigation apparently brought to a successful conclusion another phase of the struggle of Negroes in Virginia for equal rights in educational matters.

The decision in the Alston case, while strictly applicable only in Norfolk, had a persuasive effect on many other communities in Virginia. Almost immediately, petitions to obtain the application of benefits of the decision in other communities were filed by the teachers of Richmond, Newport News, Roanoke and other cities and counties in Virginia.

Louisiana Teacher Wins Salary Suit

Miss Edna M. Lee, who had been dismissed by the Jefferson Parish School Board following her suit for salary equalization, was restored to her position with full pay from the date of dismissal. In handing down the decision, District Judge L. Robert Rivardo also ordered that she be paid legal interest for the accumulated salary. In the salary suit filed in Federal Court, March 27, 1943, Miss Lee charged that although she had been employed by the system since January, 1934, her salary at its highest was only $675 a year. White teachers were receiving no less than $880 a year. The principal of her school, the Kenner Colored School, was receiving $960 a year as compared with $2,000 received by white principals. Meanwhile, to circumvent the salary suit, the School Board on May 6, 1943, abolished the salary schedule and adopted a resolution implying equality, by making qualifications, experience and ability the only requirements.

General Effects Of Equalization Suits

Within the four or five years following the Maryland and Virginia decisions, other court opinions similar in nature were rendered in various parts of the South. By the end of 1943, the campaign for teacher pay equalization had reached eleven of the thirteen Southern States and in most of these States the local Boards of Education were attempting to follow the mandates of the law as a result of court action. In many places, however, the transition was taking place gradually even in those districts which were directly involved in the suits. Some time was usually allowed by the courts for the equalization to be completed. In North Carolina, $2,700,000 was set aside to eliminate the pay differential, the goal to be reached in the fall of 1945; while in Virginia, 26 of the 100 counties had equalized salaries or would do so by 1943-44, and plans had been adopted for such equalization in 19 other counties.

The South Carolina legislature, in 1943, empowered local trustees to set salaries on the basis of work done and its value to the districts. The Legislature of the State also authorized a 15 per cent increase in salaries for all teachers, and the State Board increased the maximum salary for Negro teachers from $60 to $75 a month. This top salary for Negroes compared with $100 for whites.

In Texas, the city of San Antonio was already paying Negro and white teachers on the same scale; and School Boards in Austin, Dallas, Wichita Falls, Palestine and certain other cities and counties had formulated plans for the equalization of salaries in from three to five years. Georgia had not yet equalized salaries, but a suit was pending against the Atlanta Board of Education; nor had Alabama begun a definite plan for equalizing the salaries of Negro and white teachers in the public schools of the State. In Arkansas, six counties had begun equalization programs and a suit was pending against the Little Rock Board of Education—a suit which, in 1945, was won by the Negro teachers of the State.

In Mississippi, the differential in teacher salaries was decreasing slowly, white teachers receiving an average of $90 a month for eight or nine months, and Negro teachers, $55 a month for six to eight months. Mississippi's Negro teachers, however, were being warned against filing suit for the equalization of salaries. In a conference of principals of Negro Schools held at Jackson College in October, 1943, State Superintendent of Education J. S. Vandiver expressed the belief that a resort to court action would mean the loss of friendship of those whom, he declared, had given full evidence of their sympathetic interest in

Negro education and progress of the race. Pointing to the advancement obtained in salaries since his election, eight years before, Superintendent Vandiver set forth a plan to be presented to the State Legislature, which, if adopted, would go into effect in July, 1944, advancing salaries of Negro teachers to $480 per year in an eight months' school term. This plan, however, has not been adopted.

Equalization Suit In Tampa, Florida

A typical scheme to avoid paying Negro teachers as much salary as white teachers receive, under like conditions, was revealed in an equalization suit in Tampa, Florida, in the spring of 1943. The Hillsborough County School Board, involved in the suit, contended that lower salaries for Negroes were justifiable for the following reasons: (1) it costs the Negro teacher less to acquire the qualifications to teach; (2) living costs for Negro teachers are less than for white teachers; (3) the principle of supply and demand should be taken into account since more Negro teachers are available; (4) Negro teachers in Hillsborough County are in the highest income brackets in their race, while white teachers are in the lowest bracket; and, finally, (5) under the new schedule, it was claimed, no discrimination was really made because each teacher received salary in proportion to her worth to the system. This worth of the teacher was determined, it was claimed, by a rating technique in which three classifications were used—A1, A2 and A3. Teachers qualifying for A1 rating received highest salaries while teachers in the A3 classification received the lowest salaries. It was pointed out, in criticism of the administration of the scheme, that almost all white teachers were in the A1 category while the teachers in A3 were almost exclusively colored. Federal Judge John W. Holland, as expected, upheld the contention of the Negro plaintiffs that they were discriminated against in the matter of salaries.

Equalization Suit In Charleston, South Carolina

In February, 1944, a consent order permanently enjoining the Charleston city school authorities from discriminating between white and Negro teachers in pay schedules was signed by Federal District Judge J. Waites Waring in Charleston. It was provided in this order that 50 per cent of the differences be met at the beginning of the 1944-45 school term in September and that salaries be fully equalized at the beginning of the 1946-47 school term, beginning in September, 1946. Under this order, a Negro teacher receiving $50 a month on the unequalized basis would receive $75 a month for the 1944-45 and 1945-46 school terms, but at the beginning of the 1946-47 term she would receive $100, that is, if the salary of the white teacher under similar circumstances was $100 as formerly.

Equalization Suit In Little Rock, Arkansas

The fight of Negro teachers in Little Rock, Arkansas, for equal salaries was carried to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth District in May, 1945. The Little Rock teachers had filed their original suit in the United States Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas in September, 1942. They charged that Negro teachers with the same training and experience, performing essentially the same duties, were being paid less than white teachers and that the differential was due solely to race and color. On March 10, 1944, Judge Trimble decided against the Negro teachers and gave judgment for the defendant School Board. It was from this decision that the Negro teachers appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals and obtained a reversal of the decision of the lower court. After the decision, all salaries in the Little Rock city schools were increased, but the salaries of Negroes were increased most. This was the first case of the kind to be carried to the Appellate Court.

Equalization Suit In Newport News, Virginia

In May, 1945, Judge Sterling Hutcheson of the Federal District Court rendered an opinion in the case of the Negro teachers in the Newport News school system against the Newport News School Board in which he said the Board had not complied with the order of the Court to equalize salaries of white and Negro teachers and that an order would be prepared charging the Board with contempt of court. The original case was instituted in the Federal District Court in 1942. Following hearing of the testimony, an order of the Court was entered in January, 1943, enjoining any differential, based solely upon race or color, in payment for services rendered. Failure of the Newport News Board to comply with this order resulted in a further suit filed in May, 1944, to force compliance, and it was in consequence of this suit that Judge Hutcheson rendered his latest decision. The failure of the Board to comply with the earlier decisions of the court entailed considerable expense to the Newport News district: To its own lawyer, $6,000; to law attorney for teachers, $3,000; to court costs, $1,000; and to back pay for the Negro teachers, $21,000.

Southern Editorial Comment On Court's Decision In Newport News Equalization Case

Commenting on the opinion rendered by Judge Hutcheson in the Virginia equalization case, the *Newport News Press*, May 28, 1945, editorially declared: "The decision is just another episode in the progress of democracy toward the higher reaches. It is another step towards equality of treatment under the law of a segment of our people that, in some places in the South, constitutes fifty per cent of the population, and locally, as much as thirty-five per cent. It is another instance of government in a Southern community being forced to do something that it could have done far better out of its own initiative. How long," the editorial continues, "will it take the South to realize that it is being held back by reason of its resistance to improvement in the economic and social status of the Negro? . . . Education—or, rather, the lack of it—lies at the root of all the deficiencies that beset the South."

Equalization Suit In Jefferson County, Alabama

In May, 1945, a decision handed down by Judge T. A. Murphee of the United States District Court, Birmingham, Alabama, declared "unlawful and unconstitutional" salary differentials based on race. The suit ending with this decision meant that beginning with the September term of school in Jefferson County, Negro and white teachers' salaries should be equalized and based on individual qualifications. The opinion was rendered in the case of William J. Bolden, Principal of the Leeds School. The decree cited decisions by other Federal Courts which establish the principle that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits any discrimination because of race. Dr. John E. Bryan, Superintendent of Jefferson County public schools, agreed that the decision was fair and that no appeal would be made. He gave assurances, furthermore, that it was the intention of the School Board to be fair to Negro teachers and "not to discriminate against them."

The new salary schedule proposed immediately by the Jefferson County Board of Education, however, was discriminatory in that pay was based upon classification of teachers trained in "accredited" colleges and those trained in "approved" institutions. While this kind of classification seems to apply equally to Negro and white teachers, there is a difference. The Alabama State training institutions for Negro teachers were not on the "accredited" list at the time most of these teachers were receiving their training, while the State colleges for the training of white teachers have long been "accredited." About 80 per cent of the Negro teachers in Jefferson County were trained in "non-accredited" colleges; while most of the white teachers were trained in "accredited" colleges. A year after the court decision was handed down, the Negro teachers of Jefferson County were expressing their dissatisfaction because of the fact that discrimination was still practiced against them. The minimum salary of whites and Negroes had been equalized, but not the maximum salaries.

Equalization Of Salary Decisions In Columbia, South Carolina And Greenville, South Carolina

In June, 1945, United States District Judge Waring rendered a similar decision concerning the equalization of salaries of Negro and white teachers in Columbia, South Carolina, and in the Richland County School District No. 1 of that State. While the order was not to become effective until April 1, 1946, it required that whatever salaries were arranged should be retroactive to the beginning of the school year, 1945-46. The Greenville, South Carolina, School Board anticipating a similar court order, adopted in August, 1945, a salary schedule based on ratings achieved by teachers under a new re-certification plan, thus removing salary differentials, based on race and color, from the Greenville city system.

North Carolina First State To Equalize Salaries

In the summer of 1944, North Carolina took the final step toward eliminating the differences in salaries of Negro and white public school teachers. At its June meeting of that year, the State Board of Education approved plans for completing the equalization with surplus funds expected at that time to be on hand during the 1944-45 school year, thus fulfilling a pledge made a decade before to the Negroes of North Carolina. While court decisions in other States seemed necessary to bring about the equalization of salaries, no such court action in North Carolina was resorted to. Negro teachers and the State Government chose to bring about equalization under an agreement covering a period of years.

When the Advisory Budget Commission met in the fall of 1942 to draw up the 1943-45 appropriations bill, it was proposed to the Commission that it recommend the wiping out of the differential during the 1943-45 biennium. The Commission favored adoption of the war bonus to all State employees and voted to leave for the 1945 General Assembly the final step in removing the differential in teacher salaries. Governor Broughton maintained that the State could no longer ignore the final step, since revenues had become sufficient to finance the undertaking. The Governor's judgment prevailed and the North Carolina practice, with respect to equalization of Negro and white teachers' salaries, has become an example to the States throughout the South.

Trend In Equalization Of Salaries

No attempt has been made in the foregoing accounts to include all court contests for the equalization of salaries. Those given, however, are typical and indicate clearly the general trend. In the light of precedents now well established, any State or Board of Education can be reasonably certain, in advance of costly suits, as to what the final decisions of the Federal Courts will be. It is to be expected, however, that certain States and communities will lag in carrying out the dictates of the Federal Courts. Many subterfuges will, in all probability, be resorted to before anything approaching equalized salaries will become common in the South.

FEDERAL AID AND EDUCATION

Federal Aid To Education Needed

While many of the comparisons made concerning educational imbalances in the public schools are in terms of 1940 data, and pertain to a "normal" pre-war period, the imbalances at the beginning of the post-war period are equally great. Most of the States have increased their expenditures for education, but none of them have done so to the extent of the inflation of prices in general. Education, like many other things, was rationed during the war years. Teachers were drawn from the classroom into more remunerative employment; school buildings and equipment were allowed to deteriorate; and the efficiency of schools was correspondingly lowered. The inequalities of educational opportunity in the public schools still prevail.

How to secure more balanced and equitable opportunities for Negro and white children is still a major problem in America and especially in the States of the South. While several States in this region can increase their effort, thereby providing somewhat more liberally for the support of their public schools, Federal aid must be secured before the South can equalize educational opportunities even at the levels of support now prevailing.

Legislation For Federal Aid To Education

As we have seen, communities differ in their abilities to support education. Complicating the problem of financing the schools is the fact that children and the means for educating them tend to be locally separated. The States in which the proportion of children to the adult population is greatest are, with minor exceptions, the States in which the average incomes are smallest. These and other facts equally significant explain, in large measure, why the expenditures for elementary and secondary schools in the South are relatively small. Invariably, the smaller the amount of educational funds in the South, the greater the probability that Negro children will get less than their legitimate share.

Within recent years, several measures for the Federal aid of education have been considered by various committees in Congress. In 1945 and 1946, there were bills pending in both the House of Representatives and in the Senate calling upon the Government to allocate considerable funds annually to the support of public education, based on a formula that would give the poorest States the greatest share of the funds. One of these bills (S-637), introduced by Senator Lister D. Hill (D) Alabama, and Senator Elbert D. Thomas (R) Utah, in 1943, provided that $200,000,000 of the funds to be appropriated would go to payment of teachers' salaries and that $100,000,000 would be apportioned to the several States on the basis of need.

This, no doubt, was a meritorious bill and one which, in its original form, could probably have been passed by the Senate. An amendment, proposed by Senator William Langer (R) North Dakota, however, caused the bill to be sent back to the Senate Committee on Education. The amendment reads as follows: "Provided, That there shall be no discrimination of the benefits and appropriations made under the respective provisions of this act, or in the state funds supplemented thereby on account of race, creed or color."

Regardless of what should have been done, it is evident that the phase, "or in the state funds supplemented thereby," is in conflict with the doctrine of States rights and could, therefore, be counted upon to jeopardize the entire bill. It is significant that the Senators who voted for the amendment—28 Republicans and 12 Democrats—were, with one or two exceptions, known opponents of the bill, who really wanted it killed and who seized upon the "no discrimination" clause as a smoke screen for their action.

Southern opposition to Federal aid for education is usually motivated by two fears: First, the fear that States rights will be interfered with; and, second, that racial segregation in the public schools will be abolished by Federal control. Northern reactionaries frequently play upon these fears to defeat measures that would especially benefit the South. There was nothing in the bill, however, concerning non-segregation in the schools of the South. The bill contained careful and detailed provisions requiring that wherever there are separate schools the Negro's share of all the money appropriated under this bill should be not less than the Negro's percentage of the population. Needless to say, the Langer amendment was sufficient to send the bill back to the Senate Committee on Education, where it has remained. There are some indications that the friends of the bill will have it brought out for reconsideration.

SOME BASIC STATISTICS RELATING TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES*

Years Of School Completed

The 1940 Census did not secure data directly on the number of "illiterate" persons in the United States. The nearest approach to this information is available in the data for the number of years of school completed. There were, at this date, 10 per cent of the total Negro population, 25 years old and over, who had completed no school years, as compared with 1.3 per cent for native whites. The percentage of Negro males with no school years completed was higher than that for females: 11.2 and 8.8, respectively. The relative percentages for native whites were 1.3 and 1.5, respectively.

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*From Section on Population by Dr. Oliver C. Cox.

Table 9.

Negroes and Native Whites 25 Years Old and Over, By Years of School Completed and Sex For the United States: 1940

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED	NEGRO			NATIVE WHITE		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Persons 25 years old and over	6,491,399	3,161,945	3,329,454	57,038,335	28,326,535	28,711,800
No years of school completed	646,229	352,940	293,289	764,384	431,671	332,713
Grade School: 1 to 4 years	2,033,957	1,097,140	936,817	3,457,673	1,979,135	1,478,538
5 to 6 years	1,393,053	648,342	744,711	5,513,101	2,891,352	2,621,749
7 to 8 years	1,286,656	577,975	708,681	20,558,596	10,540,144	10,018,452
High School: 1 to 3 years	549,666	224,084	325,582	9,842,214	4,699,997	5,142,217
4 years	268,481	108,120	160,361	9,447,826	3,980,761	5,467,065
College: 1 to 3 years	118,280	48,150	70,130	3,737,470	1,644,584	2,092,886
4 years or more	80,842	40,678	40,164	3,067,783	1,788,670	1,279,113
Not reported	114,235	64,516	49,719	649,288	370,221	279,067
Median school years completed	5.7	5.3	6.1	8.8	8.6	9.0
Per cent less than 5 years completed	41.3	45.9	36.9	7.4	8.5	6.3
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION						
Persons 25 years old and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	10	100.0
No school years completed	10.0	11.2	8.8	1.3	1.5	1.2
Grade School: 1 to 4 years	31.3	34.7	28.1	6.1	7.0	5.1
5 to 6 years	21.5	20.5	22.4	9.7	10.2	9.1
7 to 8 years	19.8	18.3	21.3	36.0	37.2	34.9
High School: 1 to 3 years	8.5	7.1	9.3	17.3	16.6	17.9
4 years	4.1	3.4	4.8	16.6	14.1	19.0
College: 1 to 3 years	1.8	1.5	2.1	6.6	5.8	7.3
4 years or more	1.2	1.3	1.2	5.4	6.3	4.5
Not reported	1.8	2.0	1.5	1.1	1.3	1.0

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1940.

The median number of years of school completed by Negroes and native whites, twenty-five years old and over, in 1940, were 5.7 and 8.8 respectively. However, there were, in this age group, 41.3 per cent of the Negroes who had completed less than 5 years of school as compared with 7.4 per cent for native whites. One and two-tenths per cent of the Negroes had 4 years or more of college, while 5.4 per cent of the native whites were included in this category. Table 9 presents this data. Somewhat similar information is shown for the States in Table 10.

Table 10.

Years of School Completed By Negroes and Native Whites, 25 Years Old and Over By States: 1940

STATES	NEGRO			NATIVE WHITE		
	Median Years	Per Cent with		Median Years	Per Cent with	
		Less than Five years	No School Years		Less than Five years	No School Years
Alabama	4.5	54.1	13.8	8.2	16.3	3.1
Arizona	7.4	23.8	5.0	9.6	9.0	1.6
Arkansas	5.2	46.8	8.6	8.1	15.3	2.2
California	8.3	16.1	3.5	10.8	3.6	0.5
Colorado	8.5	15.8	4.4	9.4	6.5	1.3
Connecticut	7.6	20.7	5.6	9.1	2.1	0.4
Delaware	6.1	36.5	9.5	8.9	6.7	1.0
District of Columbia	7.5	21.8	3.7	12.1	2.5	0.4
Florida	5.2	46.8	10.5	9.5	8.3	1.4
Georgia	4.2	58.6	14.1	8.4	16.6	2.9
Idaho	7.4	23.8	6.2	9.2	4.1	0.5
Illinois	7.7	20.3	4.3	8.8	4.5	0.6
Indiana	7.6	22.5	5.2	8.6	6.0	0.7
Iowa	8.0	18.0	4.7	8.8	3.3	0.4
Kansas	7.9	19.3	4.9	8.8	4.5	0.6
Kentucky	6.2	36.5	9.7	7.9	17.0	3.3
Louisiana	3.9	60.9	21.3	8.2	21.9	8.0
Maine	7.8	18.5	4.8	9.6	4.6	1.2
Maryland	5.8	38.1	6.6	8.1	13.8	2.6
Massachusetts	8.0	18.4	7.8	10.7	2.3	0.5
Michigan	7.6	21.4	3.9	9.0	4.7	0.6
Minnesota	8.4	14.4	3.1	8.7	4.4	0.5
Mississippi	4.7	52.5	11.7	8.9	10.3	2.0
Missouri	7.2	27.4	6.1	8.4	8.2	1.2
Montana	7.9	22.0	6.8	9.1	4.3	0.5
Nebraska	8.0	15.6	3.5	8.9	4.2	0.4
Nevada	7.8	19.3	5.7	10.7	3.6	0.6
New Hampshire	8.1	16.0	7.4	9.1	3.4	0.7
New Jersey	7.2	25.3	5.6	8.8	4.1	0.7
New Mexico	7.3	27.0	7.8	8.2	23.2	7.0
New York	7.8	17.3	3.7	9.0	3.2	0.8
North Carolina	5.1	47.8	11.2	8.1	18.9	3.9
North Dakota	....	....	3.3	8.5	6.4	0.7
Ohio	7.4	24.4	5.3	8.8	4.4	0.6
Oklahoma	7.0	28.9	6.8	8.5	11.6	1.8
Oregon	8.3	16.2	4.6	9.6	3.8	0.5
Pennsylvania	7.1	25.6	5.6	8.6	5.5	0.8
Rhode Island	7.6	23.2	10.2	8.8	4.4	0.8
South Carolina	3.9	62.4	15.6	8.7	18.0	3.1
South Dakota	7.3	18.3	3.3	8.7	5.0	0.5
Tennessee	5.8	40.1	8.6	8.0	17.6	3.2
Texas	6.1	36.4	8.0	9.3	12.6	3.0
Utah	8.4	15.5	2.7	10.7	3.4	0.6
Vermont	8.0	15.7	2.3	9.3	4.9	1.3
Virginia	5.0	48.2	11.8	8.3	15.6	3.4
Washington	8.1	18.5	5.1	10.0	3.8	0.5
West Virginia	6.5	33.6	8.7	7.9	14.0	2.5
Wisconsin	7.5	21.6	4.3	8.5	6.3	0.6
Wyoming	7.9	20.1	6.1	9.9	4.3	0.8

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1940.

School Attendance

As shown in Table 11 the number and percentage of Negroes under 20 years of age attending school has been constantly increasing. In 1900, 31 per cent of the Negroes 5 to 20 years of age were attending school; in 1940, this percentage more than doubled, 64.4.

Table 11.

Negroes 5 to 20 Years of Age Attending School For the United States 1900 to 1940

Year	Total Number	Attending School	
		Number	Per cent
1940	4,188,500	2,698,901	64.4
1930	4,128,998	2,477,311	60.0
1920	3,796,957	2,030,269	53.5
1910	3,677,860	1,644,759	44.7
1900	3,499,187	1,083,516	31.0

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1940.

Statistics Of Education Of Negroes 1941-42 And 1943-44*

"This is a brief summary of information on public elementary and secondary education of Negroes in 17 Southern States and the District of Columbia for the years 1941-42 and 1943-44.

"The outstanding features of these statistics are:

"1. Enrollments have decreased at both elementary and secondary levels. The secondary enrollments show a decline due to the boys entering the Army and the ease with which both boys and girls could secure employment during war years.

"2. The length of school term increased from approximately 157 to 164 days, an average of 7 days between 1941-42 and 1943-44.

"3. The percentage of the total number of pupils who were in high school grades decreased from 11.4 per cent to 10.9 per cent of the enrollment.

"4. Although there was a decrease of 21 per cent from 1941-42 to 1943-44 in the number of Negro pupils enrolled in the 12th grade, there was a decrease of only 9 per cent in the number of pupils graduating from high school, showing an increase in the holding power of the Negro high school.

"5. There has been a slight increase in the number of teachers. Coupled with the decline in enrollment, the pupil-teacher load decreased from an average of 37 to 35.

"6. Teachers' salaries have increased approximately 50 per cent since 1939-40. The per cent of increase being greater in the separate schools for Negroes than in the separate schools for white pupils or in schools for all pupils.

"7. The total value of property for schools for Negroes reported by 10 States increased during the biennium from approximately $95,000,000 to $99,000,000. This increase in value and the decrease in enrollment account for the increase in the value of property per pupil.

"8. The statistics in the accompanying tables show a general improvement in educational opportunities for Negro children."

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*Prepared by David T. Blose, Associate Specialist in Educational Statistics, Research and Statistical Service, U. S. Office of Education.

Table 13.

Grade Distribution in Public Schools, By Race, in 17 States[1] and the District of Columbia, 1941-42 and 1943-44

Grade	1941–42				1943–44			
	White		Negro		White		Negro	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grand total	7,350,663	100.0	2,386,471	100.0	6,893,498	100.0	2,276,742	100.0
Total elementary	5,604,782	76.3	2,113,288	88.6	5,407,849	78.4	2,029,368	89.1
Elementary:								
Kindergarten	45,054	0.6	7,339	0.3	49,527	0.7	8,515	0.4
First	973,924	13.3	593,369	24.9	933,119	13.5	539,762	23.7
Second	725,451	9.9	294,753	12.4	723,139	10.4	282,170	12.4
Third	724,683	9.9	279,985	11.7	708,393	10.3	271,737	11.9
Fourth	739,294	10.1	256,845	10.8	674,825	9.8	254,872	11.2
Fifth	700,785	9.5	234,320	9.8	651,779	9.5	225,511	9.9
Sixth	676,722	9.2	197,874	8.3	640,363	9.3	196,298	8.6
Seventh	643,362	8.7	171,974	7.2	601,027	8.7	163,629	7.2
Eighth	375,507	5.1	76,829	3.2	425,675	6.2	86,874	3.8
Total secondary	1,745,881	23.7	273,183	11.4	1,485,649	21.6	247,374	10.9
Secondary:								
First year	543,151	7.4	102,939	4.3	492,920	7.1	99,148	4.4
Second year	458,159	6.2	74,272	3.1	403,431	5.9	68,404	3.0
Third year	394,687	5.4	54,498	2.3	328,581	4.8	47,695	2.1
Fourth year	340,592	4.6	40,500	1.7	259,006	3.8	31,989	1.4
Postgraduate	9,292	0.1	974	....	1,711	....	138	....

[1] See footnote one to Table 12.

Table 12.

Statistical Summary of Negro Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in 17 Southern States and the District of Columbia[1], 1930-1944

Item		1929–30	1939–40	1941–42	1943–44	Percent increase or decrease 1939–40 to 1943–44
Total population[2]		9,585,417	10,275,347	(3)	(3)	....
Negro children 5–17 years of age, inclusive[2]		2,902,657	2,827,565	(3)	(3)	....
Pupils enrolled in elementary grades:	Total	2,169,992	2,174,262	2,113,288	2,029,368	—6.66
	Boys	1,039,227	1,072,281	1,042,309	1,004,789	—6.29
	Girls	1,130,765	1,101,981	1,070,979	1,024,579	—7.02
Pupils enrolled in high school grades:	Total	112,586	254,580	273,183	247,374	—2.83
	Boys	40,533	102,678	107,183	84,886	—17.33
	Girls	72,053	151,902	166,000	162,488	+6.97
Total enrolled in elementary and high school grades:	Total	2,282,578	2,428,842	2,386,471	2,276,742	—6.26
	Boys	1,079,760	1,174,959	1,149,492	1,089,675	—7.26
	Girls	1,202,818	1,253,883	1,236,979	1,187,067	—5.33
Average daily attendance		1,645,518	1,953,401	1,947,268	1,852,950	—5.14
Total number of days attended by all pupils enrolled		217,754,344	305,344,350	305,372,789	303,802,159	—.51
Average number of days attended by each pupil enrolled during the year		97	126	128	133	+5.56
Average length of school term in days		132	156	157	164	+5.13
Percent of school population enrolled		78.6	85.9	(3)	(3)	....
Percent of enrolled pupils in daily attendance		72.1	80.4	81.6	81.4	+1.24
Percent of pupils in high school grades		4.9	10.5	11.4	10.9	+3.81
Instructional staff: Total		51,278	64,476	66,172	66,553	+3.22
Elementary schools						
Supervisors		(4)	198	188	264	+33.33
Principals		(4)	365	501	516	+41.37
Teachers						
Men		6,246	7,883	7,548	4,489	—43.05
Women		39,801	46,098	47,323	49,954	+8.36
High schools						
Supervisors		(4)	34	55	34	0.00
Principals		(4)	599	699	789	+31.72
Teachers						
Men		2,395	4,575	4,492	3,658	—20.04
Women		2,836	4,724	5,366	6,849	+44.98
High School graduates:	Total	(3)	30,009	33,784	31,180	+3.90
	Boys	(3)	11,014	12,452	8,338	—24.30
	Girls	(3)	18,995	21,332	22,842	+20.25

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[1] The 17 States are Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virgina and West Virginia.

[2] United States Bureau of the Census.

[3] Data not available.

[4] Included with teachers.

Table 15.

Number of Instructional Staff, Salaries, and Pupil-Teacher Ratio in 17 States and the District of Columbia At Dates Indicated

State or District of Columbia	Number of instructional staff 1943-44			Average salary per number of instructional staff 1943-1944		Percent increase of Negro salaries 1943-44 over 1941-42	Percent white instructional salaries is greater than Negro instructional salaries		Negro pupil-teacher ratio in elementary and secondary schools	
	Total	Elementary	Secondary[1]	White	Negro		1941-42	1943-44	1941-42	1943-44
Total	66,553	53,113	13,440	$1,339	$ 929	....	....	....	37	35
Alabama	6,001	4,580	1,421	1,158	661	44	102	75	41	39
Arkansas	2,654	2,172	482	924	555	26	68	66	42	38
Delaware	253	178	75	1,953	1,814	21	25	8	28	28
Florida	3,341	2,414	927	1,530	970	45	91	58	31	30
Georgia	7,642	6,272	1,370	1,123	515	12	109	118	38	34
Kentucky	1,412	674	738	(3)	(3)	....	....	....	30	29
Louisiana	4,360	3,743	617	1,683	828	51	138	103	41	38
Maryland	1,757	1,270	487	2,025	2,002	26	9	4	36	35
Mississippi	6,499	6,039	460	1,107	342	51	215	224	43	42
Missouri	1,560	1,184	376	1,397	[2]1,590	13	(2)	(2)	33	31
North Carolina	7,410	6,181	1,229	1,380	1,249	44	24	10	37	36
Oklahoma	1,475	1,055	420	1,428	1,438	34	5	....	24	26
South Carolina	6,007	5,265	742	1,203	615	32	113	96	36	35
Tennessee	2,980	2,391	589	1,071	1,010	20	20	6	36	35
Texas	6,590	4,920	1,670	1,395	946	25	52	47	34	62
Virginia	4,370	3,437	933	1,364	1,129	48	48	21	36	34
West Virginia	999	628	371	(3)	(3)	....	....	....	27	26
District of Columbia	1,243	710	533	2,610	2,610	12	0	0	34	32

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[1] Includes elementary grades in junior and junior-senior high schools.

[2] Higher salaries due to most Negro schools being in cities where salaries are higher.

[3] Data not available.

Table 14.

Enrollment, Attendance, and High School Graduates in Negro Public Schools in 17 States and the District of Columbia For Years Indicated

State or District of Columbia	Enrollment 1943–44			Average daily attendance 1943–44	Percent attendance of enrollment		Average length of school term		Average number of days attended by each pupil enrolled		Percent of pupils enrolled in high school		Number of high school graduates	
	Total	Elementary K-8	Secondary 9–12		1941–42	1943–44	1941–42	1943–44	1941–42	1943–44	1941–42	1943–44	1941–42	1943–44
Total	2,276,742	2,029,368	247,374	1,852,950	81.6	81.4	156.8	164.0	128.0	133.4	11.4	10.9	33,784	31,180
Alabama	228,468	207,947	20,521	189,724	83.4	83.0	151.3	166.1	126.2	137.9	8.2	9.0	[1]2,230	2,496
Arkansas	99,999	93,031	6,968	78,845	79.3	78.8	146.9	141.8	116.5	111.8	7.3	7.0	943	754
Delaware	6,876	5,930	946	5,750	83.9	83.6	183.4	181.7	153.8	152.0	14.6	13.8	[1]88	104
Florida	98,648	86,236	12,412	85,228	85.5	86.4	166.0	168.2	141.9	145.3	12.7	12.6	1,596	1,372
Georgia	256,023	232,157	23,866	197,303	78.7	77.1	154.9	165.0	121.8	127.2	8.4	9.3	[1]2,337	[1]2,557
Kentucky	37,166	31,281	5,885	29,888	81.4	80.4	170.3	171.6	138.7	138.0	16.7	15.8	934	806
Louisiana	163,248	146,479	16,769	136,988	83.3	83.9	152.9	156.7	127.4	131.5	10.0	10.3	1,894	1,883
Maryland	59,247	50,478	8,769	49,828	85.7	84.1	185.5	186.5	158.9	156.8	15.7	14.8	1,159	1,191
Mississippi	272,495	260,150	12,345	219,165	81.1	80.3	124.1	130.0	100.7	104.6	3.9	4.5	1,465	1,335
Missouri	47,814	39,966	7,848	37,613	77.4	78.7	178.7	193.9	138.4	152.5	16.3	16.4	1,149	1,075
North Carolina	256,634	228,041	28,593	217,840	85.4	84.9	164.5	179.9	140.4	152.7	16.1	11.1	[1]4,983	5,236
Oklahoma	36,474	30,876	5,598	31,218	84.8	85.6	175.0	175.8	148.4	150.4	17.9	15.3	[1]1,007	722
South Carolina	204,942	184,066	20,876	158,691	77.2	77.4	150.2	160.4	116.0	124.2	9.2	10.2	[1]2,103	1,677
Tennessee	102,734	90,470	12,264	84,899	82.7	82.6	166.0	169.0	137.3	139.7	12.5	11.9	1,970	1,612
Texas	199,547	169,056	30,491	154,435	76.5	77.4	163.6	166.2	125.2	128.6	17.7	15.3	4,995	4,171
Virginia	142,841	120,794	22,047	119,929	84.0	84.0	180.0	180.0	151.3	151.1	15.2	15.4	3,323	2,818
West Virginia	25,531	20,281	5,250	23,094	89.9	90.5	171.5	173.7	154.2	157.1	20.9	20.6	856	726
District of Columbia	38,055	32,129	5,926	32,512	84.7	85.4	170.1	177.0	143.9	151.1	18.4	15.6	752	645

[1] Estimate as a percentage of the 12th year enrollment.

Table 17.

Enrollment of Negro Pupils By Length of Term, Number of Negro One-Teacher and High Schools and Number of Negro Pupils Transported in States Reporting 1943-1944

States or District of Columbia	Enrollment by length of term in days							Number of one-teacher schools[1]	Number of high schools[2]	Number of pupils transported at public expense
	Total	90 or less	91–110	111–130	131–150	151–170	171 or more			
Total	1,888,864	1,603	2,024	244,695	158,277	449,542	1,032,723	11,984	2,689	158,608
Alabama	228,468	......	......	......	......	149,857	78,611	1,145	458	15,620
Arkansas	99,999	1,558	2,024	19,269	24,510	27,897	24,741	671	135	8,191
Delaware	6,876	......	......	......	......	......	6,876	39	15	1,337
Florida	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	407	176	5,693
Georgia	256,023	......	......	2,039	64,865	49,826	139,293	1,890	148	(3)
Kentucky	37,166	37	......	......	6,436	4,019	26,674	321	94	4,134
Louisiana	163,248	......	......	11,365	62,229	49,945	39,709	876	133	5,669
Maryland	59,247	......	......	......	......	......	59,247	121	39	10,439
Mississippi	272,495	......	......	211,740	......	52,554	8,201	2,315	100	(3)
Missouri	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	117	57	(3)
North Carolina	256,634	......	......	37	......	1,047	255,509	632	230	45,315
Oklahoma	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	312	93	6,209
South Carolina	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	872	172	958
Tennessee	102,734	......	......	......	......	49,447	53,287	588	94	(3)
Texas	199,547	8	......	245	237	64,950	134,107	676	570	30,343
Virginia	142,841	......	......	......	......	......	142,841	847	120	24,642
West Virginia	25,531	......	......	......	......	......	25,531	154	43	(3)
District of Columbia	38,055	......	......	......	......	......	38,055	1	12	58

[1] There are in addition 10,607 elementary schools having 2 or more teachers.

[2] Includes junior and junior-senior high schools.

[3] Data not available.

Table 16.

Value of School Property and Current Expense Per Pupil in Average Daily Attendance, Negro Schools in 12 States Reporting

State	Value of school property per Negro pupil		Current expense[1]						Percent cost per white pupil is greater than per Negro pupil	
			1941–42		1943–44		Percent increase			
	1941–42	1943–44	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	1941–42	1943–44
Total	....	....	$68.04	$26.59	$84.79	$36.97	25	39	156	129
Alabama	$29	$35	51.98	17.07	70.20	25.65	35	50	205	174
Arkansas	46	54	45.19	18.20	61.03	25.81	35	42	148	136
Florida	67	71	81.10	33.35	95.96	47.44	18	42	143	102
Georgia	43	47	58.90	18.33	73.79	23.63	25	29	221	212
Louisiana	50	60	91.58	22.76	121.32	40.25	32	77	302	201
Maryland	186	195	94.52	71.74	115.52	90.82	22	27	32	27
Mississippi	(2)	(2)	52.79	9.42	71.65	11.96	36	27	460	499
North Carolina	71	80	49.63	34.17	71.60	50.07	44	47	45	43
Oklahoma	(2)	(2)	72.35	78.42	88.13	95.21	22	21	—8	—7
South Carolina	47	49	64.60	19.74	82.43	26.89	28	36	227	207
Texas	98	112	83.88	47.91	92.69	63.12	11	32	75	47
Virginia	101	102	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)

[1] Less interest.

[2] Data not available.

Secondary Schools Approved By The Southern Association Of Colleges And Secondary Schools*

At its meeting of March 25-28, 1946, in Memphis, Tennessee, the Executive Committee of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools approved the secondary schools listed below:

ALABAMA:
- Drewry Practice High School, Talladega (1933)
- Mobile County Training School, Plateau (1934)
- Oakwood College H. S. Huntsville (1946)
- Rosedale High School, Homewood (1946)
- Snow Hill Institute, Snow Hill (1946)
- Southern Normal School, Brewton (1939)
- State A. & M. Institute, High School Department, Normal (1931)
- State Teachers College, High School Department, Montgomery (1931)
- Trenholm High School, Tuscumbia (1946)
- Tuscaloosa Industrial High School, Tuscaloosa (1943)
- Tuskegee Institute High School, Tuskegee (1931)

FLORIDA:
- Booker T. Washington High School, Miami (1940)
- Dorsey High School, Miami (1946)
- Dunbar High School, Ft. Myers (1941)
- Florida A. & M. Experimental High School, Tallahassee (1942)
- Lincoln High School, Tallahassee (1942)
- Stanton High School, Jacksonville (1931)

GEORGIA:
- Athens High and Industrial School, Athens (1946)
- Ballard Normal High School, Macon (1933)
- Booker T. Washington High School, Atlanta (1932)
- Cedar Hill High School, Cedartown (1946)
- Center High School, Waycross (1946)
- Douglass High School, Thomasville (1946)
- Emery Street High School, Dalton (1942)
- Fair Street High School, Gainesville (1946)
- Gillespie-Selden High School, Cordele (1939)
- Hubbard Training School, Forsyth (1946)
- Boggs Academy, Keysville (1942)
- Moultrie Negro High School, Moultrie (1942)
- Risley High School, Brunswick (1932)
- Spencer High School, Columbus (1941)
- Statesboro Industrial High School, Statesboro (1946)
- Howard Warner High School, Newnan (1946)

KENTUCKY:
- Attucks High School, Hopkinsville (1936)
- Central High School, Louisville (1932)
- Douglass High School, Henderson (1943)
- John G. Fee Industrial High School, Maysville (1935)
- Lincoln High School, Paducah (1936)
- Lincoln Institute, Lincoln Ridge (1937)
- Oliver Street High School, Winchester (1934)
- Paul Laurence Dunbar High School, Lexington (1931)
- Rosenwald High School, Madisonville (1942)
- State Street High School, Bowling Green (1942)
- Western High School, Paris (1946)
- Western Junior-Senior High School, Owensboro (1933)
- William Grant High School, Covington (1932)

LOUISIANA:
- Gilbert Academy, New Orleans (1935)
- Sacred Heart High School, Lake Charles (1940)
- Southern University, High School Department, Scotlandville (1937)
- Xavier University, High School Department, New Orleans (1937)

MISSISSIPPI:
- Alcorn A. & M. College, High School Department, Alcorn (1936)
- Harris High School, Meridian (1946)
- Mary Holmes High School, West Point (1943)
- Southern Christian Institute, High School Department, Edwards (1931)
- Tougaloo College, High School Department, Tougaloo (1931)

NORTH CAROLINA:
- Allen High School, Asheville (1940)
- Atkins High School, Winston-Salem (1931)
- Booker T. Washington High School, Rocky Mount (1935)
- G. W. Carver High School, Kannapolis (1946)
- Darden High School, Wilson (1942)
- Dillard High School, Goldsboro (1937)
- Dunbar High School, Lexington (1940)
- E. E. Smith High School, Fayetteville (1937)
- Henderson Institute, Henderson (1946)
- Highland High School, Gastonia (1946)
- Hillside Park High School, Durham (1931)
- Immanuel Lutheran College, High School Department, Greensboro (1937)
- James B. Dudley High School, Greensboro (1936)
- Jordan-Sellars High School, Burlington (1937)
- Lincoln Academy, Kings Mountain (1934)
- Mary Potter High School, Oxford (1932)
- Orange County Training School, Chapel Hill (1941)
- Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia (1931)
- Second Ward High School, Charlotte (1937)
- Stephens-Lee High School, Asheville (1936)
- Washington High School, Raleigh (1934)

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*Source: The Southern Association Quarterly 10:272-75 My'46.

Washington High School, Reidsville (1936)
William Penn High School, High Point (1936)
Williston Industrial High School, Wilmington (1937)
Joseph Charles Price High School, Salisbury (1937)

SOUTH CAROLINA:
Avery Institute, Charleston (1933)
Booker Washington High School, Columbia (1933)
Carver High School, Spartanburg (1946)
Finley High School, Chester (1936)
Sterling High School, Greenville (1945)
Sumter High School, Sumter (1945)
Voorhees N. & I. School, Denmark (1933)

TENNESSEE:
Austin High School, Knoxville (1934)
Holloway High School, Murfreesboro (1942)
Howard High School, Chattanooga (1933)
Immaculate Mother High School, Nashville (1945)
Langston High School, Johnson City (1945)
Pearl High School, Nashville (1941)
Swift Memorial Junior College, High School Department, Rogersville (1933)

TEXAS:
Anderson High School, Austin (1933)
Booker T. Washington High School, Houston (1933)
Booker T. Washington High School, Wichita Falls (1936)
Charlton-Pollard High School, Beaumont (1935)
Central High School, Galveston (1933)
Central High School, Jefferson (1937)
I. M. Terrell High School, Fort Worth (1934)
Kilgore High School, Kilgore (1941)
Phyllis Wheatley High School, Houston (1933)
Phyllis Wheatley High School, San Antonio (1933)
St. Peter Claver High School, San Antonio (1942)
Weldon High School, Gladewater (1942)

VIRGINIA:
Armstrong High School, Richmond (1933)
Booker T. Washington High School, Norfolk (1932)
Christiansburg Industrial Institute, Cambria (1942)
D. Webster Davis High School, Ettrick (1941)
Dunbar High School, Lynchburg (1936)
Frances DeSales High School, Rock Castle (1940)
George P. Phenix Training School, Hampton (1933)
Hayden High School, Hayden (1945)
Huntington High School, Newport News (1931)
Jefferson High School, Charlottesville (1942)
Lucy Addison High School, Roanoke (1940)
Maggie L. Walker High School, Richmond (1942)
Manassas High School, Manassas (1941)
Parkes-Avon High School, Alexandria (1942)
Peabody High School, Petersburg (1933)
St. Paul's High School, Fredericksburg (1945)

Private High Schools And Academies, 1945-46

Table 18 lists the private high schools and academies and gives some statistics concerning them for the school year 1945-46. It will be noted that the total enrollment for the schools listed in all departments is 18,727; while the total enrollment of pupils in the high school departments only is 10,478. These schools have a total of 825 teachers.

Table 18 *(Continued)*

Private High Schools and Academies 1945-1946

Name of School	Location	Denomination	Executive Officer	Number of Teachers	Enrollment Fall—1945-46			
					High School	Elementary	Other	Total
MARYLAND								
St. Frances' Academy	Baltimore	R. C.	Sister Mary of Good Counsel, O. S. P.	12	200	50		250
MISSISSIPPI								
Delta Industrial Institute	Doddsville	A. M. E. Z.	Archie G. Gordon	11	81	231		312
Noxubee Industrial School	McLeod	Non-Sect.	L. V. Hunter	10	60	205	5	270
St. Joseph High School	Meridian	R. C.	John H. Gasper, S. V. D.	10	52	359		411
St. Mary's Catholic School	Vicksburg	R. C.	Francis Tetzlaff	13	68	321	86	475
Utica Institute	Utica	Non-Sect.	Wm. Henry Holtzclaw, Jr.	15	350			350
NEW JERSEY								
New Jersey Manual Training and Industrial School	Bordentown	Non-Sect.	W. R. Valentine	33	431			431
NORTH CAROLINA								
Allen High School	Asheville	Meth.	Claire L. Lennon	15	99	34		133
Laurinburg N. and I. Institute	Laurinburg	Non-Sect.	E. M. McDuffie	38	272	723		995
Lincoln Academy	Kings Mountain	Cong.	Edgar D. Wilson	19	159	211		370
Mary Potter High School	Oxford	Presb.	H. S. Davis	19	418	137		555
Palmer Memorial Institute	Sedalia	Cong.	Charlotte Hawkins Brown	16	206			206
W. S. Creecy High School	Rich Square	Baptist	W. S. Creecy	17	107	372		479
OHIO								
Colored Industrial School	Cincinnati	Non-Sect.	P. W. L. Jones	11	206		74	280
PENNSYLVANIA								
Downingtown Industrial and Agricultural School	Downingtown	Non-Sect.	J. H. N. Waring, Jr.	13	130			130
Berean School	Philadelphia	Non-Sect.	John Grant Newman	12	100	250		350
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Avery Institute	Charleston	Non-Sect.	John F. Potts	21	263	286	22	571
Brewer High School	Greenwood	Cong.	Benjamin J. Sanders, Jr.	12	347			347
Harbison A. and I. Institute	Irmo	Presb.	T. B. Jones	14	72		3	75
Laing Industrial School	Mount Pleasant	Friends	John R. Collins	13	91	313		404
Lowry Inst. and Ind. School	Mayesville	Non-Sect.	M. S. Boley (Acting)	4			140	140

(Continued on next page)

Table 18†.

Private High Schools and Academies 1945-1946

Name of School	Location	Denomination	Executive Officer	Number of Teachers	Enrollment Fall—1945-46			
					High School	Elementary	Other	Total
ALABAMA								
Alabama Lutheran Academy	Selma	Lutheran	Walter H. Ellwanger	6	48	77	1	126
Allen Institute	Mobile	Private	Josephine B. Allen	16	260	300		560
Bethlehem Industrial Academy	Monroeville	Baptist	H. J. Lamar	13	223	127		350
Calhoun Colored School	Calhoun	Non-Sect.	W. L. McDavid	10	63	45		108*
Cotton Valley School	Fort Davis	Cong.	Julia M. Johnson	7	56	46		102
Lincoln School	Marion	Cong.	Ralph H. Martin	15	415			415
Lomax-Hannon Industrial School	Greenville	A. M. E. Z.	T. M. Patton	6	121			121
Martin Luther Institute	Tuscaloosa	Lutheran	Theodore R. Speigner	10	155	145		300
Most Pure Heart of Mary	Mobile	R. C.	Sister Martin de Porres	14	183	440		623
Prairie Institute	Prairie	U. Presb.	Wm. Peters	6	26	114	140	280
Snow Hill Institute	Snow Hill	Non-Sect.	Ligon A. Wilson	16	290	101		391
Southern Normal School	Brewton	Dutch Reform	Andrew Branche, Jr.	15	168	155		323
Street Manual Training School, Inc.	Minter	Non-Sect.	Emmanuel M. Brown	8	80	245		325
Trinity School	Athens	Cong.	W. Judson King	11	283			283
ARKANSAS								
St. Peter's High	Pine Bluff	R. C.	J. F. Kempinsk	6	54	256		310
FLORIDA								
Boylan-Haven School	Jacksonville	Meth.	Edith M. Carter	16	141	10		151
Fessenden Academy	Fessenden	Cong.	John A. Buggs	18	151			151
Hungerford School	Winter Park	Non-Sect.	John E. Hall	11	173			173
GEORGIA								
Boggs Academy	Keysville	Presb.	Harold N. Stinson	10	95	24		119
Gillespie-Selden Institute	Cordele	Presb.	L. S. Brown	22	230	73		303
Haines N. and I. Institute	Augusta		A. C. Griggs	11	285		194	479
Holmes Institute	Atlanta		B. R. Holmes	4	41	69		110
Union Baptist Institute	Athens	Baptist	C. H. S. Lyons	10	112	119	7	238
KENTUCKY								
Lincoln Institute of Kentucky	Lincoln Ridge		Whitney M. Young	20	351			351
West Kentucky Vocational Training School	Paducah	Non-Sect.	H. C. Russell	13	85		230	315
LOUISIANA								
Gilbert Academy	New Orleans	Meth.	Margaret Davis Bowen	24	580			580

(Continued on next page)

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†Prepared by the Editor.

*Enrollment for 1943-44.

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NEGROES

Recent Enrollment In Colleges And Universities

The accompanying tables list the institutions of higher education for Negroes together with the following information: (1) Graduate Enrollment in Colleges and Universities for Negroes, Fall 1945; Total Enrollment 1944-45; and Graduate degrees conferred 1944-45. (2) Professional Schools and Departments. (3) Statistics on Negro Colleges and Universities in the United States 1945-46. (4) Theological Seminaries and Colleges having Departments of Theology 1945-46.

Graduate Schools

The fourteen institutions now offering work on the graduate level reported a total of 576 graduate students enrolled during the fall term 1945-46, distributed by sex as follows: Male 30 per cent; female, 70 per cent. The enrollment during the entire school year 1944-45 in thirteen of these institutions, including the summer session, was 2,165 students, of whom 75.7 per cent were women students. Graduate degrees were conferred on 248 students, divided by sex as follows: Male 31 per cent; female, 69 per cent.

Table 19.

Graduate Enrollment in Colleges and Universities For Negroes, Fall 1945; Total Enrollment, 1944-45; and Graduate Degrees Conferred, 1944-45.

Institutions	Enrollment							Degrees			
	Fall 1945			Fall 1944	September 1944–August 1945			Graduates September 1944–August 1945			1943–44
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Alabama State Teachers College*	†	....	....	†	100	31	69	8	5	3	9
Atlanta University	89	23	66	116	825	203	622	118	28	90	60
Fisk University	18	8	10	29	171	51	120	19	11	8	16
Hampton Institute	†	....	....	11	264	54	210	22	7	15	14
Houston College for Negroes*	82	12	70	‡	‡	....	....	14	3	11	‡
Howard University	214	65	149	316	521	110	411	26	8	18	32
Lincoln University (Missouri)*	15	5	10	4	9	3	6	1	0	1	1
North Carolina A & T College	48	18	30	14	18	7	11	8	4	4	0
North Carolina College for Negroes*	13	7	6	11	11	4	7	0	0	0	4
Prairie View State College*	22	6	16	18	40	10	30	21	7	14	24
Tennessee State College*	18	8	10	10	17	2	15	4	1	3	1
Tuskegee Institute	12	7	5	8	61	13	48	2	1	1	0
Virginia State College for Negroes*	34	14	20	23	110	35	75	4	2	2	8
Xavier University	11	0	11	7	18	2	16	1	0	1	3
Totals	576	173	403	567	2,165	525	1,640	248	77	171	172

†Graduate courses offered in summer session only.
‡Not reported.
*Public.
Source: The Journal of Negro Education, Spring Number, 1946, p. 237.

Table 18 *(Continued)*

Private High Schools and Academies 1945-1946

Name of School	Location	Denomination	Executive Officer	Number of Teachers	Enrollment Fall—1945-46			
					High School	Elementary	Other	Total
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Mather Academy	Camden	Meth.	Lula B. Bryan	16	287			287
Mather School	Beaufort		Louise M. Voth	18	150		17	167
Mayesville Institute	Mayesville	Non-Sect.	Mrs. S. S. Rice	9	87	250		337
Penn N. and I. Agricultural School	Frogmore	Non-Sect.	Howard Kester	29	121	159		280*
Schofield N. and I. School	Aiken	Non-Sect.	Sanford P. Bradby	20	400			400
Wallingford Kindergarten and Primary School	Charleston	Presb.	Simon H. Scott	2	28	24	73	125
TENNESSEE								
Gailor Industrial School	Mason	P. E.	George E. Loder	16	109	245		354
J. L. Cook High School	Athens	U. Presb.	W. E. Nash	10	81	184		265
VIRGINIA								
Bluestone Harmony A. and I. SchoolⓃ	Keysville	Baptist						
Christianburg Industrial Institute	Cambria	Friends	H. Leslie Giles	15	243			243
Dinwiddie N. and I. SchoolⓃ	Dinwiddie	A. M. E. Z.	W. E. Woodyard					
Ingleside-Fee Memorial InstituteⓃ	Burkeville	Presb.	H. W. McNair					
Pittsylvania Training School	Gretna	Baptist	Richard J. Jones	13	284	88	30	402
Rappahannock Industrial Academy	Ozeana	Baptist	Dove A. Burress, Jr.	4	77	7		84
Richmond County High SchoolⓃ	Emmerton	Baptist	S. C. Booker					
St. Emma Industrial and Agri. Institute and St. Emma Military Academy	Rock Castle	R. C.	Denis Strittmatter, O. S. B.	14	140			140
St. Francis de Sales High SchoolⓃ	Rock Castle	R. C.	Sr. M. Brendan					
Van de Vyver School	Richmond	R. C.	Carl F. Schappert, S. S. J.	13	90	380	52	522
GRAND TOTALS				825	10,478	7,175	1,074	18,727

*Enrollment for 1943-44.
(N)No report received.
Source: Questionnaires sent to various schools and academies.

Professional Schools

Statistics for the professional schools for Negroes are shown in table 20. The following professional curricula are presented: Law, 3; social work, 2; medicine, 2; dentistry, 2; pharmacy, 2; library science, 2; journalism, 1; nurse training, 9; veterinary medicine, 1. It is to be observed that almost the entire burden of professional education for Negroes is carried by the privately controlled institutions, and that the enrollment for 1945-46 was 1,799.

Table 20†.

Professional Schools and Departments

Name of Institution	Location	President or Head of Department 1946	No. of Student Enrolled 1945-46
Schools of Dentistry:			
College of Dentistry, Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Russell A. Dixon	129
Meharry Dental College	Nashville, Tennessee	M. Don Clawson	128
Schools of Journalism:			
School of Journalism, Lincoln University	Jefferson City, Missouri	Armistead S. Pride	15
Schools of Law:			
Law Department, Howard University	Washington, D. C.	George M. Johnson	88
Law Department, North Carolina College for Negroes	Durham, North Carolina	A. L. Turner	13
School of Law, Lincoln University	Jefferson City, Missouri	Scovel Richardson	15
Schools of Library Science:			
Atlanta University	Atlanta, Ga.	Rufus E. Clement	25
North Carolina College for Negroes	Durham, N. C.	James E. Shepherd	5
Schools of Medicine:			
College of Medicine, Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Mordecai W. Johnson	267
Meharry Medical College	Nashville, Tennessee	M. Don Clawson	235
Schools of Nurse Training:			
School of Nurse Training, Florida A. & M. College	Tallahassee, Florida	William H. Gray	76
School of Nurse Training, Hampton Institute	Hampton, Virginia	Ralph P. Bridgman	47
School of Nurse Training, Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Mordecai W. Johnson	62
School of Nurse Training, Meharry Medical College	Nashville, Tenn.	M. Don Clawson	104
School of Nurse Training, Oakwood College	Huntsville, Alabama	F. L. Peterson	12
School of Nurse Training, Prairie View State College	Prairie View, Texas	E. B. Evans	50
School of Nurse Training, Piney Woods Country Life School	Piney Woods, Mississippi	Lawrence C. Jones	5
School of Nurse Training, Stillman Institute	Tuscaloosa, Alabama	A. L. Jackson	20
School of Nurse Training, Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee Institute, Alabama	F. D. Patterson	61
Schools of Pharmacy:			
College of Pharmacy, Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Chauncey I. Cooper	92
College of Pharmacy, Xavier University	New Orleans, Louisiana	Lawrence F. Ferring	76
Schools of Social Work:			
Atlanta School of Social Work	Atlanta, Georgia	Forrester B. Washington	159
School of Social Work, Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Inabelle Burns Lindsay	85
Schools of Veterinary Medicine:			
School of Veterinary Medicine, Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee Institute, Alabama	F. D. Patterson	30
Total			1799

†Prepared by the Editor.
Source: Questionnaires sent to the various schools and colleges.

Negro Colleges And Universities

A significant finding of the survey of the enrollment in Negro colleges and universities in the fall of 1945, was that it had reached the highest point in the history of these 117 institutions. The total enrollment for the fall term, 1945-46, was approximately 43,878[1] students. This number is about ten per cent greater than that in 1941-42, the previous peak year. It is important to observe that the more recent peak has been attained despite the fact that the male enrollment was still below normal. All indications are that the enrollment for 1946-47 is very much greater than the year before in practically every Negro college and university.

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[1] The enrollment of Atlanta University is not included in this number.

Table 21†.
Statistics on Negro Colleges and Universities in the United States: 1945-46

Name of Institution	Location	Year Founded	Executive Officer	Rating & Level	Number of Teachers	College Enrollment Fall 1945-46			Enrollment High School	Endowment 1944-45	Denominational Connection
						Total	Male	Female	Fall 1945-46 Total		
ALABAMA											
Alabama State A & M Institute⊙	Normal	1875	J. F. Drake	A-2	69	373	54	319	205		Non-Sect.
Alabama State Teachers College	Montgomery	1874	H. Council Trenholm	A-4	77	673	77	596			Non-Sect.
Daniel Payne College	Birmingham	1889	T. E. Harper	-4	12	57	20	37	68		A. M. E.
Miles Memorial College	Birmingham	1905	William A. Bell	B-4	22	242	28	214			C. M. E.
Oakwood College	Huntsville	1896	James L. Moran	B-2	25	214	51	163	235		7th Day Adv.
Selma University	Selma	1878	William H. Dinkins	-4	29	84	16	68			Baptist
Stillman Institute	Tuscaloosa	1876	A. L. Jackson	B-2	21	160	12	148			Presb.
Talladega College	Talladega	1867	Adam D. Beittel	AA-4	62	258	37	221	129	$ 1,097,715	Cong.
Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee	1881	Frederick D. Patterson	A-4	193	1,441	491	950		6,968,621	Non-Sect.
ARKANSAS											
Arkansas A. M. & N. College⊙	Pine Bluff	1875	Lawrence A. Davis	-4	72	404	121	283	169		Non-Sect.
Arkansas Baptist College	Little Rock	1884	T. W. Coggs	-4		70	12	58			Baptist
Dunbar Junior College	Little Rock	1929	L. M. Christophe	-2	10	98	13	85			Non-Sect.
Morris Booker Memorial Baptist College	Dermott	1934	W. L. Purifoy		8	27	25	2	54		Baptist
Philander Smith College	Little Rock	1877	M. Lafayette Harris	-4	35	314	63	251			Meth.
Shorter-Flipper-Curry College	North Little Rock	1886	S. S. Morris, Jr.	-4	16	30	6	24			A. M. E.
DELAWARE											
Delaware State College⊙	Dover	1895	H. D. Gregg	-4	28	184	64	120	155		Non-Sect.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA											
Howard University	Washington	1867	Mordecai W. Johnson	AA-4	261	2,171	645	1,526		1,021,645	Non-Sect.
Miner Teachers College	Washington	1851	Eugene A. Clark	A(T)-4	54	402	14	388			Non-Sect.
FLORIDA											
Bethune-Cookman College	Daytona	1872	Mary McLeod Bethune	B-4	38	241	41	200	40	135,273	Meth.
Edward Waters College	Jacksonville	1866	Amos J. White		22	145	29	116	161		A. M. E.
Florida A. & M. College⊙	Tallahassee	1887	William H. Gray, Jr.	A-4	78	1,113	223	890	176		Non-Sect.
Florida N & I Institute	St. Augustine	1892	John L. Tilley	A-2	25	296	50	246			Baptist
GEORGIA											
Albany State College	Albany	1904	Aaron Brown	B-4	36	307	33	274			
Atlanta University#	Atlanta	1865	Rufus E. Clement							4,036,968	Non-Sect.
Clark College	Atlanta	1869	James P. Brawley	A-4	28	688	133	555		676,456	Meth.
Fort Valley State College	Fort Valley	1895	Cornelius V. Troup	B-4	46	374	53	321		40,000	Non-Sect.

(Continued on next page)

†Prepared by the Editor.

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A–Fully accredited by regional accrediting agency.
B–Rated B by regional accrediting agency.
T–Accredited by American Association of Teachers Colleges.
The number following the accreditation symbol refers to the number of years of college work offered.
#–Offers graduate courses only.
⊙–Indicates the Land Grant Colleges.

Sources: Questionnaires sent to the various colleges. The Journal of Negro Education, Spring Number, 1946, pp. 233-235; The Americana, 1946, pp. 185-210; The Southern Association Quarterly, May, 1946, pp. 210-271.

Table 21†.
Statistics on Negro Colleges and Universities in the United States: 1945-46

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						Total	Male	Female	Fall 1945–46 Total		
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Oakwood College	Huntsville	1896	James L. Moran	B–2	25	214	51	163	235		7th Day Adv.
Selma University	Selma	1878	William H. Dinkins	–4	29	84	16	68			Baptist
Stillman Institute	Tuscaloosa	1876	A. L. Jackson	B–2	21	160	12	148			Presb.
Talladega College	Talladega	1867	Adam D. Beittel	AA–4	62	258	37	221	129	$ 1,097,715	Cong.
Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee	1881	Frederick D. Patterson	A–4	193	1,441	491	950		6,968,621	Non-Sect.
ARKANSAS											
Arkansas A. M. & N. College⊙	Pine Bluff	1875	Lawrence A. Davis	–4	72	404	121	283	169		Non-Sect.
Arkansas Baptist College	Little Rock	1884	T. W. Coggs	–4		70	12	58			Baptist
Dunbar Junior College	Little Rock	1929	L. M. Christophe	–2	10	98	13	85			Non-Sect.
Morris Booker Memorial Baptist College	Dermott	1934	W. L. Purifoy		8	27	25	2	54		Baptist
Philander Smith College	Little Rock	1877	M. Lafayette Harris	–4	35	314	63	251			Meth.
Shorter-Flipper-Curry College	North Little Rock	1886	S. S. Morris, Jr.	–4	16	30	6	24			A. M. E.
DELAWARE											
Delaware State College⊙	Dover	1895	H. D. Gregg	–4	28	184	64	120	155		Non-Sect.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA											
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Edward Waters College	Jacksonville	1866	Amos J. White		22	145	29	116	161		A. M. E.
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(Continued on next page)

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T–Accredited by American Association of Teachers Colleges.
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⊙–Indicates the Land Grant Colleges.

Sources: Questionnaires sent to the various colleges. The Journal of Negro Education, Spring Number, 1946, pp. 233-235; The Americana, 1946, pp. 185-210; The Southern Association Quarterly, May, 1946, pp. 210-271.

Professional Schools

Statistics for the professional schools for Negroes are shown in table 20. The following professional curricula are presented: Law, 3; social work, 2; medicine, 2; dentistry, 2; pharmacy, 2; library science, 2; journalism, 1; nurse training, 9; veterinary medicine, 1. It is to be observed that almost the entire burden of professional education for Negroes is carried by the privately controlled institutions, and that the enrollment for 1945-46 was 1,799.

Table 20†.

Professional Schools and Departments

Name of Institution	Location	President or Head of Department 1946	No. of Student Enrolled 1945-46
Schools of Dentistry:			
College of Dentistry, Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Russell A. Dixon	129
Meharry Dental College	Nashville, Tennessee	M. Don Clawson	128
Schools of Journalism:			
School of Journalism, Lincoln University	Jefferson City, Missouri	Armistead S. Pride	15
Schools of Law:			
Law Department, Howard University	Washington, D. C.	George M. Johnson	88
Law Department, North Carolina College for Negroes	Durham, North Carolina	A. L. Turner	13
School of Law, Lincoln University	Jefferson City, Missouri	Scovel Richardson	15
Schools of Library Science:			
Atlanta University	Atlanta, Ga.	Rufus E. Clement	25
North Carolina College for Negroes	Durham, N. C.	James E. Shepherd	5
Schools of Medicine:			
College of Medicine, Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Mordecai W. Johnson	267
Meharry Medical College	Nashville, Tennessee	M. Don Clawson	235
Schools of Nurse Training:			
School of Nurse Training, Florida A. & M. College	Tallahassee, Florida	William H. Gray	76
School of Nurse Training, Hampton Institute	Hampton, Virginia	Ralph P. Bridgman	47
School of Nurse Training, Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Mordecai W. Johnson	62
School of Nurse Training, Meharry Medical College	Nashville, Tenn.	M. Don Clawson	104
School of Nurse Training, Oakwood College	Huntsville, Alabama	F. L. Peterson	12
School of Nurse Training, Prairie View State College	Prairie View, Texas	E. B. Evans	50
School of Nurse Training, Piney Woods Country Life School	Piney Woods, Mississippi	Lawrence C. Jones	5
School of Nurse Training, Stillman Institute	Tuscaloosa, Alabama	A. L. Jackson	20
School of Nurse Training, Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee Institute, Alabama	F. D. Patterson	61
Schools of Pharmacy:			
College of Pharmacy, Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Chauncey I. Cooper	92
College of Pharmacy, Xavier University	New Orleans, Louisiana	Lawrence F. Ferring	76
Schools of Social Work:			
Atlanta School of Social Work	Atlanta, Georgia	Forrester B. Washington	159
School of Social Work, Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Inabelle Burns Lindsay	85
Schools of Veterinary Medicine:			
School of Veterinary Medicine, Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee Institute, Alabama	F. D. Patterson	30
Total			1799

†Prepared by the Editor.
Source: Questionnaires sent to the various schools and colleges.

Negro Colleges And Universities

A significant finding of the survey of the enrollment in Negro colleges and universities in the fall of 1945, was that it had reached the highest point in the history of these 117 institutions. The total enrollment for the fall term, 1945-46, was approximately 43,878[1] students. This number is about ten per cent greater than that in 1941-42, the previous peak year. It is important to observe that the more recent peak has been attained despite the fact that the male enrollment was still below normal. All indications are that the enrollment for 1946-47 is very much greater than the year before in practically every Negro college and university.

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[1] The enrollment of Atlanta University is not included in this number.

Table 21 *(Continued)*

Statistics on Negro Colleges and Universities in the United States: 1945-46

Name of Institution	Location	Year Founded	Executive Officer	Rating & Level	Number of Teachers	College Enrollment Fall 1945-46			Enrollment High School	Endowment 1944-45	Denominational Connection
						Total	Male	Female	Fall 1945-46 Total		
MISSISSIPPI											
Okolona Industrial School	Okolona	1902	W. Milan Davis	-2	15	30	1	29	82	....	P. E.
Piney Woods School	Piney Woods	1910	Lawrence C. Jones	-2	42	8	1	7	225	....	Non-Sect.
Prentiss N & I Institute	Prentiss	1907	J. E. Johnson	....	20	33	8	25	348	....	Non-Sect.
Rust College	Holly Springs	1867	L. M. McCoy	-4	16	134	19	115	74	....	Meth.
Southern Christian Institute	Edwards	1875	John Long	B-2	21	31	13	18	191	....	Disciple
Tougaloo College	Tougaloo	1869	Judson L. Cross	B-4	34	195	28	167	178	....	Cong.
MISSOURI											
Harriet Beecher Stowe Teachers College	St. Louis	1890	Ruth Miriam Harris	A-4	21	417	25	392	....	....	Non-Sect.
Lincoln High School and Junior College	Kansas City	1936	George S. Ellison (Acting)	-2	37	132	32	100	857	....	Non-Sect.
Lincoln University®	Jefferson City	1866	Sherman D. Scruggs	A-4	69	628	172	456	....	....	Non-Sect.
Western Baptist Seminary	Kansas City	1889	Clement Richardson	-2	11	24	7	17	55	....	Baptist
NORTH CAROLINA											
Agricultural & Technical College®	Greensboro	1891	Ferdinand D. Bluford	A-4	80	1,090	540	550	....	....	Non-Sect.
Barber-Scotia	Concord	1867	L. S. Cozart	A-2	16	148	....	148	....	$490,000	Presb.
Bennett College	Greensboro	1873	David D. Jones	A-4	35	414	....	414	....	804,000	Meth.
Elizabeth City Teachers College	Elizabeth City	1891	Sidney D. Williams	B-4	27	516	25	491	....	....	Non-Sect.
Fayetteville State Teachers College	Fayetteville	1877	James W. Seabrook	B-4	23	547	50	497	....	....	Non-Sect.
Immanuel Lutheran College	Greensboro	....	H. Nau	-2	9	28	8	20	....	....	Lutheran
Johnson C. Smith University	Charlotte	1867	H. L. McCrorey	A-4	31	564	188	376	....	....	Presb.
Kittrell College	Kittrell	1886	E. F. G. Dent	-4	12	51	14	37	....	....	A. M. E.
Livingstone College	Salisbury	1879	William J. Trent	A-4	25	401	86	315	....	46,500	A. M. E. Z.
North Carolina College for Negroes	Durham	1910	James E. Shepherd	AA-4	74	740	173	567	....	....	Non-Sect.
Shaw University	Raleigh	1865	Robert P. Daniel	A-4	62	657	95	562	....	385,000	Baptist
St. Augustine's College	Raleigh	1867	Edgar H. Goold	A-4	19	276	49	227	....	200,000	P. E.
Winston-Salem Teachers College	Winston-Salem	1892	Francis I. Atkins	B-4	27	587	83	504	....	....	Non-Sect.
OHIO											
Wilberforce University	Wilberforce	1856	Charles H. Wesley	A-4	79	1,018	257	761	....	79,298	A. M. E.
OKLAHOMA											
Langston University®	Langston	1897	G. Lamar Harrison	-4	51	434	125	309	58	....	Non-Sect.

(Continued on next page)

Table 21 *(Continued)*

Statistics on Negro Colleges and Universities in the United States: 1945-46

Name of Institution	Location	Year Founded	Executive Officer	Rating & Level	Number of Teachers	College Enrollment Fall 1945-46			Enrollment High School	Endowment 1944-45	Denominational Connection
						Total	Male	Female	Fall 1945-46 Total		
GEORGIA											
Georgia Baptist College	Macon	1899	C. J. Gresham	-2	11	84	26	58	109	...	Baptist
Georgia State College*	Industrial College	1891	Benjamin F. Hubert	B-4	45	498	110	388	...	...	Non-Sect.
Morehouse College	Atlanta	1867	Benjamin E. Mays	A-4	31	418	418	...	...	$1,463,530	Baptist
Morris Brown College	Atlanta	1881	W. A. Fountain, Jr.	A-4	26	532	149	383	...	221,420	A. M. E.
Paine College	Augusta	1882	Edmund C. Peters	A-4	20	296	40	256	...	37,956	Meth.
Spelman College	Atlanta	1881	Florence M. Read	A-4	38	471	...	471	...	3,178,445	Baptist
KANSAS											
Kansas City Junior College	Kansas City	1923	J. A. Hodge	-2	4	91	13	78	...	...	Non-Sect.
KENTUCKY											
Kentucky State College*	Frankfort	1886	Rufus B. Atwood	A-4	22	427	125	302	...	...	Non-Sect.
Louisville Municipal College	Louisville	1837	Einar W. Jacobsen	A-4	12	204	31	173	...	...	Non-Sect.
LOUISIANA											
Dillard University	New Orleans	1930	Albert W. Dent	A-4	31	413	63	350	...	1,502,108	Un-Denom.
Leland College	Baker	1870	J. M. Frasier	-4	20	297	47	250	28	...	Baptist
Louisiana Normal & Industrial Institute	Grambling	1901	R. E. W. Jones	-4	50	322	39	283	404	...	Non-Sect.
Southern University*	Scotlandville	1880	Felton G. Clark	A-4	112	1,041	322	719	162	...	Non-Sect.
Xavier University	New Orleans	1915	Mother M. Agatha	A-4	65	591	151	440	506	266,270	R. C.
MARYLAND											
Coppin Normal	Baltimore	1900	Miles W. Connor	-4	13	125	1	124	...	...	Non-Sect.
Maryland State Teachers College	Bowie	1867	William E. Henry	-4	13	119	14	105	...	...	Non-Sect.
Morgan College	Baltimore	1867	Dwight O. W. Holmes	A-4	44	1,253	236	1,017	...	...	Non-Sect.
Princess Anne College*	Princess Anne	1935	Harry C. Byrd	-4	27	102	29	73	...	...	Non-Sect.
MISSISSIPPI											
Alcorn A & M College*	Alcorn	1871	William H. Pipes	B-4	60	256	43	213	127	...	Non-Sect.
Campbell College	Jackson	1890	S. L. Greene	-4	...	...	...	...	65	...	A. M. E.
Jackson College for Negro Teachers	Jackson	1877	Jacob L. Reddick	-4	27	237	26	211	...	...	Baptist
Mary Holmes Junior College	West Point	1892	Graham F. Campbell	...	7	112	10	102	315	...	Non-Sect.
Mississippi Industrial College	Holly Springs	1905	W. M. Frazier	...	18	149	39	110	259	...	C. M. E.
Natches College	Natchez	...	W. L. Nelson	-4	15	7	2	5	170	...	Baptist

(Continued on next page)

Table 21 *(Continued)*

Statistics on Negro Colleges and Universities in the United States: 1945-46

Name of Institution	Location	Year Founded	Executive Officer	Rating & Level	Number of Teachers	College Enrollment Fall 1945-46			Enrollment High School	Endowment 1944-45	Denominational Connection
						Total	Male	Female	Fall 1945-46 Total		
TEXAS											
St. Phillip's Junior College	San Antonio	1898	Artemisia Bowden	-2	....	85	25	60	....	....	P. E.
Texas College	Tyler	1894	Dominion R. Glass	B-4	25	610	162	448	....	$ 3,700	C. M. E.
Tillotson College	Austin	1877	William H. Jones	A-4	25	502	62	440	....	500,000	Cong.
Wiley College	Marshall	1873	Egbert C. McLeod	A-4	46	474	118	356	....	600,000	Meth.
VIRGINIA											
Hampton Institute	Hampton	1868	Ralph P. Bridgman	A-4	108	977	374	603	....	9,741,196	Non-Sect.
St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute	Lawrenceville	1888	J. Alvin Russell	-4	65	293	23	270	595	162,959	P. E.
Virginia State College for Negroes®	Petersburg	1882	Luther H. Foster	A-4	92	1,003	226	777	241	173,000	Non-Sect.
Virginia Theological Seminary & College	Lynchburg	1888	W. H. R. Powell	....	17	46	26	20	114	....	Baptist
Virginia Union University	Richmond	1865	John M. Ellison	A-4	36	700	181	519	....	787,292	Baptist
WEST VIRGINIA											
Bluefield State Teachers College	Bluefield	1895	Henry L. Dickason	-4	33	345	66	279	....	....	Non-Sect.
Storer College	Harpers Ferry	1867	Richard I. McKinney	-4	12	115	14	101	....	106,879	Baptist
West Virginia State College®	Institute	1891	John W. Davis	A-4	54	860	208	652	84	....	Non-Sect.
TOTALS					4,248	43,878	10,506	33,372	7,550	36,107,258	

Table 21 *(Continued)*

Statistics on Negro Colleges and Universities in the United States: 1945-46

Name of Institution	Location	Year Founded	Executive Officer	Rating & Level	Number of Teachers	College Enrollment Fall 1945-46			Enrollment High School	Endowment 1944-45	Denominational Connection
						Total	Male	Female	Fall 1945-46 Total		
PENNSYLVANIA											
Cheyney State Teachers College	Cheyney	1837	Leslie P. Hill	(T)-4	16	164	14	150			Non-Sect.
Lincoln University	Lincoln	1854	Horace Mann Bond	A-4	28	199	199			$1,025,437	Presb.
SOUTH CAROLINA											
Allen University	Columbia	1881	Samuel R. Higgins	B-4		465	106	359			A. M. E.
Benedict College	Columbia	1871	J. A. Bacoats	B-4	30	484	92	392			Baptist
Bettis Academy and Junior College	Trenton	1881	A. C. Hightower	-2	20	65	3	62	180		Baptist
Claflin College	Orangeburg	1869	J. J. Seabrook	-4	24	254	19	235			Meth.
Clinton N & I College	Rock Hill		Booker T. Medford	-2	9	57	9	48	93		A. M.E. Z.
Coulter Junior College(N)	Cheraw		G. W. Long	-2							Presb.
Friendship Junior College	Rock Hill	1906	J. H. Goudlock	-2	14	106	9	97	71		Baptist
Morris College	Sumter	1908	J. P. Garrick	-4	28	600	80	520	68		Baptist
Seneca Junior College(N)	Seneca		J. D. Bryan								Baptist
State A. & M. College of South Carolina°	Orangeburg	1896	Miller F. Whittaker	A-4	80	924	228	696			Non-Sect.
Voorhees N. & I. College	Denmark	1897	Joshua E. Blanton	A-2	22	82	15	67	148	37,124	Non-Sect.
TENNESSEE											
Fisk University	Nashville	1866	Charles S. Johnson	AA-4	57	692	159	533		3,535,074	Cong.
Howe Institute	Memphis	1888	Charles T. Epps		15	95	75	20	77		Baptist
Knoxville College	Knoxville	1872	William L. Imes	B-4	22	262	73	189		300,000	U. Presb.
Lane College	Jackson	1882	D. S. Yarbrough	B-4	19	312	60	252			C. M. E.
LeMoyne College	Memphis	1869	Hollis F. Price	A-4	17	261	42	219			Cong.
Morristown N. & I. College	Morristown	1881	Miller W. Boyd	-2	14	81	12	69	119	52,000	Meth.
Swift Memorial Junior College	Rogersville	1883	R. E. Lee	-2	10	36	6	30	90		Presb.
Tennessee A. & I. State College°	Nashville	1919	Walter S. Davis	(T)-4	71	1,375	329	1,046			Non-Sect.
TEXAS											
Bishop College	Marshall	1880	Joseph J. Rhoads	B-4	38	431	104	327		13,000	Baptist
Butler College	Tyler	1905	M. K. Curry, Jr.		20	201	43	158	31		Baptist
Conroe N & I College	Conroe	1903	Wm. A. Johnson	-2	16	10	2	8	34		Baptist
Houston College for Negroes	Houston	1927	Edison E. Oberholtzer	-4	50	1,106	584	522			Non-Sect.
Jarvis Christian Institute	Hawkins	1910	Peter C. Washington	-4	16	154	19	135			Disciple
Mary Allen Junior College	Crockett	1886	G. L. Prince	A-2	12	116	15	101			Baptist
Paul Quinn College	Waco	1881	George A. Singleton	-4	12	169	23	146			A. M. E.
Prairie View State College°*	Prairie View	1873	E. B. Evans	A-4	215	1,388	381	1,007		30,000	Non-Sect.
Samuel Houston College	Austin	1876	Karl E. Downs	B-4	26	265	76	189		6,860	Meth.

(Continued on next page)

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*Changed to Prairie View University, 1946.

(N)No report received.

Seminaries And Departments Of Theology

Table 22 indicates that there are at least 40 Seminaries and Departments of Theology. An analysis of these schools, 1945-46, indicates that the Baptists lead with 20 institutions; African Methodist Episcopal, 8; Presbyterian, 3; Non-Sectarian, 2; Catholic, 1; Disciple, 1; Seventh Day Adventist, 1; African Methodist Episcopal Zion, 1; Methodist, 1; Colored Methodist Episcopal, 1; and Protestant Episcopal, 1.

Table 22†.

Theological Seminaries and Colleges Having Departments of Theology, 1945-46

Name of Institution	Location	Denomination	President or Head of Department	No. of Students Enrolled
Allen University	Columbia, South Carolina	A. M. E.	Samuel R. Higgins	13
American Baptist Theological Seminary	Nashville, Tennessee	Nat. Baptist	Ralph W. Riley	57
Benedict College	Columbia, South Carolina	Baptist	J. A. Bacoats	16
Bishop College	Marshall, Texas	Nat. Baptist	Joseph J. Rhoads	19
Bishop Payne Divinity School	Petersburg, Virginia	P. E.	Robert A. Goodwin	19
Butler College	Tyler, Texas	Baptist	M. K. Curry, Jr.	15
Conroe N. & I. College	Conroe, Texas	Baptist	Wm. A. Johnson	52
Daniel Payne College	Birmingham, Alabama	A. M. E.	T. E. Harper	24
Florida N. & I. College	St. Augustine, Florida	Baptist	John L. Tilley	18
Friendship Junior College	Rock Hill, South Carolina	Baptist	James H. Goudlock	21
Gammon Theological Seminary	Atlanta, Georgia	Meth.	John W. Haygood	72
Howard University	Washington, D. C.	Non-Sect.	William Stuart Nelson	37
Howe Institute	Memphis, Tennessee	Baptist	Chas. T. Epps	50
Immanuel Lutheran College	Greensboro, North Carolina	Lutheran	H. Nau	Ⓝ
Johnson C. Smith	Charlotte, North Carolina	Presb.	C. H. Schute	23
Kittrell College	Kittrell, North Carolina	A. M. E.	E. F. G. Dent	6
Lampton Theological Seminary	Jackson, Mississippi	A. M. E.	S. L. Greene, Jr.	Ⓝ
Lane College	Jackson, Tennessee	C. M. E.	A. C. Bailey	Ⓝ
Leland College	Baker, Louisiana	Baptist	J. M. Frazier	11
Lincoln University	Lincoln University, Pennsylvania	Presb.	Horace Mann Bond	18
Livingstone College	Salisbury, North Carolina	A. M. E. Z.	Wm. J. Trent	24
Mary Allen College	Crockett, Texas	Baptist	G. L. Prince	12
Morehouse College	Atlanta, Georgia	Nat. Baptist	George D. Kelsey	17
Morris College	Sumter, South Carolina	Nat. Baptist	J. P. Garrick	10
Morris Booker Memorial College	Dermott, Arkansas	Baptist	W. L. Purifoy	22
Morris Brown College	Atlanta, Georgia	A. M. E.	W. A. Fountain, Jr.	45
Natchez College	Natchez, Mississippi	Baptist	W. L. Nelson	5
Oakwood College	Huntsville, Alabama	7th Day Adv.	F. L. Peterson	50
Prentiss N. & I. Institute	Prentiss, Mississippi	Non-Sect.	J. E. Johnson	6
Quindaro College	Quindaro, Kansas	A. M. E.	George F. Martin	32
Selma University	Selma, Alabama	Nat. Baptist	Wm. H. Dinkins	Ⓝ
Shaw University	Raleigh, North Carolina	Nat. Baptist	Robert P. Daniel	52
Shorter-Flipper-Curry College	North Little Rock, Arkansas	A. M. E.	S. S. Morris, Jr.	Ⓝ
Simmons University	Louisville, Kentucky	Miss. Baptist	M. B. Lanier	Ⓝ
Southern Christian Institute	Edwards, Mississippi	Disciple	John Long	18
St. Augustine's Seminary	Bay St. Louis, Mississippi	Catholic	Joseph Busch, S. V. D.	46
Stillman Institute	Tuscaloosa, Alabama	Presb.	A. L. Jackson	2
Virginia Theological Seminary	Lynchburg, Virginia	Nat. Baptist	W. H. R. Powell	15
Virginia Union University	Richmond, Virginia	Nat. Baptist	J. Malcus Ellison	16
Western Baptist Seminary	Kansas City, Missouri	Baptist	Clement Richardson	30
Wilberforce University	Wilberforce, Ohio	A. M. E.	Charles H. Wesley	16
Total				889

†Prepared by the Editor.
Source: Questionnaires received from the various seminaries and colleges.
(N)—No reports received.

Summarized Characteristics Of Students In Negro Colleges

From the *National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes*, published by the United States Office of Education in 1942, we have the following summary concerning the characteristics of Freshmen and Seniors enrolled in colleges for Negroes. The survey included 27 selected institutions as follows: Arkansas had 3 institutions participating; Alabama, District of Columbia, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee, 2 each; and Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, 1 institution each; 13 were public institutions and 14 were private; 24 offered courses for 4 years and 3 offered courses for 2 years.

The data concerning student personnel indicated:

1. "That occupational groups in the general population are disproportionately represented in the college population. There is a greater incidence of the following occupational groups in the college population (according to occupations of fathers) than in the general population: professional, business, clerical, skilled labor, personal and domestic service; and a small incidence of the following occupational groups: farming, semi-skilled labor and unskilled labor."
2. "That students in Negro colleges are drawn predominately from homes of low socio-economic level. Fully two-thirds of the fathers of seniors and three-fourths of the fathers of freshmen are in the following occupational groups: skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor, farming, and personal and domestic service. The median reported income of parents among seniors is $1,048 per year and among freshmen $852 per year."
3. "That students in Negro colleges are drawn largely from Southern urban public schools. Eighteen per cent of the freshmen and 17 per cent of the seniors attended rural elementary schools and only 11 per cent of the freshmen and 12 per cent of the seniors attended rural secondary schools."
4. "That a large proportion of students in institutions for the higher education of Negroes supplement whatever assistance they receive from their parents by contributing to their own self-support and by receiving aid from the college or other sources. Among the seniors, 81 per cent report having earned some of their college expenses and 69 per cent report having earned one-fourth or more of their expenses; 52 per cent report having received some scholarship aid.
5. "That students in institutions for the higher education of Negroes perform throughout the range of standardized psychological and achievement examinations.
6. "That neither the entering freshmen nor the end-of-the-year seniors in institutions for the higher education of Negroes are well informed with respect to Negro affairs.
7. "That students in Negro colleges are enrolled largely in arts and science curricula with relatively little representation in other fields.
8. "That students in Negro colleges are preparing predominantly to enter the teaching profession" (but) "that a large proportion of the seniors who are prepared to teach regard teaching as a temporary or 'stepping stone' occupation. That the ultimate occupational choices of freshmen and seniors are predominantly in the professional and semi-professional fields.
9. "That seniors in Negro colleges express an intention to attend non-segregated graduate institutions and segregated (Negro) professional institutions.
10. "That there is a significant relationship among both freshmen and seniors between the place of elementary and secondary schooling and performance on the tests administered. On each of the tests administered, the highest median scores are those of freshmen and seniors who had attended Northern elementary and secondary schools, the lowest those of freshmen and seniors who had attended Southern rural schools. Intermediate positions are held by freshmen and seniors from border-state schools, southern private schools, and southern urban public schools.
11. "That there is a significant relationship among both freshmen and seniors between the type of secondary school attended and performance on the objective tests administered. On each of the tests the median scores of students who attended non-segregated secondary schools are significantly higher than those of the students who had attended segregated schools.
12. "That there is a significant relationship between the occupation of fathers and the performance of students on the tests administered."

Quality Of Educational Facilities Provided By Negro Colleges

In the summary volume of the *National Survey of Higher Education of Negroes*, published in 1943, the twenty-five representative institutions comprising the study were scored in terms of the institutional pattern developed by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary

Schools. Two important implications are indicated as follows: "The first is that in terms of the measures here used, colleges for Negroes in general are below par in practically every area of educational service—in faculty competence, organization, and conditions of service; curriculum and instruction; student personnel; administration; and financial support and expenditure. This means that potential talent is going undeveloped, and that the nation is being deprived of valuable contributions for lack of adequate higher educational facilities.

"The second implication is that there are pronounced individual differences among institutions, and that, in general, colleges which rank high on certain significant items also rank high on others. There is every indication that Negroes and their institutions have the potentialities for development equal to those of other groups and institutions provided adequate facilities are made available."

The summary ratings for the twenty-five representative institutions are indicated in table 23. A median of 50 on any item would indicate a rating just as good—no better and no worse—than that of the average college in the North Central Association.

Table 23.

Percentile Rankings of the Median Institutions On Given Items; and the Highest and Lowest Percentile Reached Among the 25 Institutions Studied

Item	Lowest	Median	Highest
Faculty			
Doctor's degrees	5	11	95
Master's degrees	4	76	99
Graduate study	1	4	90
Graduate training in teaching subjects	1	8	84
Educational experience	1	17	74
Learned Societies			
Memberships	1	8	96
Meetings	1	9	97
Programs	16	18	89
Form of organization	12	28	70
Faculty meetings	3	17	78
Student-faculty ratio	1	6	78
Salaries	1	10	95
Tenure	1	27	65
Teaching Load	5	39	85
Recruitment and Appointment	2	14	65
Housing	0	15	75
Curriculum			
General Education	1	26	83
Advanced Education	0	12	84
Professional and Technical Education	1	10	50
Organization	1	50	83
Instruction			
Administrative concern	0	10	95
Student scholarship	0	13	94
Instructional and curricula adjustment	0	6	55
Student Personnel Service			
Admission	1	18	83
Orientation	1	18	70
Counseling procedures	1	12	65
Financial aid	1	12	60
Housing and boarding	1	20	78
Placement	1	12	99
Administration			
General control	1	35	96
Academic administration	0	25	97
Administration of special activities	24	59	97
Financial Expenditure and Support			
Education expenditure per student	1	19	99
Stable income per student	1	26	98
Debt per student	5	84	84

Source: National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C., 1942.

Selected Recommendations Of Survey Specialists

From the recommendations of the Survey specialists the following recommendations are selected:

1. "That higher educational institutions for Negroes project a continuing study of the socio-economic factors in the life of their regions, states, and local communities; and that they apply the findings and conclusions of such study to their educational programs.
2. "That higher educational institutions for Negroes begin an aggressive attack on the problem of defining their purposes in the light of: (a) the needs of the students they enroll; (b) the socio-economic factors of the area they serve; (c) the types of institutions they are; and (d) the principles of democracy upon which they and our nation are founded. Furthermore, that proceedings be instituted for periodic re-examination of their purposes in order that they may be kept dynamic and current.
3. "That colleges for Negroes assume leadership in improving the health status of Negroes: (a) Through improved health education and services for their students; (b) by developing leaders in health education and service; and (c) by participating in civic activities designed to improve the health status of Negroes in their immediate communities and regions.
4. "That colleges for Negroes provide comprehensive programs of vocational guidance for their students, based on personnel, institutional, occupational, and community studies; that the program of occupational preparation be characterized by thoroughness, and be in line with the exacting demands of modern times; that the program of occupational preparation attempt to develop in the students flexibility, imagination and dependability; and that the base of occupational choices be widened for the students to include, in addition to the traditional vocations, consideration of the newer occupations in aviation, radio, agro-biology, chemurgy, motion pictures, photography, refrigeration, and the many service occupations, for example.
5. "That colleges utilize the most modern diagnostic techniques in order to identify student deficiencies and individual differences; that they institute procedures for remedying these deficiencies; that they adapt their curriculum and instructional practices to the educational level and capabilities of the students they enroll; and that they provide for the education of faculty members in the application of modern personnel techniques and the appropriate use of the results.
6. "That colleges for Negroes emphasize education for home and family living, including especially instruction in sex hygiene and marriage, refinement, good manners, and culture; that they provide a home-like atmosphere for the purpose of instilling good taste and appreciation for order and beauty; and that special care be exercised in the selection of teachers in order that a good proportion may have, in addition to high intellectual attainments, a deep sense of obligation to promote among their students high standards of integrity, morality, and culture.
7. "That institutions for Negroes refrain from offering graduate and professional work in any given field until general and specific conditions are sufficiently satisfactory to assure results of acceptable standard; that institutions considering themselves qualified to offer graduate and professional work examine critically and objectively the need for such work in their areas, and explore the possibilities of cooperation with other institutions before launching a program of graduate and professional instruction.
8. "That these colleges cooperate with other colleges in their areas with a view to developing union library lists on the Negro and race relations and arrange inter-library loans for the use of persons desiring to study the subject; and that those colleges which have not already done so inaugurate the scientific study of the Negro and other races and their contributions to American and world culture as a part of the regular curriculum offering.
9. "A concluding recommendation has to do with action by state and Federal governments. As education increasingly becomes a matter of public concern, deriving its support from the Federal and state governments, it becomes imperative that public policy and practice regarding it shall be guided by the principle of equal opportunity for each citizen, and by unselfish interest in the national welfare. It is only by such an approach that we can be sure of finding, conserving, and developing the best of our human resources for the common good. It is recommended, therefore,
   - (a) That, where necessary, state authorities take steps to insure that equalization funds of their state reach the source for which they are intended.
   - (b) That states take steps now to provide equality of educational opportunity on both the college and pre-college levels.
   - (c) That those states which are temporarily providing out-of-state scholarships for Negroes to secure advanced, graduate, and professional instruction, the amount granted be sufficient to cover the excess expenses of students, and that the total annual appropriation for such pur-

poses be large enough to cover all legitimate demands for scholarships.

(d) That the states, the higher institutions for white persons, and the Federal Government cooperate in increasing the benefits to Negroes of Federal grants, particularly for adult education and research and experimental purposes.

(e) That the Federal Government participate in developing high-grade university education for either the Negro or white races or both wherever in the country it cannot be done from other public or private sources.

(f) That competent Negroes be utilized increasingly in formulating educational policies and administering educational programs on a local, state, and national basis."

Negro Students Enrolled In Northern Institutions

A study of eight nationally known institutions of higher learning in the North showed, in 1940, a combined enrollment of 1,253 Negro students. Only 200 of these, enrolled chiefly in graduate and professional courses, were from the South. At the same time, approximately twenty times as many Negroes from the North were enrolled in Negro colleges of the South. An analysis of the numbers and status of Negroes in northern institutions raises many questions.

Northern Negroes In Southern Negro Colleges

First, as asked by the National Surveyors, "Why do such large numbers of Negroes go South to attend Negro colleges while relatively few southern Negroes go North, and these mainly for graduate and professional training? Is the answer to be found in the nature of the Negro's position as a minority group so that, given such a position, only the Negro college can offer a satisfactory undergraduate experience? Or have northern institutions been unmindful of their responsibility for providing an adequate and satisfying educational opportunity to all qualified students in the area the institution purports to serve? Or have the Negro colleges sought the northern student because of the superior educational and cultural background which frequently enables him to take a place of leadership among Southern students who have had poorer economic and educational opportunities?"

In the reports of the graduate and professional Negro students from the South attending the Northern institutions, there was emphasis on the financial problems encountered. Some of these students had received Southern State scholarships provided because graduate courses were not available to Negroes within their own States. The amount of the scholarship was usually small. "Will the development of graduate and professional courses in Negro colleges," ask the surveyors, "reduce still lower the number of Negroes who leave the South for graduate training? If so, will there be a danger of institutional in-breeding in the faculties of Negro colleges?

As yet, only four higher educational institutions for Negroes, Howard University, Fisk University, Talladega College, and North Carolina State College for Negroes, have been accredited by the Association of American Universities. "For the most part, the Negro colleges are now unable to offer advanced academic training that approximates the standards maintained by large Northern universities. Yet the number of Northern Negroes who went to Negro colleges was more than three times as great as the combined enrollment of Negro students in the eight nationally recognized Northern universities studied." These and other facts mean that the Negro colleges, which with few exceptions are poorly equipped, are educating not only southern Negroes but thousands of northern Negroes as well.

A further question must be raised with reference to the responsibility for the support of Negro colleges. "With few exceptions, the Negro colleges are located in Southern States which rank low in economic resources. For the most part, these states have been unable to provide adequate facilities for either white or Negro colleges. Yet these poorly equipped and financially handicapped institutions are carrying a major responsibility in the higher education of Northern as well as Southern Negroes."

Furthermore, the Survey continues, "the choice of Negro colleges on the part of such large numbers of Negro youth should not lead to the uncritical assumption that Negroes necessarily prefer segregated institutions, or that an adequate support of Negro colleges is in itself the solution of the problems of higher education of Negroes. At present, there are many factors which enter into the choice of Negro colleges by Northern youth. Some of these factors are due to the failure of Northern institutions to provide for Negro youth the opportunity to enjoy a satisfying college experience. Other factors lie in the economic and occupational limitations to which Negroes are subject, and still others are inherent in, or concomitants of, the social organization of a bi-racial society."

Beginnings of Court Action To Secure Higher Educational Opportunities In State Institutions

Prior to 1930, organized effort and court action invoking the Fourteenth Amendment in matters pertaining to educational opportunities for Negroes were limited almost exclusively to the elementary and secondary school levels. Provisions for collegiate, graduate, and professional privileges for Negroes in State schools had received little attention. Although the Southern States were providing some measure of undergraduate instruction for Negroes at the college level, not one of them was providing either graduate or professional training.

During the 1930's, several suits were brought against public institutions of higher learning because of their refusal to admit qualified Negro students. Probably the first suit seeking to compel the admission of a Negro student to a southern university was brought in Durham, North Carolina, in April, 1932. Here the effort was to secure the admission of Thomas Holcutt to the School of Pharmacy of the University of North Carolina. Holcutt's application had been denied on the ground that "the separation of the races in its (North Carolina's) schools and educational institutions has always been, and now is, the fixed policy of the State. That policy has been established by its constitution, its laws, and the uniform practice of its people." Holcutt proved a poor choice for a test case, however, due to his lack of the necessary qualifications for admission. No attempt was made, therefore, to appeal to a higher court.

Similar disposal of the case of Miss Alice Carlotta Jackson of Richmond, Virginia, a graduate of Virginia Union University and for some time a student in Smith College, Massachusetts, was made in 1935. Miss Jackson had made application to the Department of Graduate Studies at the University of Virginia for admission to pursue advanced work in French. The application was denied on the ground that "the education of white and colored persons in the same schools is contrary to the long established and fixed policy of the Commonwealth of Virginia."

Provisions For Out-Of-State Scholarships

A year later, the Virginia Legislature passed a law binding the State to pay the tuition of Negro students of Virginia who are compelled to go to other States for Law, Medicine, Pharmacy, etc., which are not provided for Negroes within the State. Virginia and Kentucky have granted differential scholarships since 1936. Missouri had, in 1921 and again in 1929, passed out-of-State scholarship laws. Maryland followed with like provisions in 1933. By 1938, out-of-State scholarship laws had been enacted by eight Southern and Border States.

Every Southern State except Mississippi is now providing graduate education for Negroes under a system of "differential scholarships" that grew out of the Gaines decision in 1938. In most cases these scholarships make up the difference it would cost Negro students to study in the State's white institutions and their expenses at another college where racial segregation is not required.

North Carolina has developed a number of graduate courses for Negro students at its State schools for Negroes and maintains an unlimited appropriation to cover courses not offered. In addition, it spent $22,000 to send students out of the State in 1945. In 1946, 170 students applied for scholarships. Virginia spent, for 377 students, $75,000 in 1945 including 35 medical and dental scholarships. Georgia spent $25,000 in 1945 assisting 678 students. In 1946, 358 students were assisted in the State and 17 out of the State. Most of Georgia's Negro students are enrolled at Atlanta University. Kentucky in 1946 appropriated $30,000. Negro students may receive grants up to $350 a year. An average of 60 students yearly have full-time scholarships and about 140 take summer work annually. Arkansas is working under a $12,500 biennial appropriation that enables about 100 Negro students to take professional and graduate work. Alabama, in 1945, appropriated $25,000 for "differential scholarships" for whites and Negroes; 89 grants were made in 1945 to Negroes. No whites have applied. Florida appropriated $10,000 in 1946 to finance 95 Negro students approved for graduate scholarships. South Carolina State Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes is beginning its own graduate school. Louisiana began a $50,000 annual "differential scholarship" plan in 1946.

It should be pointed out, however, that the scholarships thus provided are inadequate both as to numbers and amounts available for the purpose.

Case Of Donald Murray Against The University Of Maryland

In May, 1935, Donald Murray, a Negro resident of Baltimore and a graduate of Amherst College, applied for admission to the Law School of the University of Maryland. His application was declined by the University officials. Murray then sued in the Baltimore City Court for a writ of mandamus to compel the University authorities to admit him. He contended that his exclusion, solely because of race and color, was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Commenting on the suit, the Baltimore *Evening Sun* of May 6, 1935, stated: "The Negro who has brought suit to force his way into the Law School of the University of Maryland may cost the State a lot of money before the thing is over." This statement was a true forecast for many States in the South.

The Court granted the writ ordering Murray's admission as a law student; but the University carried the case to the Court of Appeals in Maryland. In the meantime, Murray was admitted to the University of Maryland on September 25, 1935, where he graduated from the Law School with a creditable record in June, 1938. In October, 1936, Calvin Douglas, another Negro, was admitted to the University of Maryland Law School. Douglas graduated in 1940.

Immediate Effects Of the Murray Case

The effects of the decision in the Murray case were significant. Intensification of efforts to secure graduate and professional educational opportunities for Negroes in the segregated school States was immediate. There was an increase in the number of Negro applicants for admission to the Universities of Maryland, Virginia, and Missouri. Almost simultaneously, in five Southern States the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People launched an aggressive campaign against the discrimination in universities supported at public expense. Commenting on the movement, the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* stated in August, 1935: "Theoretically it looks like a movement to get Negro students admitted to State universities. Legally, the action takes that form. But realistically, it is a movement to procure for colored people educational opportunities which they are now denied and to remove a discrimination which denies the same privileges under law that other citizens enjoy."

Case Of Lloyd Gaines Vs. University of Missouri, 1938

One of the most important and far-reaching cases in the Negro's fight for full citizenship status was that of Lloyd Gaines vs. University of Missouri. Gaines was a young Negro with excellent academic qualifications who attempted to enter the University of Missouri Law School, but was refused admittance solely because of his race or color. Asserting that his refusal was a denial by the State of Missouri of the equal protection of the laws in violation of the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment, he brought action for a writ of mandamus to compel the University to admit him. He was urged by the University officials to accept a scholarship, that the State was willing to offer, for study outside the State of Missouri. This he refused to accept. The University thereupon defended on the ground that the Negro university (Lincoln University) offered a law course which was then in preparation and which would be ready in the very near future. The lower court as well as the Supreme Court of Missouri dismissed the petition for mandamus. The Federal Supreme Court, however, in a clear-cut decision held the action of the University of Missouri to be a denial of due process.

The majority opinion, seven to two, written by Chief Justice Hughes, emphasized the following points: "The basic consideration is not as to what sort of opportunities other States provide, or whether they are as good as those of the State of Missouri, but as to what opportunities Missouri itself furnishes to white students and denies to Negroes solely upon the ground of color. The admissibility of laws separating the races and the enjoyment of privileges afforded by the State rests wholly upon the equality of the privileges which the laws give to the separated groups within the State. The question here is not of a duty of a State to supply legal training which it does supply, but of its duty when it does supply such training to furnish it to the residents of the State upon the basis of an equality of right. By the operation of the laws of Missouri, a privilege has been created for white law students which is denied to Negroes by reason of their race alone. The white resident is afforded a legal education within the state. The Negro resident, having the same qualification, is refused this and must go outside the state to obtain it. That is the denial of the equality of legal right to the enjoyment of the privilege which the State has set up and the provision for the payment of tuition fees in another State does not remove the discrimination.

> "The equal protection of the laws is 'a pledge of the protection of equal laws.' Manifestly, the obligation of the State to give the protection of equal laws can be performed only where its laws operate, that is within its own jurisdiction. It is there that the equality of legal right must be maintained. That obligation is imposed by the Constitution upon the States severally as governmental entities—each responsible for its own laws establishing the rights and duties of persons within its borders. . . . We find it impossible to conclude that what otherwise would be unconstitutional discrimination, with respect to the enjoyment of opportunities within the State, can be justified by requiring resort to opportunities elsewhere.
>
> "Here the petitioner's right is a personal one. It was as an individual that he was entitled to the equal protection of the laws, and the state was bound to furnish him within its borders facilities for legal education substantially equal to those which the state there afforded for persons of the white race, whether or not other Negroes sought the same privileges."

Decision In Gaines Case A Major Precedent

This opinion of the Federal Supreme Court, rendered December 12, 1938, is a land mark in the history of Negro educational rights in the United States. It is important because of its far-reaching implications for the higher education of Negroes everywhere and especially for graduate and professional education in the South. The effects have been wide-spread. Here and there a variation from the traditional pattern has resulted and in many States the increased problems, resulting from the decision, have been seriously considered.

It is significant in this connection that, even before the Gaines case was concluded, a Negro, as we have already mentioned, was graduated from the Law School of the University of Maryland, after being admitted on a lower court order, and there was neither a race riot nor even discrimination against him during his period of study there. The student paper of the University of Missouri is reported to have stated editorially, immediately after the Supreme Court decision, that there was no good reason why Gaines or any other qualified Negro should not be admitted to the University. Furthermore, a poll of student and official opinion in several universities of the South indicated that the majority would not object to the admission of Negroes to their institutions. And, recently, such polls of college student opinion have shown more liberal attitudes than ever before.

Increasing Awareness Of Equalization Problem In The South

There is clearly an increasing awareness of the problem of equalization of educational opportunities in the South. Although pledged to separate schools, the Southern States are beginning to see the necessity of providing better facilities for graduate and professional training of Negroes. North Carolina began serious study of the problem while the Gaines case was still under litigation. A commission appointed for the purpose quickly recommended that "some satisfactory plan for providing graduate and professional education shall be determined by the Legislature of 1939 and that substantial funds be appropriated for the purpose." This resulted in the establishment of a Graduate School and a Law School at the North Carolina College for Negroes at Durham in September, 1939. Maryland followed with similar action the same year by the purchase and incorporation of Morgan College, a privately owned Negro institution, into the State system and by the development of graduate instruction there for Negro students. Virginia, about the same time, also established a Graduate School at its State College for Negroes.

From that time on, several States of the South have become more liberal in providing out-of-state scholarships. These, however, represent an unsatisfactory attempt to equalize educational opportunities at the higher levels. Scholarship grants do not always include the differential between the fare from the student's home to the State university which will not receive him and his fare to the institution which will. Scholarships do not include any differential in case of increased living expenses outside the State and are frequently subject to conditions and restrictions not imposed upon white students taking the same kind of work. In some States, there is not even enough money provided by the home-State to pay tuition fees for all the qualified Negro students who apply for scholarships.

Herman Sweatt Vs. The University of Texas

Herman Sweatt, a graduate of Wiley College at Marshall, Texas, and a graduate student at the University of Michigan prior to becoming a postal employee, applied for admission to the Law School of the University of Texas in the early part of 1946. As was to be expected, since the University of Texas had never admitted Negro students not even to correspondence courses, Sweatt's application was denied. Almost immediately, President T. S. Painter of the University sought a ruling from Attorney-General Grover Sellers in the matter.

The Attorney-General began his opinion with acceptance of the "wise and long continued policy of segregation of races in the educational institutions of the state." He referred to the Constitution of the State of Texas as being the legal basis for segregation in the schools. He avoided, however, the point that the passages of the Constitution which provide for separate facilities in every instance specify that such facilities shall be equal. Governor Stevenson of Texas also ignored the "equal" which accompanies all references to "separate" when he proposed a one-teacher "law school at Prairie View College, a state school for Negroes." The State Legislature, also, gave no consideration to this constitutional requirement when, very soon after, it raised Prairie View College on paper to the status of a university.

In May, 1946, Sweatt took his case to the Federal District Court at Austin. The Attorney-General, defending his ruling, argued that Sweatt should have made his application to the State A. and M. College (white) which would provide for his legal education at Prairie View. In June of the same year, Federal Judge Roy C. Archer granted Sweatt an interlocutory writ for admission to the University of Texas, but suspended it for six months to give the State an opportunity to establish a law school for Negroes.

On December 17, 1946, in Judge Archer's crowded courtroom, Thurgood Marshall of Washington, counsel for the NAACP, argued that the issue was whether the State had complied with the court's order. Judge Archer decided A. and M. College had until February 1, 1947, to establish its Prairie View Law course; otherwise Sweatt would be admitted to the University of Texas. Marshall announced, however, that he would appeal to a higher court. The State, he said, could not comply by the date set. "It would have to have 65,000 law books and it cannot get them by the first of February," he told Judge Archer. "It would have to have ten full Professors and four Associate Professors to have a school equivalent to the University of Texas Law School."

Oklahoma Court Denies University Entrance To Ada Lois Sipuel

On January, 14, 1946, Ada Lois Sipuel, honor student of Langston University, applied for admission to the School of Law of University of Oklahoma. Having been denied admission on account of race and color, Miss Sipuel brought suit against the University in the District Court of Cleveland County on April 6, 1946. In all major respects this case was similar to that of Gaines vs. Missouri and Sweatt vs. Texas. The opinion rendered by Judge Ben T. Williams, however, was different. Despite a section of the brief of Attorney-General Hansen, counsel for the University, which acknowledged that separate schools for Negroes in Oklahoma are "inadequate and unfair" and that sending Negroes out of the State for education does not comply with the Supreme Court decision in the Gaines case, Judge Williams upheld the action of the University in refusing to admit Miss Sipuel.

The action of the University officials in denying Miss Sipuel's admission to the Law School had been justified by Dr. Roy Gittinger, Dean of Admissions, in the following statement:

> "Title 70, Sections 452 to 464, of the Oklahoma Statutes, 1941, prohibits colored students from attending the schools for whites in Oklahoma, including the University of Oklahoma, and makes it a misdemeanor for school officials to admit colored students to white schools; to instruct classes composed of mixed races; and to attend classes composed of mixed races.
>
> "The Board of Regents has specifically instructed the President of the University of Oklahoma to refuse admission to Negroes, giving as a basis of their decision, the Statutes of Oklahoma."

Conference Of Deans Of Southern Graduate Schools On Graduate Work For Negroes

During the summer of 1945, the Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools, financed by the General Education Board and attended by both white and Negro educators, held a series of five meetings to study the problems of graduate work for Negroes. An important feature of these meetings was the drawing up of statements by the Negro educators themselves regarding the whole problem of Negro education in the South. While willing to discuss temporary expediencies, these educators insisted that such expediences should be recognized as definitely temporary. The following are some of the facts, summarized by Dean W. D. Funkhouser of the University of Kentucky, brought out in the conferences:

1. "It developed for example that there is not a single Negro institution in the United States in which a student can secure a doctor's degree.
2. "That very few Negro institutions in the South can offer even the master's degree except in a very limited number of fields.
3. "The monies allotted to Negro institutions in most of the Southern states are far below any proportionate figure based on relative Negro and white populations.
4. "A prominent Negro librarian at one of the meetings made the statement that no college could be expected to do creditable undergraduate work, much less graduate work, unless it had at least 25,000 to 30,000 titles in the library. On the basis of this factor alone, and this is merely a quantitative and not a qualitative standard, there are not more than a half dozen Negro institutions in the South which could honestly be recommended for general graduate instruction.
5. "In fact, it would seem that most Negro colleges do not have more than one-tenth the library facilities of the white colleges in the same area.
6. "In spite of these handicaps, however, there is no question that many Negro graduate schools are doing very creditable work."

Negro Educators Believe States Will Eventually Conform To Gaines Decision

Continuing, Dean Funkhouser said he was convinced "that practically all Negro educators . . . base their hopes and expectations (concerning higher education for Negroes) directly and confidently on the Gaines decision. They point out that the Supreme Court ruling leaves only two choices —either to admit Negroes to State institutions or to set up for Negro institutions within the state, opportunities equal in all respects to those provided for white students, and they argue that this dual system of education would entail a financial burden which most Southern States could not bear."

Position of Negro Educators Relative to Temporary Expedients

The position taken by the Negro educators of the Conference, relative to temporarily expedient measures was, as stated by Dean Funkhouser, as follows:

1. "**Out of State Aid.** In general, out of state aid seemed to be acceptable as a means of providing assistance for the next few years; but many objections were made to the practice, chiefly on the grounds that the remuneration was not sufficient to meet actual expense or to compensate for dislocation and inconvenience.
2. "**Regional Institutions.** There was almost unanimous objection to the suggestion (which seemed to meet with the entire approval of many white educators) that states make arrangements to set up first class graduate and professional schools for Negroes to serve a wide area. The chief protest is, of course, that it does not conform to the Gaines Supreme Court decision. Negro educators seemed not impressed by the fact that many white students are compelled to go to out-of-state institutions to secure professional and other training not available within their own state, and receive no state aid whatsoever.
3. "**Choice of Institutions.** There was some disagreement on this point. The majority seemed to feel, however, that Negro students would prefer to attend institutions within their own state if satisfactory facilities were offered. This was based on the idea that expenses would be less, local interests would be maintained, and the students would be encouraged to stay in their own communities to serve their own people.
4. "**Increased Support for State Negro Institutions.** This was acceptable but apparently viewed with some suspicion as a permanent solution because of the general impression that such support will never be sufficient to make the Negro institution as strong as the institution for the white students.
5. "**Dual Facilities.** While the situation which exists, for example, at the North Carolina State College for Negroes, where members of the faculties of Duke and the University of North Carolina assist in the teaching at the Negro institution, is often quoted as a great help in providing a high quality of instruction and making possible more extended curricula, nevertheless, the general sentiment expressed by most Negro educators was that this does not satisfy their desires. Most of them stated that they do not consider this an acceptable solution of the problem of graduate instruction even where it is possible."

Resolutions Adopted By Conference Of Deans Of Southern Graduate Schools

The following resolutions adopted by the Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools, October 29, 1945, after the series of meetings, are significant:

1. "It is our strong conviction that every properly prepared graduate student, white or Negro, should have access to competent graduate instruction.
2. "With the information now before us, we recognize that the graduate programs for Negroes are far from adequate. We are glad to note the considerable improvements made in recent years, but we wish to urge that better support be provided for both public and private institutions, so that the facilities shall be substantially equal to those for white students.
3. "We recommend that the compensation for Negro instructors be the equivalent of that for white instructors of equal attainments as measured on the basis of preparation and actual competence.
4. "We favor the development of strong regional graduate schools, in which fields of special interest may be emphasized. For the Negroes, regional centers seem to offer, from the academic standpoint, the most immediate and effective relief.
5. "As a temporary expedient, we favor out-of-state aid in the form of scholarships.
6. "We recognize also that the problems are complex; that they may differ widely from one region to another and that no simple or easy solution may be expected. We believe that each Southern state should be encouraged to work out its problems in whatever ways are best suited to the local and regional needs and folkways, and at the same time be willing to learn from its neighbors.
7. "These meetings have further strengthened our conviction that some plan of accreditation of all graduate work is greatly needed and is long overdue.
8. "We have found that there is great need for more factual information. We recommend that studies similar to the one on senior colleges for Negroes made in Texas in 1941 be carried out in those states in which no recent surveys have been made.
9. "We have been impressed with the effectiveness and integrity of the plans now being tried in North Carolina, Texas, and Alabama, and suggest that these plans should be carefully studied by the other southern states."

The Southern Governors And Higher Education For Negroes

The Governors of the Southern States, in their conferences within recent years, have given significant attention to the problem of higher education for Negroes in the South. In the following words, the report of the

Committee on Regional Education of the Southern Governors' Conference in January, 1945, declared:

> "The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled unequivocally that every state must maintain equal educational facilities within its borders, if demanded, to all citizens who are similarly qualified. The Negro's need and eligibility for higher education are steadily growing, and we desire and must meet that need and that eligibility."

A four-fold problem facing the Southern States was then discussed by the committee:

> "First, our states are lacking in the availability of higher education to their citizens at the public expense.
>
> "Second, the present disparity of higher education offerings to whites and Negroes, in face of growing demands by both for increased educational opportunity, is common among the Conference states, all of which practice segregation of the races." (The Conference states are: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.)
>
> "Third, the states of the Conference have limited resources which preclude individual effective attack of the problem.
>
> "Fourth, the demands for education in certain fields will always be in numbers too limited for each state to provide economically for them within its borders."

What is needed, then, according to the Committee report, "is the establishment and maintenance of equal educational facilities within state borders," in accord with the Supreme Court ruling; but the solution offered by the Committee is *increased* "utilization of higher educational facilities outside state boundaries."

This solution was recommended by the Committee on the grounds that it is "not new," since twelve States have for some time been employing this expedient. These States include those among which, according to the Committee, "the present disparity of higher education offerings to whites and Negroes . . . is common. Two administrative devices for providing higher education for Negroes have been employed: First, the states have granted scholarships to individual students for education not provided within state borders. Second, the states have contracted with other state governments and their agencies to provide higher education at specific costs to certain numbers of students."

In order to extend such practices as these in the South, in an expanded program of establishment and maintenance of higher education "on a regional basis," the Committee stated that several actions must be taken by individual States. First, "it will be necessary for each state to determine its present and probable higher education needs and desirabilities." Second, "each state must conclude if and when each specific need or desirability can be met at its own institutions." Third, "in planning to meet such of its needs and desirabilities at its own institutions, each state should consider and, insofar as practicable, take into account the possibility of providing for similar needs and desirabilities of other state governments within the region." Fourth, "each state should, at institutions of higher learning in other states, preferably within the region of the Conference, attempt to provide for the needs and desirabilities which it is unable to meet within its own boundaries." Fifth, "each state should cooperate with the other Conference states in attempting to provide somewhere within the region such programs as no state is able to undertake alone."

The Committee, however, did not indicate how these proposals of continued and expanded programs of out-of-state education will conform with the Supreme Court's ruling that equal educational facilities for all persons similarly qualified, must be maintained *within* state boundaries.

The United Negro College Fund

The organization of the United Negro College Fund in 1943 marked the beginning of a new method of fund-raising for Negro colleges. This was probably the first time in history that any colleges—white or Negro—had banded themselves together for such a purpose. Most private Negro colleges were founded and, to a very great extent, supported by religious groups. In their earlier history, a considerable part of their support, especially for buildings, came from wealthy philanthropists and special foundations. Also, in recent years, the alumni of Negro colleges have contributed small but increasing amounts.

The United Negro College Fund grew out of a serious concern on the part of educational authorities about the financial condition of the private Negro college. In a survey of higher education for Negroes published by the United States Office of Education in 1943, it was disclosed that the income of private Negro colleges had decreased 16 per cent between 1930 and 1938, and that the income from private gifts to these institutions had decreased 50 per cent during the period. There were two main reasons for this. First, it was no longer possible to secure large gifts from philanthropic foundations for current support; since they were either concentrating on special projects in the field of Negro education or were being gradually liquidated. Second, there had been a disturbing decrease in the number and size of gifts from the long-time friends of Negro education.

President Frederick D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute in an article in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 30, 1943, called attention to the plight of the colleges and suggested that they should cooperate in an annual fund-raising project. He said, in part: "Private colleges for Negroes have carried the brunt of our educational effort for the better part of this experience. They still educate, to the extent of their means, nearly 50 per cent of those who receive college training. They have provided the bulk of the educational leadership administering to colleges—both public and private. . . . These Negro institutions may well take a cue from the general program of organization which seems to involve most charitable efforts today. Various and sundry drives are being unified with a reduction in overhead for publicity and in behalf of a more purposeful and pointed approach to the giving public. The idea may not be new here but it seems most propitious at this time that the several institutions pool the small moneys which they are spending for campaign and publicity and that they make a united appeal to the national conscience."

This article evoked widespread comment, and after a series of conferences of college presidents, directors of several foundations, and other educational authorities, the United Negro College Fund was organized in October, 1943, with twenty-seven members. The Fund was incorporated under the membership corporation laws of New York State in April, 1944. The purpose of the Fund as set forth in its charter is as follows:

> "To aid the cause of higher education for members of the Negro people in the United States, its territories, possessions and dependencies, by conducting solicitations and campaigns for securing donations, bequests, devices and gifts for the benefit and aid of colleges and similar institutions of higher education, located or operating within the United States, its territories, possessions or dependencies, the educational facilities and services of which are predominantly offered to and availed of by members of the Negro people, said colleges and institutions being organized and operated exclusively for educational purposes or for educational purposes combined with religious, charitable or scientific purposes, and not for private profit, no part of the net earnings of which colleges or institutions enures to or is payable to or for the benefit of any private shareholder or individual and no substantial part of the activities of which colleges and institutions is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation."

The first campaign of the United Negro College Fund was carried on in the spring of 1944. An analysis of the results indicate that 75 per cent of the money raised came from persons who had not previously made donations to help support the higher education of Negroes. It was also found that Negroes themselves had contributed somewhat more than 13 per cent of the funds raised. Donations came from large corporations and labor unions, churches of all creeds, fraternities, lodges, social clubs—from Southerners as well as Northerners. Approximately $113,000 was contributed by private foundations. A total of $901,812.18 was raised in 1944. This was short of the $1,500,000 which had been set as a goal.

In 1945, a total of $1,069,000 was raised through campaigns throughout the nation. This was approximately two-thirds of the $1,550,000 set as a goal. Several significant facts were disclosed by an analysis of the second annual campaign:

1. There were 25,000 more persons who gave in 1945 than in 1944.
2. Approximately 90 per cent of those who contributed in 1944 repeated in 1945.
3. Foundations contributed $196,000 in 1945 as compared with $113,000 in 1944.
4. Negroes increased their contributions 50 per cent over 1944. Of the amount

contributed by Negroes, $50,000 came from servicemen overseas.

5. Gifts from corporations increased 50 per cent over 1944.

A supplementary benefit from the experiment in cooperative fund-raising was in the form of better understanding between the white and Negro participants. National leaders, both Negro and white, in all walks of life loaned their names and influence to the program. Many of these leaders after their experience in the first campaign volunteered their services for the second and the third. The national goal set for the 1946 campaign was $1,300,000; of this amount, $904,372.75 was raised.

How 1945 donations were used:

Sixteen institutions painted, decorated, and repaired structures, walks and grounds, and improved classroom buildings and dormitories. These structures had showed signs of enforced neglect during the war years.

Fifteen institutions augmented their staffs with teachers in education, natural and social sciences and in many other fields of study. Special courses were developed for returning veterans.

Twelve institutions were able to add much needed books to their libraries and also to employ additional staff members in order to improve this basic service.

Eighteen institutions gave moderate increases in salary to faculty and staff in order to retain qualified personnel and bring the salaries more nearly in line with present-day requirements.

Thirty-two institutions were relieved of the heavy responsibility of searching for operating funds on a year-round basis. Nearly all of these institutions were able to balance their budgets as a result.

Six institutions purchased supplies and equipment of various kinds. Many had not been able to make replacements during the past several years.

Five institutions either established or improved their health facilities for students.

Ten institutions made additional funds available to deserving students.

The United Negro College Fund, 1946 Campaign

The chairman of the National Advisory Committee for the 1946 campaign was: John D. Rockefeller, Jr. National headquarters are at 38 East 57th Street, New York City, William J. Trent, Jr., Executive Director.

The participating colleges were: Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia; Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta, Georgia; Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina; Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina; Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida; Bishop College, Marshall, Texas; Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia; Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana; Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia; Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia; Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, North Carolina; Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee; Lane College, Jackson, Tennessee; LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tennessee; Lincoln University, Chester County, Pennsylvania; Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina; Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia; Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia; Paine College, Augusta, Georgia; Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Arkansas; Samuel Houston College, Austin, Texas; Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina; Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia; Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama; Texas College, Tyler, Texas; Tillotson College, Austin, Texas; Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi; Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia; Wiley College, Marshall, Texas; and Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

ADULT EDUCATION

Increasing Need For Adult Education

There is no field of public education that needs greater extension and improvement than the general field of adult education. This is especially true with respect to the needs of the adult Negro population. Practically nowhere, however, do we find provisions at all comparable with these needs. In the South, the meager programs for adult Negro education are chiefly remedial aiming primarily at the problem of illiteracy. The general picture of the situation has been presented by Dr. Charles H. Thompson of Howard University as follows:

"The educational deficiencies of the nation, revealed so strikingly during the war through the rejection of selectees for educational reasons, have called attention to the lack of educational provisions for a great part of our population. Upward of 2,000,000 men have been rejected because they did not have an education equivalent to the fourth grade, and the 1940 census has revealed that almost 3,000,000 persons 25 years old and over have never been to school, and that some 10,000,000 are functionally illiterate. These facts pose a serious problem of cultural development.

"Naturally, the situation among the Negroes is much worse than in the nation as a whole. Six or seven times as many Negro selectees as white have been rejected for educational reasons. In fact, more Negro selectees have been rejected for educational reasons than for health causes. While only 3.7 per cent of the total population 25 years old and over have had no schooling, there are 10 per cent of the Negroes in this age group; and while 13.5 per cent of the population in this age group in general are functional illiterates—less than five years of schooling—some 41.3 per cent or 2,780,186 Negroes in this age group are found in this category. Thus, if adult education confined itself to remedial instruction alone, it would have a tremendous task as far as Negroes are concerned.

"But adult education is not concerned exclusively, or even primarily, with remedial instruction to develop functional literacy. It is concerned, primarily, with the broad cultural development of the people in many different ways. It is concerned with the implementation of the principle that education is a continuous process throughout life, and assumes in general that formal schooling at least to the point of functional literacy has been completed. Thus in view of the fact that even Negroes who have had the benefit of considerable formal training have been educated for the most part in inferior schools, with all the deficiencies which such a situation implies, increases the complexity of the problems as far as they, as a group, are concerned.

"What is even more important than lack of formal schooling on the part of a large part of our population, however, is the cultural poverty of many sections of our country and a large part of our population. Many sections of the country are not only culturally backward, but do not have adequate resources, either material or spiritual, with which to attempt to remedy this condition. And most significant for the problem under consideration here, some 80 per cent of the Negro population live in these areas, and in many instances, either because of law or custom or both are denied full access to the meager opportunities which may be available. Furthermore, significant is the fact that in many areas where cultural opportunities are available, we find that a large group of our population does not take advantage of them."

Table 24.

Selective Service Registrants Rejected Because of Educational Deficiencies (May Through December, 1942)

1 White Rejectees		2 Negro Rejectees		3 Difference Between White and Negro Percentage	
State	Per Cent	State	Per Cent	State	Per Cent
Okla.	1.3	Va.	0.3	Tenn.	−6.1
Ala.	1.5	Okla.	1.6	Okla.	0.3
Miss.	1.9	Tenn.	4.6	Tex.	1.6
W. Va.	2.1	Ark.	8.0	Va.	3.1
S. C.	2.2	S. C.	8.7	Ark.	5.1
La.	2.2	W. Va.	10.1	S. C.	6.5
N. C.	2.4	Tex.	10.2	Fla.	7.6
Ark.	2.9	Fla.	11.5	W. Va.	8.0
Va.	3.4	La.	11.8	La.	9.6
Fla.	3.9	N. C.	14.2	N. C.	11.8
Ga.	4.6	Miss.	15.1	Miss.	13.2
Tex.	8.6	Ala.	19.2	Ala.	17.7
Tenn.	10.7	Ga.	25.6	Ga.	21.1
Median State	2.4	Median State	10.2	Median State	7.6

Source: Report of Office of Surgeon General, Vital Records Division, February, 1943.

Adult Education Programs In Negro Colleges

A survey of adult education programs carried on in Negro colleges during the year 1944-45 is reported by William M. Cooper in the *Journal of Negro Education*, Summer Number, 1945.

Among the best balanced programs reported were those at A. and T. College, Bethune-Cookman College, Bluefield State College, Florida A. and M. College, Fort Valley State College, Hampton Institute, Kentucky State College, Prairie View State College, Southern University, Tuskegee Institute, Virginia State College and West Virginia State College.

Negro Colleges Reporting Programs*

A. & T. College	1, 2, 4
Albany State College	1, 2, 4
Arkansas A. & M. College	1, 2, 4
Atlanta University	1, 4
Bennett College	1, 2, 4
Bethune-Cookman College	1, 2, 4
Bluefield State College	1, 2, 4
Cheyney Teachers College	1, 2
Clark College	1
Coppin Teachers College	1, 2
Dillard University	1, 2
Dunbar Junior College	1
Elizabeth City State Teachers College	1, 2
Fisk University	1, 2, 4
Florida A. & M. College	1, 2
Fort Valley State College	1, 2, 3, 4
Georgia State College	1, 2, 3
Hampton Institute	1, 2, 3, 4
Howard University	1
Jackson College	1, 2
Jarvis Christian College	2
Johnson C. Smith University	1, 2
Kentucky State College	1, 2
Knoxville College	1, 2, 4
LeMoyne College	1
Louisiana Normal	1, 2
Louisville Municipal College	1
Miles Memorial College	1
Morehouse College	1
Morris College	1, 2
Norfolk Division, Virginia State College	1, 2
North Carolina State College	1, 2
Okolona Industrial School	1, 2
Paine College	1, 2
Philander Smith College	1, 2
Prairie View State College	1, 2, 3, 4
Shaw University	1, 2
South Carolina State College	2
Southern Christian Institute	1, 2
Southern University	1, 2, 4
Storer College	1, 2
Stowe Teachers College	1, 2
Talladega College	1, 2
Texas College	1, 2
Tillotson College	2
Tuskegee Institute	1, 2, 4
Virginia State College	1, 2, 3
Voorhees Junior College	1, 2
West Virginia State College	1, 2, 4
Wilberforce University	1, 2
Xavier University	1

*1—Classes on and off campus; 2—Conferences, Institutes, etc.; 3—Home Study Courses; and 4—Radio Programs.

Adult Education Under Public School Auspices

Negro participation in adult education programs under public school auspices in the Southern States varies widely from city to city. A survey by Dr. George N. Redd published in the *Journal of Negro Education*, Summer Number, 1945, shows the inadequacy of such programs in 38 cities of 19 States and the District of Columbia. The States included in the survey have a total Negro population of 10,040,968. The total Negro population in the cities studied is 1,974,257.

"Twenty cities of 60,000 or more population which are located in states maintaining by law separate schools for Negroes, and Washington, D. C., report adult education programs for Negroes under public school auspices. The Negro population in these cities ranges from 15,121 in Tulsa, Oklahoma, to 187,226 in Washington, D. C. In Table 25, the facts concerning 15 of these cities are summarized. Eight cities not listed in the table reported no provision for adult education programs for Negroes. The Department of Education in nine cities did not respond to the request for information."

Table 25.

Negro Participation in Adult Education Programs in 15 Cities 1943-44

City	Total Population	Negro Population	Enrollment in Adult Programs	Approximate Annual Costs
Atlanta	302,288	104,533	1,900	$60,000
Baltimore	859,100	165,843	1,884	30,000
Birmingham	267,583	108,938	661	...
Chattanooga	128,163	36,404	...	1,083
Durham	60,185	23,347	...	4,000
Jacksonville	173,065	61,782	...	2,200
Knoxville	111,580	16,094	221	4,000
Louisville	319,077	47,158	400	15,000
Montgomery	78,720	34,535	75	1,000
Norfolk	144,332	45,893	618	...
Oklahoma City	204,424	19,344	400	1,875
Richmond	193,042	61,251	1,031	9,000
St. Louis	816,048	108,765	950	14,122
Washington, D. C.	663,091	187,226	2,032	...
Winston-Salem	79,815	36,018	150	2,500
Totals	4,400,523	1,057,131	10,322	$144,780

Source: Journal of Negro Education, Summer Number, 1945, p. 315.

The following conclusions of the survey indicate the general inadequacy of adult education programs for Negroes:

1. "Although state education authorities in most states maintaining by law separate schools for Negroes and whites possess the legal authority to organize and administer adult education programs for both racial groups under public school auspices, there has been very little activity outside of the Federally-aided programs in vocational education.
2. "The programs for Negroes which are sponsored through the public school systems of cities are organized chiefly around evening school classes of various kinds. With the possible exception of these in the larger centers of Negro population, these classes are inadequate and are failing to meet the educational needs of Negroes in urban centers.
3. "The prevailing tendency is to confine adult education programs for Negroes to the removal of illiteracy and the development of simple vocational skills. The broad areas of learning such as parent education, personal and community hygiene, creative and recreative arts, which are of a nature to contribute to the enrichment of adult life in the home and in the community, are generally lacking.
4. "Where opportunities for adult education are available to Negroes, either through state or city promoted programs, the quantity and quality are not equal to those of whites; the only possible exception being Washington, D. C., which reports that 'identical courses are offered for both groups and with equal opportunities for advancement.'
5. "As a whole, the quality of adult education programs for Negroes is best in the large centers of Negro population in the border cities. It lessens in quantity and quality as the Negro population becomes exceedingly small or as it approaches numerical equality with that of the whites.'

Adult Education In Public Libraries And Museums

The various ways in which public libraries and museums are being used in adult education programs for Negroes have been described by Dorothy G. Williams, Graduate Library School, University of Chicago. Her report, from which the following statements are taken, was published in the *Journal of Negro Education*, Summer Number, 1945.

"Unfortunately, public library facilities are most limited in the very sections of our country where they are most needed. Thirty-five million people in the United States have no public library within reach; 600 of the 3,100 counties are without a single public library within their boundaries. The South, and within it the Negro, is particularly poorly provided with public library facilities. In 1944 the South had only 802 of the 7,100 public libraries in the United States; only 121 of these 802 gave service of any kind to Negroes. Only 2,323,971 Southern Negroes—one Negro in four—have access to public library service.

"A questionnaire survey, made in February, 1945, of 104 public libraries representative of various sizes and regions supplied the data for the study. In those libraries to which Negroes are admitted on the same basis as are other patrons, Negroes have the opportunity of sharing the adult education programs and facilities which have been made generally available, although the extent to which they have actually done so cannot be documented, since these libraries do not normally keep their records of use on the basis of racial groupings. A few Northern libraries, however, have made special efforts to attract Negro interest. The Adult Education Office of the Cleveland Public Library employes a full-time field worker assigned to work with colored groups.

"The Montclair Public Library in New Jersey has consciously attempted to draw Negroes into its program through enlisting volunteer workers to spread 'interpretation,' making quantity purchases of material by and about the Negro, and accelerating its work with Negro groups, particularly with Negro churches. Apart from such overall efforts, many libraries have programs and exhibits on Negro themes, such as exhibits at the Main Building during Negro History Week, as in Baltimore, St. Louis, and Los Angeles; discussions, lecture series and reading courses on Negro life and history and on race relations, such as the 1944 panel discussion series 'One Human Race—One America' in Detroit; and art exhibits, as that of 'Negro American Life' prepared by the Council Against Intolerance in America and shown in the main library buildings in Newark, Wilmington, Washington and Chicago.

"In addition to the work at the main library, large public libraries outside the South normally have branches located in Negro neighborhoods which have adult education programs of varying quantity and quality aimed directly at Negroes. The content of these programs is largely concerned with aspects of Negro life and history and with race relations and the programs are sometimes attended by mixed audiences. The 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, the George Cleveland Hall Branch in Chicago, the Schoolcraft Branch in Detroit, and the Vernon Branch in Los Angeles are among the branch libraries which have particularly extensive and effective programs.

"In the South, the picture is generally dismal, with such random exceptions as the excellent program of the independently organized Richard B. Harrison Library in Raleigh, the work with the adult blind done at the Auburn Branch in Atlanta, and the statewide reference service to Negro adults in Louisiana provided through the Louisiana Library Commission by a trained Negro librarian with offices on the campus of Southern University.

"Museums follow a pattern similar to that of libraries in relation to adult education for Negroes. Institutions outside the South make their facilities fully available and likewise do not keep their records of use by racial groups. Similarly, also, their exhibits and programs include Negro themes, as the showing at New York's Museum of Modern Art during 1944 of two Negro exhibitions, 'Young Negro Art,' the work of students at Hampton Institute and a Jacob Lawrence show. Interestingly enough, Negro artists have shown their work and have also won prizes in museums in all regions, including the annual Tri-County Exhibition at the High Museum in Atlanta, the Biennial Exhibitions at Washington's Corcoran Gallery of Art and the yearly Open Competition at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

"In the South, Negroes are permitted equal access to a few museums, such as the Valentine Museum in Richmond, Virginia and the Witte Memorial Museum in San Antonio, Texas. Some Museums, such as the High Museum in Atlanta, make special provisions to accommodate Negroes through invitations to Negro groups for special Gallery Tours. More commonly, Negroes are not permitted access of any kind."

Project For Adult Education Of Negroes

In cooperation with the American Association on Adult Education and the National Conference on Adult Education and the Negro, the United States Office of Education is sponsoring a project on Adult Education, the general purpose of which is to raise the educational level of the large number of Negroes whom the Selective Service System and the 1940 Census described as functionally illiterate. The beginning of the project was financed by a grant of $23,910 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and has as its Director, Dr. Ambrose Caliver, United States Office of Education Specialist in the Higher Education of Negroes; and as Associate Director, William M. Cooper, Secretary-Treasurer of the National Conference on Adult Education and the Negro.

The first phase of the project consisted of a conference held in the United States Office of Education in June, 1946. Participating in the conference were 61 representatives of colleges and universities, governmental agencies, city school systems, State departments of education, adult and other educational associations, the American Library Association, the Elks, the National Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. These groups and others not represented at the conference endorsed the over-all project and indicated their interest in further participation.

The second phase of the project was an Institute on Adult Education of Negroes held at Hampton Institute, August 12 through September 14, 1946. The Institute was conducted on a combination institute-workshop plan, with lectures, discussions, demonstrations, field trips, group conferences, and individual research and reports. The purpose of the Institute was to prepare personnel for the training and supervision of teachers of adults in the fundamental processes; to demonstrate the effectiveness for civilian use of certain teaching techniques developed by the Army; to collect and evaluate resource materials for the teaching of adults; and to formulate a tentative curriculum and instructional guide on the elementary level for teachers of Negro adults. Plans were also formulated for regional institutes in the summer and fall of 1947.

DIVISION V

THE CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS WORK AMONG NEGROES

By R. R. Wright, Jr.

Bishop, the African Methodist Episcopal Church

BACKGROUND OF "THE NEGRO CHURCH"

Negroes Constitute the Earliest And Largest Number of Modern Heathen Converts

The full story, of how the pagan American Negro slave forbidden to read and write became Christian, is yet to be told. Suffice it to say that Negroes constitute the earliest and perhaps the largest number of so-called heathen converted to Christianity in modern times and their conversion has been so thorough that very little is left of their original religion in their present conscious religious activities. The local church grew up among them as a place of assembly for song, prayer and preaching, and general social contact.

Negro Denominations the Result of Need For Larger Church Participation

Denominational organizations were started because Negroes wanted larger participation than the organized churches then allowed them. The first local churches were formed in the latter half of the eighteenth century in Virginia, Pennsylvania, Georgia, New York and Maryland. In 1816, the African Methodists elected a bishop to preside over the denomination; and in 1820, the African Methodist Zion Church did the same. Both patterned their organizations after the Methodist Episcopal Church of which they had formerly been members.

The Title, "The Negro Church" Only a Convenient Designation

There is no general religious body or denomination designated as "The Negro Church." Denominations are called, "Baptist," "Methodist," "African," "Primitive," "Holiness," etc., but none are called "Negro." Nor is there any single local church, so far as is known, called "Negro." Local churches are designated as "First," "Second," "Third," or named after Bibical characters, such as "St. James," "St. Paul," "St. Thomas," "St. Peter"; after great Christian leaders among Negroes, as "Richard Allen," "Varick," "Brown," "Bryan," "Ward," "Turner," "Hood," "Holsey"; also after local characters, such as "Miller," "Williams," "Collins," and the like. A large number bear the names of places named in the Bible; namely, "Mt. Zion," "Mt. Hebron," "Mt. Sinai," "Mt. Olive," "Mt. Carmel," "Bethel," "Shiloh." There are in America churches with designations "German," "Greek," "Syrian," "Ukranian," "Norwegian," "Danish," and hundreds of other names, but no "Negro Church." The term, however, is a convenient way to designate a segment of the Christian Church according to the pattern of racial segregation, emphasizing the racial rather than the historical and theological background of denominations. Thus it tends to emphasize the fact that Negroes have a more fundamental religion than is expressed by the terms Catholic, Baptist, Protestant, Methodist, Episcopalian, Presbyterian; for these historic divisions had European, not African origin. Transplanted from Europe, they have a history of bitterness, born of separations, misunderstandings, persecutions, and of hair-splitting Biblical interpretations in which Negroes took no part. Negroes merely inherited their denominational names. As a result, Negroes do not have the bitterness against Jews which millions of so-called Christians have, both in Europe and America. The Africa-derived Negro has no consciousness of Jews killing Jesus, or the economic battles fought in Europe against Jews. On the contrary, mutual experience of mistreatment as minorities here in America has brought Negroes and Jews into close fellowship, notwithstanding a grave theoretical theological difference. Nor do Negro Protestants have suspicion and hatred against Catholics such as is held by many white churchmen. There are no wars of the Reformation, or Inquisition in their racial memory. In fact, liberal views of Catholics toward Negroes are drawing Negroes daily into their fold particularly in the large cities. Tirades against Jews or Catholics are not heard in Negro Churches.

Theoretical Theological Differences No Barrier to Racial Unity

Three main purposes for which all Negro denominations work, bring Negroes together: (1) They worship God in their own way, a God who is the Father of Negroes also. (2) They encourage and inspire Negroes to live the good life which includes improvement in morals, social life, education, health and housing, politics, business, recreation, as well as worship. In this task, the most dynamic idea of "getting to heaven," has undoubtedly been the greatest motivating force for better living on earth. (3) The Negro Church preaches practical Christian brotherhood, and strives to have the Negro included in that brotherhood. It does not matter what their theoretical theological differences are, all Negro Churches easily unite to urge the rest of America to accept the Negro as a Christian brother and to give him economic, political, civic and social justice. Thus the Negro Church has laid the spiritual foundation for many fraternal, business, civic and political movements.

STATISTICS ON NEGRO CHURCHES

There are no complete statistics of Negro Churches, for the simple fact that most of them do not keep accurate records. This is common knowledge to the special agents of the United States Census Bureau who gather the facts concerning Negro religious bodies. The United States Census is, however, our best authority. Membership in bodies that are required to make a per capita financial report to a central authority with power to remove the pastor, are apt to report the minimum number of members, while those churches which have no such responsibility may report the maximum membership.

In 1906, 36,563 Negro churches were reported; in 1916, 39,592; in 1926, 42,585; and in 1936, 38,303. In 1936, there were 256 religious bodies in the United States; 59 were denominations having Negro churches; 33 were exclusively Negro, that is, had no churches except Negro churches, and 26 had one or more Negro churches among so-called white churches. The 59 denominations that have Negro membership are shown below:

Table 1.
Statistics Concerning Churches Wholly or in Part Negro.

DENOMINATION	Total Number of Churches in Denominations Wholly or in Part Negro	NUMBER OF NEGRO CHURCHES			NUMBER OF MEMBERS(1)			AVERAGE MEMBERS PER CHURCH			TOTAL MEMBERSHIP BY SEX(2)			
		Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Sex Not Reported	Males per 100 Females
All Denominations	128,309	38,303	13,528	24,775	5,660,618	2,958,630	2,701,988	148	219	109	2,013,977	3,329,044	317,597	60.5
Adventist Bodies:														
Seventh-Day Adventist	2,054	97	84	13	6,367	6,102	265	66	73	20	1,634	4,528	205	36.1
*African Orthodox Church	13	13	11	2	1,952	1,907	45	150	173	23	789	1,163	....	67.8
*Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God	23	23	13	10	863	591	272	38	45	27	188	675	....	27.9
Baptist Bodies:														
Northern Baptist Convention	6,254	32	30	2	45,821	45,381	440	1,432	1,512	220	12,311	19,633	13,877	62.7
*Negro Baptist	23,093	23,093	7,547	15,546	3,782,464	1,872,909	1,909,555	164	248	123	1,378,255	2,259,287	144,952	61.0
*Colored Primitive Baptist	1,009	1,009	353	656	43,897	18,414	25,483	44	52	39	13,318	29,919	660	44.5
*National Baptist Evangelical Life and Soul Saving Assembly of the United States of America	28	28	21	7	2,300	1,241	1,059	82	59	151	966	1,334	....	72.4
*United American Free Will Baptist Church (Colored)	226	226	52	174	19,616	6,770	12,846	87	130	74	6,056	13,560	....	44.7
The Christian and Missionary Alliance	444	5	3	2	135	100	35	27	33	18	38	97	....	(3)
*Christ's Sanctified Holy Church (Colored)	31	31	14	17	665	257	408	21	18	24	208	457	....	45.5
*Church of Christ (Holiness) U. S. A.	106	106	48	58	7,379	3,535	3,844	70	74	66	2,751	4,628	....	59.4
Church of Christ Scientist	2,113	4	4	....	262	262	....	66	66	....	66	196	....	33.7
Churches of God:														
Church of God	1,081	42	21	21	1,405	1,023	382	33	49	18	400	1,005	....	39.8
Church of God (Headquarters, Anderson, Ind.)	1,032	117	73	44	4,310	3,076	1,234	37	42	28	1,413	2,897	....	48.8
*Church of God and Saints of Christ	213	213	184	29	37,084	35,001	2,083	174	190	72	14,026	23,058	....	60.8
*Church of God in Christ	772	772	476	296	31,564	23,816	7,748	41	50	26	8,796	22,504	264	39.1
Churches of Christ	3,815	1	1	....	70	70	....	....	....	....	25	45	....	(3)
*Churches of God, Holiness	35	35	23	12	5,872	5,162	710	168	224	59	2,252	3,370	250	66.8

Source: Table 3, pp. 850-854, U. S. Census of Religious Bodies, 1936, Vol. I.
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(3) Ratio not shown where number of females is less than 100.
*–These bodies have Negro members exclusively.

Table 1—*Continued*
Statistics Concerning Churches Wholly or in Part Negro

DENOMINATION	Total Number of Churches in Denominations Wholly or in Part Negro	NUMBER OF NEGRO CHURCHES			NUMBER OF MEMBERS(1)			AVERAGE MEMBERS PER CHURCH			TOTAL MEMBERSHIP BY SEX(2)			
		Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Sex Not Reported	Males per 100 Females
Lutherans:														
American Lutheran Conference:														
American Lutheran Church...	1,803	1	1	....	82	82	....	....	....	....	26	56	....	(3)
Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America..	4,926	81	39	42	8,985	5,762	3,223	111	148	767	4,009	4,976	....	80.6
Methodist Bodies:														
*African Methodist Episcopal Church..................	4,578	4,578	1,635	2,943	493,357	286,197	207,160	108	175	70	157,172	276,449	59,736	56.9
*African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church..................	2,252	2,252	811	1,441	414,244	214,056	200,188	184	264	139	156,771	256,603	870	61.1
*African Union Methodist Protestant Church..............	45	45	18	27	4,239	2,384	1,855	94	132	69	1,597	2,642	....	60.4
*Colored Methodist Episcopal Church..................	2,063	2,063	632	1,431	269,915	114,970	154,945	131	182	108	73,508	129,541	66,866	56.7
*Colored Methodist Protestant Church..................	1	1	1	....	216	216	....	....	....	....	91	125	....	72.8
*Independent African Methodist Episcopal Church...........	29	29	12	17	1,064	552	512	37	46	30	400	664	....	60.2
Methodist Episcopal Church....	18,349	1,730	533	1,197	193,761	106,299	87,462	112	199	73	71,272	118,204	4,285	60.3
Methodist Protestant Church...	1,498	40	6	34	2,321	448	1,833	58	81	54	1,001	1,279	41	73.3
*Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal Church..............	25	25	8	17	1,836	476	1,360	73	60	80	590	1,246	....	47.4
*Reformed Zion Union Apostolic Church..................	54	54	9	45	5,035	870	4,165	93	97	93	2,025	3,010	....	67.3
*Union American Methodist Episcopal Church..............	71	71	41	30	9,369	6,859	2,510	132	167	84	3,471	5,570	328	62.3
Moravian Bodies:														
Moravian Church in America...	132	1	1	....	628	628	....	....	....	....	245	383	....	64.0
*National David Spiritual Temple of Christ Church Union......	11	11	7	4	1,880	1,362	518	171	195	130	632	1,248	....	50.6
Presbyterian Bodies:														
*Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church..............	145	145	45	100	10,668	3,567	7,101	74	79	71	3,655	6,999	14	52.2

Source: Table 3, pp. 850-854, U. S. Census of Religious Bodies, 1936, Vol. I.
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(3) Ratio not shown where number of females is less than 100.
*—These bodies have Negro members exclusively.

Table 1—*Continued*
Statistics Concerning Churches Wholly or in Part Negro

DENOMINATION	Total Number of Churches in Denominations Wholly or in Part Negro	NUMBER OF NEGRO CHURCHES			NUMBER OF MEMBERS(1)			AVERAGE MEMBERS PER CHURCH			TOTAL MEMBERSHIP BY SEX(2)			
		Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Sex Not Reported	Males per 100 Females
General Eldership of the Churches of God in North America	352	1	....	1	204	....	204	....	....	....	76	128	....	59.4
Churches of the Living God:														
*Church of the Living God, Christian Workers for Fellowship	96	96	61	35	4,525	3,243	1,282	47	53	37	1,538	2,987	....	51.5
*Church of the Living God, "The Pillar and Ground of Truth"	119	119	62	57	4,838	2,922	1,916	41	47	34	1,667	3,128	43	53.3
Congregational and Christian Churches	5,300	233	105	128	20,437	11,100	9,337	88	106	73	8,079	12,358	....	65.4
Disciples of Christ	5,566	189	86	103	21,950	11,331	10,619	116	132	103	7,486	12,485	1,979	60.0
Eastern Orthodox Churches:														
Apostolic Episcopal Church (The Holy Eastern Catholic and Apostolic Orthodox Church)	12	3	3	....	161	161	....	54	54	....	65	96	....	(3)
Federated Churches	508	1	....	1	50	....	50	....	....	....	20	30	....	(3)
*Fire Baptised Holiness Church of God of the Americas	59	59	30	29	1,973	1,265	708	33	42	24	556	1,417	....	39.2
*Free Christian Zion Church of Christ	9	9	....	9	1,840	....	1,840	204	....	204	617	1,223	....	50.4
*The House of God, the Holy Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth, House of Prayer for All People	4	4	4	....	200	200	....	50	50	....	40	43	117	(3)
*House of the Lord	4	4	1	3	302	80	222	76	....	74	120	182	....	65.9
*Independent Negro Churches	50	50	45	5	12,337	12,226	111	247	272	22	4,478	7,859	....	57.0
International Church of the Foursquare Gospel	205	1	1	....	28	28	....	....	....	....	10	18	....	(3)
*Kodesh Church of Immanuel	9	9	9	....	562	562	....	62	62	....	205	357	....	57.4
*The Latter House of the Lord, Apostolic Faith	2	2	1	1	29	17	12	15	....	....	6	23	....	(3)

Source: Table 3, pp. 850-854, U. S. Census of Religious Bodies, 1936, Vol. I.
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*-These bodies have Negro members exclusively.

Value of Church Edifices Amount of Church Debt and Expenditures of Denominations

Table 2 shows the value of church edifices, amount of church debt, and expenditures of 17 denominations having over 100 Negro Churches in the United States, and also the total of these items for all Negro Churches.

Table 2.

Value of Church Edifices, Amount of Church Debt, and Expenditures of Denominations Having Over 100 Negro Churches in U. S. A., Also Total For All Negro Churches.

DENOMINATION	Number of Negro Churches	Number of Church Edifices	VALUE OF CHURCH EDIFICES			DEBT OF CHURCH EDIFICES		EXPENDITURES		
			Churches Reporting	Amount	Average per Church	Churches Reporting	Amount	Churches Reporting	Amount	Average per Church
Total	38,303	34,896	34,250	$164,531,531	$4,804	7,712	$19,224,858	37,308	$27,802.469	$745
Negro Baptists	23,093	21,350	21,045	93,798,181	4,457	4,109	10,913,652	22,652	14,978,506	661
Colored Primitive Baptists	1,009	889	876	1,643,804	1,876	98	68,285	935	207,352	222
Church of Christ (Holiness) U. S. A.	106	91	88	305,152	3,468	20	40,812	97	52,961	546
Church of God (Anderson, Ind.)	117	82	78	251,865	3,229	26	57,665	107	62,727	586
Church of God and Saints of Christ	213	79	78	544,270	6,978	17	104,300	213	363,049	1,704
Church of God in Christ	772	523	504	1,453,128	2,883	226	288,276	736	392,009	533
Church of the Living God "The Pillar and Ground of Truth"	119	86	86	115,426	1,342	5	4,230	117	42,062	360
Congregational and Christian Churches	233	216	208	1,506,989	7,245	40	143,428	171	136,646	799
Disciples of Christ	189	165	158	873,978	5,532	47	109,240	183	131,723	720
Methodist Episcopal Church	1,730	1,690	1,642	10,065,869	6,130	420	975,334	1,709	1,576,527	922
African Methodist Episcopal Church	4,578	4,218	4,078	20,710,623	5,079	1,421	2,586,300	4,523	4,059,809	898
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church	2,252	2,048	2,008	14,750,165	7,346	524	1,681,183	2,230	2,319,367	1,040
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church	2,063	1,988	1,979	6,148,826	3,107	435	672,939	1,886	1,378,746	731
Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church	145	126	126	359,125	2,580	24	13,829	142	48,317	340
Protestant Episcopal Church	145	126	123	2,777,060	2,258	24	142,370	133	267,178	2,009
Roman Catholic Church	178	156	148	3,432,416	2,319	48	785,009	159	763,392	4,801
United Holy Church of America, Inc.	162	109	101	344,722	3,413	29	54,562	159	68,900	433

Source: United States Census o Religious Bodies, 1936.

Table 1—*Continued*
Statistics Concerning Churches Wholly or in Part Negro

DENOMINATION	Total Number of Churches in Denominations Wholly or in Part Negro	NUMBER OF NEGRO CHURCHES			NUMBER OF MEMBERS(1)			AVERAGE MEMBERS PER CHURCH			TOTAL MEMBERSHIP BY SEX(2)			
		Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Sex Not Reported	Males per 100 Females
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.	2,967	5	4	1	279	252	27	56	63	....	104	175	....	59.4
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A....................	7,789	16	13	3	2,971	2,831	140	186	218	47	809	1,636	526	49.4
United Presbyterian Church of North America..............	778	1	1	....	45	45	....	....	....	....	16	29	....	(3)
Protestant Episcopal Church....	6,407	145	111	34	29,738	27,335	2,403	205	246	71	8,342	13,364	8,032	62.4
Reformed Episcopal Church....	67	36	7	29	2,434	905	1,529	68	129	53	342	807	1,285	42.4
Roman Catholic Church..........	18,409	178	140	38	137,684	108,654	29,030	774	776	764	56,897	67,603	13,184	84.2
Salvation Army.................	1,088	3	3	....	436	436	....	145	145	....	147	289	....	50.9
Spiritualists:														
Progressive Spiritual Church....	21	1	1	....	365	365	....	....	....	....	133	232	....	57.3
*Triumph the Church and Kingdom of God in Christ...............	2	2	1	1	69	55	14	35	....	....	19	50	....	(3)
*United Holy Church of America, Inc.........................	162	162	82	80	7,535	4,232	3,303	47	52	41	2,278	5,174	83	44.0

Source: Table 3, pp. 850-854, U. S. Census of Religious Bodies, 1936, Vol. I
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*–These bodies have Negro members exclusively

In 1936, there were 256 denominations reporting 199,302 local churches. Of these, there were 59 denominations having 128,309 local churches which had 38,303 Negro members. Approximately 20 per cent of the total number of churches were Negro churches in these 59 denominations. There was one Negro church for approximately every 320 Negroes in America, as compared with one church for approximately every 650 persons in America. The number of Negro churches reported by the United States Census decreased from 42,585 reported in 1926 to 38,303 in 1936 or 4,282, chiefly because of the decrease of rural churches. However, the total number of churches in America in 1926 was 232,153 which showed a decrease of 32,852 in 1936.

Membership

Membership of the Negro Church was reported at 5,660,618, slightly over 10.0 per cent of the total church membership of the United States. The Negro population in 1930 was 11,891,143 or 9.7 per cent of the total population, while that for 1940 was 12,865,518, or 8.2 per cent of the total population of the country.

The Negro Church membership increased from 5,203,487 in 1926 to 5,660,618 in 1936 or 457,131, an increase of approximately 8.8 per cent. The whole church membership in the United States increased from 54,576,346 in 1926 to 55,807,366 in 1936, an increase of 1,231,020 members, or 2.4 per cent. The increase of the Negro church membership was over 37 per cent of the entire increase of the church membership in America from 1926-1936.

The Census of 1936 showed that less than half of the Negroes were church members, at least 7,000,000 not belonging to any church.

The largest membership of the Negro churches is found in the South. In the order named, they are: Georgia, Alabama, Texas, North Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Virginia and Arkansas. The following Northern and Southern States have over 100,000 Negro members each: Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Florida, New York, Illinois, Ohio. However, in the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee the Negro church membership does not comprise 50 per cent of the Negro population of these States, and no Northern State has half of the Negroes as church members. In Ohio, Negro membership is about 40 per cent of the Negro population; in Illinois and New York approximately 25 per cent. Table 3 shows the membership of Negro churches ranked by States, 1936 and 1926.

Table 3.

Membership of Negro Churches, Ranked By States: 1936, 1926.

STATES	1936		1926	
	Number	Rank	Number	Rank
TOTAL	5,660,618	....	5,203,487	....
Georgia	629,028	1	538,093	2
Alabama	585,733	2	557,231	1
Texas	464,937	3	351,305	6
North Carolina	434,951	4	431,333	3
Mississippi	415,182	5	348,425	7
Louisiana	330,990	6	248,797	8
South Carolina	330,479	7	405,614	4
Virginia	308,779	8	378,742	5
Arkansas	217,123	9	201.240	10
Pennsylvania	216,020	10	177,532	12
Tennessee	212,223	11	226,823	9
Florida	196,394	12	190,893	11
New York	171,118	13	114,543	16
Illinois	170,153	14	137,131	13
Ohio	147,327	15	119,529	15
Kentucky	107,005	16	127,126	14
Missouri	90,648	17	82,207	18
New Jersey	89,646	18	71,221	20
Oklahoma	82,861	19	68,379	21
District of Columbia	77,187	20	72,382	19
Maryland	69,312	21	97,025	17
Indiana	59,610	22	49,704	22
Michigan	57,589	23	46,231	23
West Virginia	38,989	24	32,754	24
California	36,562	25	25,763	26
Kansas	29,081	26	28,292	25
Massachusetts	22,051	27	13,882	27
Delaware	18,468	28	12,459	28
Connecticut	14,275	29	10,593	29
Colorado	6,495	30	6,188	31
Iowa	6,134	31	8,577	30
Nebraska	4,746	32	5,163	32
Rhode Island	4,333	33	3,465	35
Wisconsin	3,914	34	3,699	34
Minnesota	3,763	35	3,702	33
Arizona	2,401	36	2,199	37
Washington	1,754	37	2,280	36
New Mexico	1,080	38	710	39
Oregon	754	39	832	38
Utah	485	40	269	41
Wyoming	270	41	398	40
Idaho	221	42	205	43
Montana	218	43	228	42
Maine	206	44	45	47
South Dakota	128	45	142	44
Nevada	95	46	46	46
New Hampshire	70	47	63	45
North Dakota	10	48	27	48
Vermont	....	....	....	....

Source: United States Census of Religious Bodies, 1936.

Urban and Rural Churches

Forty-three and seven-tenths per cent (43.7) of the Negroes of America in 1930 were in the cities. The rural church membership constituted 64.7 per cent or nearly two-thirds of the Negro church members, while 54.3 per cent of the Negroes live in the rural districts. Almost half of the Negro population, 48.6 per cent, lived in the cities in 1940, but the Church has not made adequate provisions to cope with the problems of church membership, although the average city church has 219 members and is twice as large as the average church in the rural districts, which has 109 members. The largest proportion of non-church Negroes is in the cities.

Much of the decrease in Negro church members is due to migration and the lack of planning on the part of city Negro churches to take care of the migrating membership. Nor has there been adequate planning for rural churches. In hundreds of communities the churches have been abandoned and sold, because the few people left have been unable to support or carry on the work of the church. The demand for trained preachers is so great and the number so few that the rural churches have most inadequate leadership.

Sex in Negro Church Membership

In 1936, Negro churches reported 2,013,977 male members and 3,329,044 female members. The sex of 317,597 members was not reported. The report showed that there were approximately 60 Negro males to every 100 Negro females in the churches. The churches of the nation reported 78.5 males to every 100 females. In the Negro race as a whole in 1930 there were 97 Negro males to every 100 Negro females, and in 1940 the ratio was 95 males to 100 females. No Negro denomination having 5,000 members reported having as many as 70 male members to 100 female members. There is, therefore, a decided predominance of Negro women in the Negro churches.

Value of Negro Churches

In 1936, 34,250 Negro churches reported 34,896 edifices valued at $164,531,031 or $4,804 per church. The expenditures of 37,308 churches were $27,802,469, averaging about $745 per church. A value of $119,960,281 was reported for 11,847 urban churches, while 22,403 rural churches reported property values of $44,571,250. There were 6,285 churches reporting parsonages valued at $12,392,842, an average of $1,972 each.

The total expense of 37,308 Negro Churches was $27,802,469. Pastors salaries were $11,918,216; other salaries $2,812,307; repairs and improvements, $2,570,012; paid on church debts excluding interest, $2,840,270; other current expenses including interest, $3,529,135; local relief and charity, $770,074; home missions, $475,640; foreign missions, $343,972; general headquarters, $1,123,440; all other purposes, $1,419,403, an average of $745 per church. The largest amount reported expended by Negro churches was $2,246,783 in Alabama, followed by Texas, with $2,134,573. For their churches in North Carolina, Negroes spend $1,853,913; in Georgia, $1,799,426; in Mississippi, $1,604,719; in Virginia, $1,454,105; in Pennsylvania, $1,358,964; in South Carolina, $1,319,691; in Louisiana, $1,286,244; in New York, $1,171,181; in Illinois, $1,035,928; in Tennessee, $1,012,501. The District of Columbia paid the largest per capita, $3,275.

The Sunday School

There were 2,424,800 Sunday School scholars and 390,454 Sunday School officers and teachers reported in 1936 by 35,021 Negro churches. The average number of scholars was 64 per church. In urban centers, 12,513 churches reported 172,209 officers and teachers, and 1,217,961 scholars, an average of 97 scholars per church; while 22,508 Negro rural churches reported 217,547 officers and teachers, and 1,206,839 scholars or an average of 54 scholars per rural Negro church.

DENOMINATIONS BELONGING TO "THE NEGRO CHURCH"

Information concerning the denominations listed by the United States Census of 1936, as belonging to the "Negro Church," is taken from the Bureau of the Census Religious Bodies 1936, published in 1941; the *Year Book of American Churches* for 1945 by Benson Y. Landis, Editor; and the latest published reports and written information furnished by executives of the respective denominations. Information concerning some of the denominations follows:

The African Methodist Episcopal Church

The African Methodist Episcopal Church started in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1787. The denomination was formed in Philadelphia in 1816 and extended throughout the North before the Civil War, after which it made large progress in the South. Since 1887, it has also operated in Africa. Churches, 7,265. Inclusive membership, 868,735 (1942). Membership 13 years of age and over, 667,035. African and foreign membership, 100,000. Estimated total membership, 968,735 (1942). General Conference, quadrennial. Officers: Chairman, Bishops' Council, Bishop R. C. Ransom, Wilberforce, Ohio. Secretary, Bishops' Council, Bishop Noah W. Williams, 4423 Enright Avenue, St. Louis, Mo. Episcopal Districts as follows:

1st. District, Philadelphia, New Jersey, New York, New England, Delaware, Bermuda and maritime conferences, Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., Wilberforce, Ohio and Bishop S. L. Greene.

2nd District, Baltimore, Virginia, North Carolina, Western North Carolina, Bishop G. W. Baber, Detroit, Mich., and Bishop J. H. Clayborn, Little Rock, Ark.

3rd District, Ohio, Pittsburgh, North

Ohio, West Virginia, Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom, Wilberforce, Ohio.

4th District, Indiana, Chicago, Illinois, Northwestern Michigan and Ontario, Bishop J. A. Gregg, 1150 Washington Blvd., Kansas City, Kans.

5th District, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, North Missouri, Southwest Missouri, California, Southern California, Puget Sound, Bishop Noah Williams.

6th District, Georgia, Southwest Georgia, Atlanta, Macon, South Georgia, Augusta and Americus, Bishop W. A. Fountain, 242 Boulevard, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

7th District, Palmetto, South Carolina, Columbia, Northeast South Carolina, Piedmont, and Central South Carolina, Bishop F. M. Reid, Columbia, S. C.

8th District, Mississippi, Northeast Mississippi, East Mississippi, Central Mississippi, North Mississippi, Northwest Mississippi, North Louisiana, Central Lousiana, Louisiana, Bishop S. L. Greene, 1900 Ringo St., Little Rock, Ark.

9th District, Alabama, North Alabama, Central Alabama, East Alabama, South Alabama, West Alabama, Bishop D. Ward Nichols, Birmingham, Ala.

10th District, Texas, Central Texas, Northeast Texas, West Texas, Southwest Texas, North Texas, Southeast Texas, East Texas, Mexico, Rio Grande Valley, Bishop G. B. Young, Waco, Texas.

11th District, Florida, East Florida, South Florida, Tampa, Central Florida, West Florida, Northeast Florida, Orlando, Bishop H. Y. Tookes, Jacksonville, Fla.

12th District, Arkansas, West Arkansas, Central Arkansas, East Arkansas, Northeast Arkansas, Central Oklahoma, Northeast Oklahoma, Oklahoma, Bishops G. W. Baber and J. H. Clayborn.

13th District, Tennessee, East Tennessee, West Tennessee, Kentucky, West Kentucky, Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., Wilberforce, Ohio.

14th District, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Bishop J. H. Clayborn, Little Rock, Ark.

15th District, Cape Colony, Orangia, Natal, Swaziland and Southwest Africa, Bishop Frank M. Reid, Columbia, S. C.

16th District, Cuba, Bahama, Windward Islands, Jamaica, Guiana, Santa Domingo, Haiti, South America, Bishop J. A. Allen, Cleveland, Ohio.

17th District, Transvaal, Zambessis, Central Africa, Belgian Congo, Bishop G. W. Baber, Detroit, Mich.

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

This church was started in New York, "Mother Zion Church," in 1796. The New York and several churches broke away from the Methodist Episcopal Church and organized in 1821, setting up its own first conference in Philadelphia. Churches, 2,252. Inclusive membership, 489,244 (1940). Membership 13 years of age and over, 382,316. Extensive missionary work is done in West Africa. Bishops of the Church are as follows:

Bishop P. A. Wallace, (retired) 1392 Dean Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Bishop B. G. Shaw, 1210 Charles St., North Birmingham, Ala., Box 537; Western North Carolina, Blue Ridge, North Alabama, Georgia, South Georgia.

Bishop W. J. Walls, 4736 So. Parkway, Chicago, Ill.; New York, New England, Western New York, Indiana.

Bishop J. W. Martin, 4550 So. Michigan Blvd., Chicago, Ill.; Michigan, Ohio, Cape Fear.

Bishop C. C. Alleyne, 5861 Haverford Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.; Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Jersey, East Tennessee and Virginia, Tennessee, South America.

Bishop W. W. Matthews, 9 Logan Circle, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Central North Carolina, Arkansas, North Arkansas.

Bishop E. L. Madison, 2838 Centre Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.; North Carolina, Albemarle, Virginia, Allegheny (deceased 1946).

Bishop W. C. Brown, 527 E. Jefferson Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif.; Southwest Rocky Mountain, Oregon, Washington, Missouri, Kentucky, California.

Bishop W. W. Slade, 410 E. 1st Street, Charlotte, N. C.; South Carolina, Pee Dee, Louisiana.

Bishop Buford F. Gordon, 527 Carmel Street, Charlotte, N. C.; West Alabama, Florida, South Florida, West Tennessee, Mississippi, South Mississippi.

Bishop F. W. Alstork, 622 Keefer Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Alabama, Central Alabama, Cahaba, South Alabama.

Bishop E. B. Watson, 1624 N. E. 8th Street, Oklahoma City, Okla., Texas, Oklahoma, Liberia, West Gold Coast, East Gold Coast, Nigeria.

The African Orthodox Church

Organized in 1921 by George Alexander McGuire, a former priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church, with orders through Archbishop Vilatte of the Assyrian Jacobite Apostolic Church. This body is autonomous and independent but was associated in the beginning with the Marcus Garvey Movement. Churches, 32. Inclusive membership, 5,200 (1942). Membership 13 years of age and over, 3,943. Officers: Patriarch, Archbishop William Ernest Robertson (James I), 112 W. 129th Street, New York, N. Y. Primate Western Prov., Archbishop Edmund R. Bennett, 388 Halsey Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Secretary, Rev. W. R. Miller, 496 Putnam Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. Treasurer, Theodore Bacchus, 773 Home Street, New York, N. Y.

The African Union First Colored Methodist Protestant Church U. S. A. and Canada

A Negro body formed in 1805 out of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It became a denomination in 1813. Churches, 36. Inclusive membership, 2,597 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 2,454 (estimated). Conference, annual. Headquarters, 702 Poplar Street, Wilmington, Del. Officers: General President, Rev. J. W. Brown. Secretary Supervisor, Rev. T. E. Bolden, 808 Tatnal Street, Wilmington, Del.

The Apostolic Methodist Church

Organized in 1932, with the polity of federated congregationalism, and the Bible as the pure and complete work of God. Churches, 2. Inclusive membership, 31 (1936). Membership 13 years of age and over, 27. Officers: Pastor Elder, E. H. Crowson, Loughman, Fla. Lay Elder, F. B. Ames, Zepher Hills, Fla.

The Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God

Organized in Alabama in 1916. Evangelistic in purpose. Churches, 200. Inclusive membership, 8,000 (1942). Estimated membership 13 years of age and over, 7,200. Officer: Bishop W. T. Phillips, 1070 Congress Street, Mobile, Ala.

Christ Sanctified Holy Church

Organized in 1903 at West Lake, La., from among members of a Negro Methodist Church. Churches, 32. Inclusive membership, 831 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 831. Conference meets annually. Headquarters, So. Cutting Avenue, East Spencer and Renshaw Streets, Jennings, La. Officers: Rev. Dempsey Perkins, President, 2203 Poplar Street, Beaumont, Texas. Executive Secretary, Mrs. Mary A. Paul, 714 Orange Street, Box 555, Jennings, La.

Church of Christ, Holiness, U. S. A.

This body was organized by a colored Baptist preacher as a holiness group in 1894. Churches, 135. Inclusive membership, 11,751 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 9,170. Officers: Senior Bishop, Rev. C. P. Jones, Los Angeles, Calif., Recording Secretary, M. R. Conic, 862 E. Princess Anne Road, Norfolk, Va. National Convention, annual.

Church of God and Saints of Christ

A Negro body organized in Kansas by William S. Crowdy, who taught that the Negro people are descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. His followers consequently observe the Old Testament feast day, use Hebrew names for the months and are sometimes called "Black Jews." Churches, 213. Inclusive membership, 37,084 (1936). Membership 13 years of age and over, 26,711. Officers: Bishop H. Z. Plummer, Belleville, Va., P. O. Box 187, Portsmouth, Va.

Church of God in Christ

Organized in Arkansas in 1895, by C. C. Jones and C. H. Mason, who believed there was no salvation without holiness. Incorporated 1897. Churches, 2,000. Inclusive membership, 300,000 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 250,000. National convocation, annual. Headquarters, 958 So. 5th Street, Memphis, Tenn. Officers: Senior Bishop C. H. Mason, 1121 Mississippi Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.

Church of the Living God (Christian Workers For Fellowship)

A body founded by William Christian at Wrightsville, Ark., in 1889. Its distinctive characteristics are believers' Baptism by immersion, foot-washing and the use of water in the sacrament. It is also organized along fraternal order lines. Churches, 6. Inclusive membership, 120 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 120. Officers: Chief, John W. Christian, 1050 Woodlawn Street, Memphis, Tenn. Assistant Chief, Walter Christian, 1050 Woodlawn Street, Memphis, Tenn. General Assembly, quadrennial.

Church of the Living God, Pillar And Ground of the Truth

Membership in Oklahoma. Churches, 119. Inclusive membership, 4,838 (1936). Membership 13 years of age and over, 4,460. Officers: Bishop A. W. White, 3938 Aspen Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Churches of God, Holiness

A body organized by K. H. Burrus in Georgia in 1914 in the interest of Holiness doctrines. Churches, 35. Inclusive membership, 5,872 (1936). Membership 13 years of age and over, 4,377. Headquarters, 170 N. W. Ashby Street, Atlanta, Ga. Officers: Bishop K. H. Burrus. Corresponding Secretary, B. M. Andrews.

Colored Baptist Primitive

This group of Negro Baptists is opposed to all forms of church organization. It has no general organization. Churches, 1,009. Inclusive membership, 43,897 (1936). Membership 13 years of age and over 42,135 (estimated). Statistical officer: Rev. W. Scott, 2712 22nd Avenue, Tampa, Fla.

Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church

In 1869, the Negro churches of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church were set apart by the General Assembly with their own ecclesiastical organization. Churches, 121. Inclusive membership, 30,000 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 20,000. Officers: Moderator, Rev. O. F. Bishop, Lewisburg, Tenn. Statistical Clerk, J. I. Hill, P. O. Box 595, Mt. Enterprise, Texas.

The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church

In 1870, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, approved the request of its colored membership for the formation of their conference into a separate ecclesiastical body. Churches, 4,400. Inclusive membership, 382,000 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 321,000. General Conference, quadrennial. Officers: Secretary, Prof. W. A. Bell, 141½ Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga. Bishops of the Church are as follows: Bishop C. H. Phillips (Emeritus) 10838 Drexel Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio; Bishop R. A. Carter, 4408 Vincennes Avenue, Chicago, Ill.; Bishop J. Arthur Hamlett, 2112 N. Fifth Street, Kansas City, Kans.; Bishop H. P. Porter, 252 Middleton Street, Jackson, Tenn.; Bishop J. H. Moore, 664 Vance Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.; Bishop W. Y. Bell, Holsey Institute, Cordele, Ga.; Bishop C. L. Russell, 1843 S Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.; Bishop Luther Stewart, Box 375 or 11r Liberty Street, Hopkinsville, Ky.; Bishop F. L. Lewis, 108 Leroy Street, Shreveport, La.; Bishop R. L. Young, Box 1043, Meridian, Miss.

The Colored Methodist Protestant Church

(See African Union First Colored Methodist Protestant Church).

Fire Baptist Holiness Church

Organized, 1898 in Atlanta, Ga., as a Holiness Association. Membership, 13 years of age and over 5,838 (estimated). Churches, 300. Inclusive membership, 6,000 (1940). General Council, annual. Headquarters, 556 Houston Street, Atlanta, Ga. Officers: Bishop W. E. Fuller, 556 Houston Street, Atlanta, Ga. General Secretary, Rev. E. Y. Bowman, 556 Houston Street, Atlanta, Ga.

Free Christian Zion Church of Christ

Organized 1905, at Redemption, Ark., by a company of Negro ministers associated with various denominations, with polity in general accord with that of Methodist bodies. Churches, 37. Inclusive membership, 2,478 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 2,286.

The House of God, The Holy Church Of the Living God, The Pillar and Ground of Truth, House of Prayer For All People

A group organized by R. A. R. Johnson in 1918. Churches, 4. Inclusive membership, 200 (1936). Membership 13 years of age and over, 75 (estimated).

House of the Lord

Organized in 1925 in Detroit, Mich., by W. H. Johnson. Churches, 4. Inclusive membership, 302 (1936). Membership 13 years of age and over, 302 (estimated.)

The Independent A. M. E. Denomination

Organized in Jacksonville, Fla., 1907 by twelve elders who withdrew from the A. M. E. Church. Churches, 12. Inclusive membership, 1,000 (1940). Membership 13 years of age and over, 905 (estimated). Conference, annual. Headquarters, Valdosta, Ga. Officers: Financial Secretary, Dr. J. P. Green, 77 So. Concord Street, Charleston, S. C., General Missionary Secretary, Dr. G. W. Jones, R. F. D. 3, Box 56, Live Oak, Fla.

Kodesh Church of Immanuel

Founded in 1929 by Rev. Frank Russell Killingsworth from among a group withdrawing from the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. Churches, 9. Inclusive membership, 562 (1936). Membership 13 years of age and over, 354. General Assembly, quadrennial; also, Annual Assembly. Officers: Supervising Elders, Rev. R. F. Killingsworth, 1509 S Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., Rev. J. W. Harty, 24 Bluffington Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Latter House of the Lord Apostolic Faith

Organized, 1936 in Georgia, basically Calvinistic. Churches, 2. Inclusive membership, 29 (1936). Membership 13 years of age and over, 26.

National Baptist Convention Of America

This body of Baptists, sometimes called "Boyd Baptists," withdrew from the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., under the leadership of Dr. R. F. Boyd of Nashville, Tennessee in 1916. Churches, 7,286. Inclusive membership, 2,352,339 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 2,117,091 (estimated). Officers: President, Rev. G. L. Prince, 2610 Avenue L, Galveston, Texas. Corresponding Secretary, Rev. W. Grimble, 2635 Second Street, Alexandria, La. Field Secretary, Rev. A. L. Roach, 1062 Parkside Road, N. E., Cleveland, Ohio. Treasurer, Rev. A. A. Lucas, 5109 Farmer Street, Houston, Texas.

National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Incorporated

The National Baptist Convention was organized in 1880 at Montgomery, Ala. The Convention meets annually in September. Churches, 24,460. Inclusive membership, 4,021,618 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over 3,700,078. Officers: Dr. D. V. Jemison, President, 1605 Lapsley Street, Selma, Ala. Dr. J. M. Nabrit, Secretary, 862 Lauderdale Street, Memphis, Tenn. Dr. Roland Smith, Statistician, 239 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga. State Conventions affiliated with the National Baptist Convention:

Alabama

National Baptist State Convention. President, Dr. D. V. Jemison, 1605 Lapsley Street, Selma, Ala. Secretary, Dr. U. J. Robinson, 256 N. Franklin Street, Mobile, Ala.

Arkansas

Regular Arkansas Missionary Baptist Convention. President, Dr. J. R. Jamison, 214 Noil Street, Morrillton, Ark. Secretary, Rev. W. L. Purifoy, 106 Cross Street, Forest City, Ark. Consolidated Baptist State Convention of Arkansas. President, Dr. J. F. Clark, 810 E. 17th Street, Pine Bluff, Ark. Secretary, Dr. N. Nicholas, 900 Capitol Avenue, Little Rock, Ark.

California

Western Baptist State Convention. President, Rev. W. P. Carter, 1907 10th Street, Santa Monica, Calif. Secretary, Dr. J. W. Davis, Monrovia, Calif.

Connecticut

Connecticut Baptist Missionary Union. President, Dr. F. W. Jacobs, 26 Buckingham Street, Bridgeport, Conn. Secretary, Rev. J. B. Pharr, 142 Henry Street, New Haven, Conn.

District of Columbia

The Baptist Convention of the District of Columbia and Vicinity. President, Dr. W. C. Bulloch, Washington, D. C. Secretary, Rev. W. B. Opey, 938 Westminster Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Florida

General Missionary State Convention of Florida. President, Dr. J. N. Stokes, 732 Marion Street, Deland, Fla. Secretary, Rev. R. H. Whitaker, 383 Spruce Street, Daytona Beach, Fla.

Georgia

General Missionary Baptist Convention of Georgia. President, Dr. L. A. Pinkston, 239 Herndon Bldg., Atlanta, Ga. Secretary, Dr. Nathan Roberts, 520 W. Henry Street, Savannah, Ga.

Illinois

Baptist General State Convention of Illinois. President, Rev. J. L. Horace, 729 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Secretary, Rev. M. D. Dickson, [illegible] State Street, Peoria, Ill.

Indiana

General Baptist State Convention of Indiana, Inc. President, Rev. D. G. Lewis, 1610 Monroe Street, Gary, Ind. Secretary, Dr. John A. Hall, [illegible] Boulevard, N. W., Indianapolis, Ind.

Iowa

Iowa, South Dakota, Nebraska and Minnesota Association. President, Rev. G. W. Robinson, 1009 W. 12th Street, Des Moines, Iowa. Secretary, Rev. R. H. Reynolds, 2310 Seward Street, Omaha, Nebr.

Kansas

Institutional Baptist Convention. President, Rev. J. W. Hayes, 905 Matheson Street, Wichita, Kans. Secretary, Rev. James Scott, 404 Fourth Street, Osawatomie, Kans.

Kentucky

General Association Colored Baptists in Kentucky. President, Dr. A. H. Bailey, [illegible] W. Chestnut Street, Louisville, Ky. Secretary, Rev. G. A. Hampton, [illegible] W. Chestnut Street, Louisville, Ky.

Louisiana

Louisiana Baptist State Convention. President, Dr. F. M. Boley, 411 W. Madison Street, New Orleans, La. Secretary, Rev. W. H. Buckner, Box 54 Wilson Street, Franklin, La.

Maryland

United Baptist Missionary Convention of Maryland. President, Rev. W. D. Yerby, 1110 Edmondson Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

Michigan

Wolverine State Baptist Convention. President, Rev. R. L. Todd, 4172 11th Street, Ecorse, Mich. Secretary, Rev. W. E. Mathews, 111 Rosedale Street, Detroit, Mich.

Mississippi

East Mississippi State Convention. President, Rev. J. L. Burns, 1902 21st Avenue, Meridian, Miss. Secretary, Rev. A. H. Hathaway, R. F. D. 1, Box 6, Meridian, Miss. General Missionary Baptist Convention of Mississippi. President, Rev. H. H. Humes, 1110 Alexander Street, Greenville, Miss. Secretary, Rev. W. M. Walton, 221 Redbud Street, Greenville, Miss.

Missouri

Missouri Baptist State Convention. President, Rev. R. C. [illegible], 2812 Easton Street, St. Louis, Mo. Secretary, Rev. C. E. Johnson, 901 [illegible] Street, Jefferson City, Mo.

Nebraska

New Era Baptist State Convention. President, Rev. F. C. Williams, 2407 N. 22nd Street, Omaha, Neb.

New Jersey

Afro-American Baptist State Convention of New Jersey. President, Dr. C. L. Aiken, 137 Edgewater Avenue, Pleasantville, N. J. Secretary, Rev. Charles P. Harris, 1283 E. 2nd Street, Plainfield, N. J.

New York

Colored Baptist Convention of the State of New York. President, Dr. G. H. Sims, 131 W. 121st Street, New York, N. Y. Secretary, Rev. J. O. Jones, 160-18 108 Avenue, Jamaica, N. Y.

Ohio

Ohio Baptist General Association. President, Rev. Charles H. Crable, 2223 E. 43rd Street, Cleveland, Ohio. Secretary, Rev. A. W. Jackson, P. O. Box 62, College Hill, Ohio. Ohio Baptist State Convention. President, Rev. J. F. Walker, 3240 Beresford Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio. Secretary, Rev. N. L. Shaw, 2622 E. 63rd Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

Oklahoma

Oklahoma Missionary Baptist State Convention. President, Dr. E. W. Perry, 511 E. 3rd Street, Oklahoma City, Okla. Secretary, Rev. W. K. Jackson, P. O. Box 831, Ardmore, Okla.

Pennsylvania

Pensylvania State Convention. President, Rev. L. G. Carr, 5619 W. Grand Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa. Secretary, Rev. T. R. Washington, 2837 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

South Carolina

Baptist Educational and Missionary Convention of South Carolina. President, Dr. H. H. Butler, Drawer 749 Hartsville, S. C. Secretary, Rev. L. C. Jenkins, 1012 Harden Street, Columbia, S. C.

Tennessee

Tennessee Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention. President, Dr. S. A. Owens, 761 Walker Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.

Texas

Texas Baptist State Convention. President, Rev. S. T. Alexander, 2706 Flora Street, Dallas, Texas. Secretary, Prof. W. M. Butler, Rt. 2, Box 190, Tyler, Texas. Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Texas. Vice-President, Rev. T. M. Chambers, Sr., Box 902, Dallas, Texas. Secretary, Prof. M. E. Butler, 1901 W. Grand Avenue, Marshall, Texas.

Virginia

Goodwill Baptist State Convention of Virginia. President, Dr. C. C. Scott, 2005 N. 4th Street, Richmond, Va. Secretary, Dr. W. L. Ransome, 1507 Decatur Street, Richmond, Va.

West Virginia

West Virginia Baptist State Convention. President, Rev. S. A. Abrams, E. Beckley, W. Va. Secretary, Rev. E. T. Browne, 205 Ellis Street, Bluefield, W. Va.

National Baptist Evangelical Life and Soul Saving Assembly of U. S. A.

Organized in 1921 by A. A. Banks as a charitable, educational and evangelical organization. Churches, 451. Inclusive membership, 59,742 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 48,137. Assembly, annual. Headquarters, 124 Broadway, Boise, Idaho. Officers: Executive Capt., Rev. A. A. Banks, Sr., 124 Broadway, Boise, Idaho.

National David Spiritual Temple of Christ Church Union (Inc.) U. S. A.

Founded in 1921 by the Most Rev. David Wm. Short, who was originally a Baptist minister. Proclaims the "orthodox Christian spiritual faith." Churches, 30. Inclusive membership, 15,898 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 15,034. Temple, annual. Headquarters, 1115 W. Cherry Street, Milwaukee, Wis. Officers: President and Founder, Senior Bishop David Wm. Short, 1115 W. Cherry Street, Milwaukee, Wis. Evangelist-Sister Bertha H. Riley, Financial Secretary, 813 Osage Street, Leavenworth, Kans.

Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal Church

Organized in 1885 at Charleston, S. C. among persons withdrawing from the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The doctrines were generally those of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Churches, 43. Inclusive membership, 3,000 (1942). Membership 13 years of age and over, 3,000. General Conference, annual. Headquarters, Charleston, S. C. Officer: Bishop J. R. Privlane, 45 Kenny Street, Charleston, S. C.

Reformed Zion Union Apostolic Church

Organized in 1869 at Boydton, Va., by Elder James R. Howell of New York, a minister of the A. M. E. Zion Church with the doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Churches, 52. Inclusive membership, 3,000 (1943). Membership 13 years of age and over, 2,000. Officers: Bishop Rt. Rev. G. W. Taylor, South Hill, Va. Recording Secretary, Professor D. T. Jones, Boydton, Va.

Triumph the Church and Kingdom Of God in Christ

Organized in 1902 in Georgia by Elder E. D. Smith, emphasizing sanctification and the second coming of Christ. Churches, 400 (estimated). Inclusive membership 30,000 (estimated), (1940). Membership 13 years of age and over, 30,000 (estimated). International Religious Congress, quadrennial. Headquarters, 4212 3rd Avenue, No., Birmingham, Ala. Officer: Bishop C. C. Coleman, 808 Elmer Street, Biloxi, Miss.

Union American Methodist Episcopal Church

In 1813, a Union Church of Africans was incorporated in Delaware and made up of Negro members of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Wilmington, Del. In 1850, a division occurred and the main body changed its name in 1852 as above. Churches, 71. Inclusive membership, 9,369 (1936). Membership 13 years of age and over, 7,919 (estimated).

United American Free Will Baptist Church

A body which set up its organization in 1901. Though ecclesiastically distinct, they are in close relations with the Free Will Baptists. Churches, 350. Inclusive membership, 75,000 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 66,000. General Conference, every 3 years. Headquarters, 215 E. North Street, Kinston, N. C. Officers: Mod., Rev. E. M. Hill, Lagrange, N. C. General Financial Secretary, Prof. H. R. Reeves, Ayden, N. C.

United Holy Church of America, Inc.

Organized in 1896 at Method, N. C. Ordinances of baptism by immersion and the Lord's Supper are observed. Churches, 275. Inclusive membership, 25,000 (1944). Membership 13 years of age and over, 24,000, (estimated). Convocation, quadrennial. Headquarters, 305 W. 140th Street, New York City.

DENOMINATIONS HAVING WHITE AND NEGRO MEMBERSHIP

Most denominations of Negro churches were the outgrowth of the larger denominations. Many churches are still a part of the mother denominations, although the Negro membership may be served in separate local churches by Negro pastors. According to the United States Census of 1936 there were 26 denominations, not exclusively Negro, but having Negro churches and Negro members. We do not, however, have any statistics of the Negroes who belong to local churches which have both Negro and whites in their membership. A few of these are known to be in the larger cities and many in rural communities and small towns where the Negro population is very small—too small to form a special group church. Some denominations of mixed membership follow:

American Church Institute For Negroes

This corporation was authorized in 1906 by the Board of Missions "to promote the cause of education of Negroes in the Southern States." It is a general Church institution and although it operates in the field of Domestic Missions, it is not administered through that department, but enjoys the status of "a separate body to report directly to the Presiding Bishop and Council." It also makes its report at one of the Mass meetings arranged by the National Council during the triennial sessions of General Convention. Congregations, including missions, 668; number of communicants, 64,000. Headquarters, 82 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass. Officers: Presiding Bishop, Treasurer and Acting Director, Louis J. Hunter. Director, Rev. Cyril E. Bentley, B. D. Secretary and Assistant Director, M. M. Millikan.

Congregational Christian Churches

Made up of the Congregational Churches which date back to the Pilgrim Fathers and early settlers of New England and the Christian Churches, which united in 1931. Churches (1945) 5,836. Members, 1,130,824. National Council of Congregational Churches, Moderator (1945), President Roland Bridges. Assistant Moderators, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; Pres. R. H. Stafford, Rev. A. G. Walton, Chaplain E. C. Weed. Negro membership in colored churches, 232 (1945). Inclusive membership with the exception of a few congregational churches in some northern cities. 21,181.

The Evangelical United Brethren Church

Headquarters, 1602 Grand Avenue, Dayton, Ohio. "Has no work among colored folk of America. No colored membership. We have a strong missionary work among colored folks of Sierra Leone, West Africa."

Lutheran Synodical Conference

Headquarters, 3558 So. Jefferson Avenue, St. Louis, Mo. Rev. Karl Kurth, Executive Secretary. Incorporated in the State of Missouri. In "a few isolated cases, Negroes are members of the white churches. The Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America offers the following tabulation: Congregations, 83. Members, 12,070. These figures are confined only to four Lutheran synods."

The Methodist Church

The largest number of Negroes found outside of an exclusively Negro denomination are in the Methodist Church. It is said that among the first American converts of John Wesley were Negroes who spread the Wesleyan movement among Negroes in the West Indies and on the mainland. When the Methodist Church was formed by the merger of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and the Methodist Protestant Church in Kansas City, Mo., in 1939, most of the churches of Negroes were put in the Central Jurisdiction and under the supervision of Negro bishops and general officers. Some few isolated churches in the North, such as St. Mark's in New York City, remained in the geographical jurisdiction into which they would naturally fall, since they were not members of a colored conference. The Methodist Church is reported to have had 41,067 churches in 1944; inclusive membership, 8,046,129. Membership 13 years of age and over, 7,400,000 (estimated). In 1936 there were 193,761 Negro members or little less than 2.5 per cent of the total membership. In 1944, the total Negro membership was 347,076[1]. In the Methodist Church there is no discrimination on account of race with regard to salaries of bishops, or representation in the General Conference. But Negroes hold their Jurisdictional Conference to elect their bishops and officers. There are also separate schools for Negro members, though Negroes are not excluded from other Methodist schools and large numbers attend such institutions as Northwestern, Drew and Boston Universities. Connectional Staff of the Central Jurisdiction are as follows:

Dr. Edgar A. Love, Superintendent of Negro Work, Board of Missions and Church Extension, New York, N. Y.

Miss Vivienne Newton, Field Worker, Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions and Church Extension, New York, N. Y.

Dr. M. S. Davage, Secretary for Negro Institutions, Board of Education, Nashville, Tenn.

Rev. J. A. Green, Assistant Secretary, Board of Education, Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. J. H. Touchstone, Associate Secretary, Board of Lay Activities, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. J. W. Golden, Associate Secretary, Board of Evangelism, Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. A. R. Howard, Field Worker, Board of Temperance, Washington, D. C.

Dr. N. J. Crolley, Associate Secretary, Board of Pensions and Relief, Chicago, Ill.

Bishops of the Central Jurisdiction are:

Columbus Area, Bishop Edward W. Kelly, Sr., 4106 Enright Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

Baltimore Area, Bishop Alexander P. Shaw, 1206 Etting Street, Baltimore, Md.

Atlantic Coast Area, Bishop Lorenzo H. King, (deceased).

New Orleans Area, Bishop R. N. Brooks, 631 Baronne Street, New Orleans, La.

Liberia, West Africa, Bishop Willis J. King of Atlanta, Ga.

Bishop Robert E. Jones (retired), Waveland, Miss.

The Presbyterian Church In the United States

"One of the Synods of our General Assembly is composed entirely of Negroes. The name of this Synod is Snedecor Memorial." General Assembly, annual. Officers: Moderator, Dr. Thomas K. Young, 587 S. Belvedere St., Memphis 4, Tenn. Statistical Clerk-Treasurer, Rev. E. C. Scott, 1120 Liberty Bank Bldg., Dallas 1, Texas.

The Presbyterian Church in The United States of America

In 1938 the Negro work in the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., secured its first Negro Secretary in the person of Rev. A. B. McCoy, D.D., with headquarters at 201 Ashby Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. There are 548 enterprises, including 342 churches and preaching stations; 17 parishes and community centers; 3 day schools; 20 summer conferences; 150 community Sunday Schools; 14 Presbyterial Leagues; 1 annual workers' conference; and 1 publication. The staff of 153 includes 113 pastors receiving mission aid; 8 staff members; 20 lay workers; 12 teachers. The average congregational membership is 69, the largest is 700[2]. Negro members of National Board of Missions: Rev. Jesse B. Barber, Lincoln University, Chester, Pa.; Rev. Hapley B. Taylor, 1715 1st Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Member of headquarters staff: Rev. A. B. McCoy, Secretary, Department of Missionary Operation, 201 Ashby Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. Negro members of field staff: Rev. Frank C. Shirley, 522 Beatty Ford Road, Charlotte, N. C.; Rev. G. Lake Imes, 1940 Druid Hill Avenue, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. C. W. Talley, 1213 Market Street, Cheraw, S. C.; Rev. H. R. Pinkney, 595 Dudley Street, Memphis, Tenn. There are approximately 300 Negro missionaries.

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[1] Number reported by Dr. Edgar Love, Superintendent of Negro Work, Board of Missions and Church Extension.

The Protestant Episcopal Church

Originally the Church of England which was transplanted to America by the English colonists. The American churches withdrew from the English church during the Revolutionary War and became the Protestant Episcopal Church, in 1789. Churches, 7,894. Inclusive membership, 2,227,524. Membership 13 years of age and over 1,501,777. Negro churches, 708. (This number includes rural and urban congregations, independent parishes and missions.) Negro members (1945), 64,000. The work of the Church among Negroes in the United States is different in the North from that in the South, with regard to the ratio of Negroes touched. Some parishes in the northern cities have more Negroes in them than all the Negro Episcopal churches in four or five of the southern dioceses put together. In St. Philip's Church, New York City, for instance, there are 3,194 communicants, while in the dioceses of Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, South Carolina and Western North Carolina combined, there are 2,707 Negro communicants. The growth and development of work in the Episcopal Church among Negroes has been largely in northern cities with the exception of the diocese of South Florida, which has 3,529 communicants. In October, 1942, the National Council instituted a new approach to the promotion of Negro work by the appointment of a Bi-racial Sub-committee on Negro Work to function as a board of strategy to be set up in the Division of Domestic Missions. The Rev. Bravid W. Harris, then Archdeacon in the diocese of Southern Virginia, was appointed as the first Secretary for Negro Work on July 1, 1943. On June 1, 1945 the Rev. Tollie L. Caution succeeded to the position when Rev. Harris was elevated to the bishopric. The first job of the Secretary for Negro Work was to survey the present work and study the needs, encouraging a sound financial program through budget and "Every Member Canvass method," and to assist churches in securing more adequate facilities to do an effective job. Recruiting young people for the work of the Church is done through the Life and Work Conference, held each spring at Fort Valley College Center, Fort Valley, Georgia. The National Council in 1943 adopted a statement of principles of fellowship of equality covering all their work with Negroes[3].

Roman Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and the Indians

The need of an organized national effort to preserve the Faith among the Catholic Negroes and Indians was voiced by the American Bishops at the Second Plenary Council. It was, however, the Third Plenary Council, in 1884, which actually effected the constitution of a permanent Commission for this object. According to its plan, the Commission was to consist of a Board of Directors composed of three members of the Hierarchy, assisted by a secretary. Its funds were to be derived from an annual collection which the Bishops of the Council ordered to be taken up in every church in the United States on the First Sunday of Lent. These acts of the Council were formally approved by the Holy See and the Commission began to function immediately.

During the sixty years of its existence the Commission has assisted, to the full extent of its resources, practically every Indian and Negro mission in the United States, including Alaska. Some have required help only in their infancy, while others have been dependent upon it, at least in part, during this entire period. The Commission has supported the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in Washington, which in turn has rendered invaluable services to the Catholic Indian schools. Before the creation of other agencies for the home missions, the Commission assisted missionary work among the Mexicans of the Southwest. Its scope is, however, the maintenance and development of religious work among the Negroes and Indians of the United States.

"According to the figures compiled by the Commission for Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians, dated January, 1946, there were 313,877 Catholic Negroes, representing a gain of 16,789 over the 1940 total of 296,998, but these figures admittedly do not indicate the whole gain, since the report was based only on statistics supplied by those dioceses which receive financial assistance from the Commission.

"In 1928, there were 175 missions for Negroes in the United States. (The term mission refers to both "resident" and "out" mission, so long as a church is established there.) By 1941, this number had grown to 332, or a gain of 157, as reported by Dr. Gillard in 'Colored Catholics in the United States.' p. 131." In 1946, reports give 387 missions. "This is a gain of 55 since 1941, and a grand total gain of 212 since 1928."

"These missions are located in nine different areas comprising the whole country. The West, South Central, South Atlantic, and East South Central sections have by far the greater number of churches for Negroes, these three sections alone having 289 or the total of 387 missions."

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[2] Data furnished by Rev. A. B. McCoy, D.D., Secretary, Negro Work.

[3] Data furnished by Rev. Tollie L. Caution, Secretary for Negro Work.

The Board of Directors are:

His Eminence, Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, Chairman, Archbishop of Philadelphia, Pa.

His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop, New York, N. Y.

His Excellency, Most Reverend Michael J. Curley, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore and Washington.

Secretary, Rev. J. B. Tennelly, S.S., D.D., 2021 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Salvation Army

This is a religious body operating in 98 territories of the world, preaching the gospel of Christ in 102 languages and ministering in practical ways to emergency needs of humans, regardless of race or creed. Since the basic Christian beliefs of the organization preclude any discrimination against mankind, the Army's global network of rehabilitation services seeks to help all men and women help themselves. These services include industrial homes where men can rebuild their characters, hospitals for unmarried mothers, free or low cost lodging houses, nurseries for working mothers, fresh air camps, boys clubs. Such services are adapted to the general mores of an area. Negro Salvationists have their own local groups directed by Negro Salvation Army officers through which they promote the on-going activities of The Salvation Army.

During World War II . . . at least 20 Salvation Army operated USO clubs were established at Negro military posts. The Red Shield Club Hotel in Harlem, the world's largest Negro community in the heart of New York City, is an outstanding operation. Here six floors of recreational facilities have served 631,691 Negro servicemen and women since its opening December 18, 1944. Headquarters, 120-130 W. 14th Street, New York City[4].

The Seventh-day Adventists

This denomination operates in 413 countries of the world. The present membership is some 600,000 communicants. Of this number, 207,000 are located in North America. The colored membership in North America is 19,018. The colored membership in Africa and the West Indies is 90,000. In the year 1944, colored conferences were organized and staffed by all colored officers. These conferences affiliate with the parent organization (white) in union conferences and in the General Conference. The executive officers of these conferences are known as Presidents. There are 234 colored churches scattered in forty-two States. Headquarters: Takoma Park, Washington 12, D. C. Officers: Rev. G. E. Peters, Secretary, North American Colored Department[5].

The United Presbyterian Church

Headquarters, Pittsburgh, Pa. Negro church officials (denominational), none. Ministers, 13; Elders, 94; Congregations, 14; communicants, 1,200. Foreign missionaries are being sought for the Sudan. Rev. Suder Q. Mitchell of Philadelphia is a member of the Board elected by the General Assembly. Board of Christian Education, Member of Board, Dr. Frank T. Wilson, Lincoln University, Chester, Pa. Field Directors, Rev. Shirley, Rev. Imes, Rev. Talley and Rev. Pinkney, who also serve on the Board of Christian Education. They have a joint responsibility to the two Boards.

NEGROES CONNECTED WITH AUXILIARY CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS

The American Bible Society

Organized in 1816. Headquarters, Bible House, 57th Street and Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. Daniel Burke, LL.D., President. General Secretaries: Rev. Eric M. North; Rev. Frederick W. Cropp; Frank H. Mann; Rome A. Betts; Rev. Robert T. Taylor. The purpose of this organization is the distribution of the Bible in the Americas. Millions of Bibles have been distributed. Work began among colored people in 1860. Special agency among colored people of the South was started in 1901 with Rev. John P. Wragg of Atlanta, Ga., as Agency Secretary. In 1920, the work of this agency was broadened to include all Negroes in the United States. Sub-agencies were established at Atlanta, Ga., Charlotte, N. C., Cleveland, Ohio, Memphis, Tenn. and Houston, Texas. The sub-agencies were designated "divisions" in 1929. In 1945, the office of the Charlotte Division was moved to Richmond and this Division is now known as the Richmond Division. In 1929, by request of Dr. Wragg, in connection with an annuity endowment gift, the agency was named the William Ingraham Haven Memorial Agency Among the Colored People of the United States. The Negro Secretaries are: Atlanta Division, Rev. D. H. Stanton, 56 Gammon Avenue, S. E., Atlanta, Ga.; Richmond Division, Rev. Oscar D. Carson, St. Luke Bldg., 902 St. James Street, Richmond, Va.; Cleveland Division, Rev. V. C. Hodges, 5424 Woodland Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio; Dallas Division, Rev. H. L. Thomason, 1914 Main Street, Dallas, Texas. Field workers: Rev. Ralph E. Austin, 1211 Kearney Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Rev. E. A. Mays, 35 E. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill. Member of Board of Managers: Dr. Channing H. Tobias, New York City. Advisory Board: Bishop C. C. Alleyne, Rev. O. Clay Maxwell, Bishop C. H. Phillips, Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.

The American Sunday School Union

The field work of this society has for its purpose, "to establish and maintain Sunday Schools." The work among Negroes is carried on in the South Atlantic District comprising the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida. There is one missionary each in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi, as follows: T. W. Patterson, Mississippi; W. P. Jackson, Alabama; T. J. Crawford, Georgia. Their reports for 1945 include 2 schools organized, having 6 teachers and 62 scholars; 5 schools reorganized, having 10 teachers and 130 scholars. Schools visited or aided numbered 211, having 485 teachers and 7,085 scholars. The total number of schools active part or all of the year, 142; new members added 177; Home Department members secured, 17; number of professed conversions, 87; group-gatherings, 25; number Daily Vacation Bible Schools, 8; number field visits, 6,312; miles traveled, 20,082; sermons and addresses delivered, 441; prayer meetings established, 20; young people's societies formed, 5. Officers: Belding B. Slifer, President; John H. Talley, Recording Secretary and Treasurer; Elliott D. Parkhill, D.D., Secretary of Missions, 1816 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

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[4] Data furnished by Commissioner Donald McMillan, National Secretary, U. S. A.

[5] Data furnished by Rev. G. E. Peters, Secretary, North American Colored Department.

Baptist World Alliance

The two Negro conventions are members of the Baptist World Alliance; namely, The National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Incorporated and the National Baptist Convention of America. Members of the Executive Committee are: Dr. J. M. Nabrit, 682 S. Lauderdale Street, Memphis, Tenn.; Dr. D. V. Jemison, 1695 Lapsley Street, Selma, Ala.; Mrs. S. W. Layten, 764 S. 23rd Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. G. L. Prince, Mary Allen College, Crockett, Texas.

Board of National Missions Evangelical and Reformed Church

This Board supports a number of inter-racial projects. The Rev. John R. Harris performs full-time inter-racial work under the auspices of the Seattle, Washington, Council of Churches. Mr. Stanley A. Whittaker works under the Oakland, California Council of Churches. Other inter-racial work done is at Evansville, Ind., Louisville, Ky., Chicago, Ill., Trenton, N. J., in Michigan under the Michigan Council of Churches and at Caroline Mission and Fellowship Center, St. Louis, Mo. Headquarters: 1720 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

The General Commission On Army and Navy Chaplains

The appointment of Protestant Chaplains in World War II was only on the recommendation of the General Commission of Army and Navy Chaplains. This commission was composed of representatives of nearly every denomination. Negro membership was as follows: National Baptist U. S. A., Dr. W. H. Jernagin, 1341 Third Street, Washington, D. C., Chairman. National Baptists of America, Dr. E. W. White, 848 Edmondson Avenue, Baltimore, Md., Chairman. African Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., Box 8, Wilberforce, Ohio, Chairman. African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Bishop C. C. Alleyne, 1715 W. Montgomery Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa., Chairman. Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop C. L. Russell, 1843 S Street, Washington, D. C., Chairman.

The Federal Council of Churches Of Christ in America

Negro denominations affiliated with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America are: National Baptist Convention, Inc.; African Methodist Episcopal Church; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. Officers: President, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; Vice-President, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays; General Secretary, Samuel McCrea Cavert. Headquarters, 297 4th Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

The International Council of Religious Education

Negro denominations affiliated with the International Council of Religious Education are: African Methodist Episcopal Church; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Church of Christ (Holiness), United States of America; Colored Methodist Episcopal Church; National Baptist Convention of America; National Baptist Convention United States of America (Incorporated). Headquarters, 203 N. Wabash Avenue, Chicago 1, Ill.

Missionary Education Movement of The United States and Canada

Negro members of the Board of Managers: Mrs. Beulah A. Berry, Home and Foreign Missionary Department, A. M. E. Church; Mrs. David H. Sims, Woman's Missionary Society of the A. M. E. Church; Mrs. Abbie C. Jackson, Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, A. M. E. Z. Church; Mrs. Creola B. Cowan of the Christian Education Department, A. M. E. Church; Mrs. Edna B. Bronson, Sunday School Publishing Board, National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.; Mrs. Louis Jefferson, Staff artist. Headquarters, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

National Fraternal Council Of Negro Churches

This organization was founded in 1934 as a clearing house for the activities of the Negro churches for the improvement of civil, economic, industrial and general social conditions in America, particularly as they affect the Negroes and for the promotion of worldwide Christian Brotherhood. It is interdenominational and non-partisan. The organization operates through the Washington Bureau and six committees. The Washington Bureau, 1934 11th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., Rev. W. H. Jernagin, Director, is the churches' "watchdog" on national legislation which affects Negroes in particular. Committees are as follows: Evangelism and Worship; Education; Health and Housing; Race Relations; Industrial and Economic Relations; Agricultural and Rural Life; Urban Life; Family Life; Recreation and Amusements; Publication and Publicity; Program; Africa and Peace; Labor; Business. Officers: Bishop J. H. Clayborn,

HOLLIS BURKE FRISSELL LIBRARY
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALA.

President, 1800 Marshall Street, Little Rock, Ark.; Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., Executive Secretary, Box 8, Wilberforce, Ohio.

National Religion and Labor Foundation

Headquarters, 106 Carmel Street, New Haven, Conn. Officers: Francis J. McConnell, Honorary President; Thornton W. Merriam, Kermit Eby, Chairmen. Negro members: William S. Nelson; A. Phillip Randolph, Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.

A Program For the Training of The Negro Rural Ministry

On November 27, 1944 at the invitation of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, a preliminary conference of rural leaders was held in New York City to consider the question of better training for the Negro rural ministry. Attention was called to the extensive program of rural religious work which the Home Missions Council of North America was already conducting for the improvement of in-service rural ministers. In the course of its deliberations, the following statement was unanimously adopted by the Conference:

1. "That the Conference has approved in principle, and with enthusiasm, the project for developing a well coordinated movement for better training of Negro rural ministers and for the development of the Negro rural church as a more constructive community force.
2. "That the Conference has requested the Phelps-Stokes Fund to act as sponsor of the project.
3. "That the Conference has appointed a Committee, with power to add to its number, to advise with the Phelps-Stokes Fund as to development of the plan, including such matters as decisions regarding a field center, staff, budget, program of work, raising of funds, etc. The Committee consists of Messrs. Jones, Reisner, Ellison, Dawber.
4. "That the Conference has emphasized the importance of preventing duplication of effort by cooperating with existing agencies and institutions interested in the improvement of the status of Negro rural ministers."

In subsequent meetings of the Advisory Committee, it was agreed that the Home Missions Council and the Phelps-Stokes Fund would co-ordinate their activities. The Phelps-Stokes Fund would devote itself primarily to the establishment of a rural church department in selected schools for the training of new rural pastors, and the Home Missions Council would continue and extend its in-service training program. The two efforts were to be combined in a joint program to be known as "A Program for the Training of the Negro Rural Ministry."

The joint program was initiated on June 1, 1945. In the Advisory Committee meeting of September 15, 1945, Prof. Ralph A. Felton, head of the Rural Church Department of Drew University, who was largely responsible for setting up the Home Missions Council's religious extension program and for training workers for both phases of the program, was engaged to serve as Educational Director and Consultant for the program. The present organization of the program is as follows: An Advisory Committee, composed of representatives of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Home Missions Council of North America; An Executive Committee, which carries out the actions of the Advisory Committee and supervises and directs the field program; the Field Office at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, under Dr. Harry V. Richardson, which directs the workers in the joint program; the Chairman and Consultant, President J. A. Ellison, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va., and the Educational Director and Consultant, Professor R. A. Felton, Madison, N. J.

As of May 31, 1946 Rural Church Departments have been set up as follows: Shaw University, School of Religion, Raleigh, N. C.; Morris Brown College, Turner Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.; Lane College, Phillips Seminary, Jackson, Tenn.; Fisk University, Department of Religion and Philosophy, Nashville, Tenn.; Wilberforce University, Payne Seminary, Wilberforce, Ohio; Florida Normal College, School of Religion, St. Augustine, Fla.; Bishop College, Department of Religion, Marshall, Texas; Lincoln University Seminary, Lincoln University, Pa.; Virginia Union University, School of Religion, Richmond, Va.; Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga. (Expected to begin September 1, 1946.)

In 1945, thirty-three institutes were held for pastors and fifteen for rural church women. The total attendance at the 1945 institutes numbered 1201 pastors and 1208 women.[6]

Student Volunteer Movement For Christian Missions

Headquarters: 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Miss Agnes Carter Epps, Secretary.

United Stewardship Council of the Churches of Christ of the United States and Canada

Representatives of Negroes on this Council are as follows: Rev. D. V. Jemison, 1605 Lapsley Street, Selma, Ala.; Rev. W. H. Jernagin, 1341 3rd Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., both representatives of the National Baptist Convention and Mr. J. H. Touchstone, 239 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga., a representative of the Methodist Church.

World Conference on Faith and Order

Bishop S. L. Greene is a member of the Faith and Order Continuation Committee. Bishop James A. Hamlett of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and Bishop S. L. Greene were official delegates to the World Conference on Faith and Order at Edinburgh in 1937. Representatives: Bishop S. L. Greene, D. W. Nichols and A. J. Allen.

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[6] Source: Annual Report for year ending May 31, 1946 by Dr. Harry V. Richardson, Executive Secretary.

World Council of Churches (The American Committee)

Headquarters, 297 4th Avenue, New York, N. Y., Henry Smith Leiper, Executive Secretary. The Negro members of the American Committee are as follows: Principal, Bishop S. L. Greene, 3612 Calhoun Street, New Orleans, La. Alternates, Bishop A. J. Allen, 2195 E. 89th Street, Cleveland, Ohio; Bishop D. Ward Nichols, 209 Edgecombe Avenue, New York, N. Y.

World's Sunday School Association

Headquarters, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Negro members, Rev. J. W. Eichelberger, Jr.; Rev. Julian Smith and Dr. A. M. Townsend.

World's Young Women's Christian Association

Headquarters, 17th and K. Streets, Washington, D. C. Mrs. Robert W. Claytor of Grand Rapids, Michigan, a Negro, is one of the United States World's Y. W. C. A. Council Members, of whom there are twelve for the United States.

The Young Men's Christian Associations Of the United States of America— (The National Council of)

Headquarters: 347 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. In 1853, only two years after the founding of the first North American Associations in Montreal and Boston, a colored Association was organized in Washington, D. C. A second followed at Charleston, South Carolina in 1866, and a third in New York City in 1867. The first student Association among colored men appeared in 1869 at Howard University. The 1876 Convention at Toronto voted to make "a special effort during the coming year among the colored people of the South, and that the International Committee be instructed to send a representative or representatives among them." The Convention accepted work among colored young men as one of several projects for which $20,000 was sought and $11,274 pledged, during the meeting. The securing in 1890 of William A. Hunton, for two years the first paid colored Y. M. C. A. executive at Norfolk, Virginia as the first national leader for the colored work, marked the real foundation for national organization and advance. The work of Hunton was particularly effective in the colleges. In 1898, Jesse E. Moorland joined the International Committee staff to organize colored Associations in the cities.

Notable gifts from certain philanthropists set a new precedent and established a new standard. The first of these was George Foster Peabody whose provision of a building at Columbus, Georgia in 1907 was followed by the contribution of John D. Rockefeller, Sr. for a similar purpose in Washington, D. C. Most notable of all was the unprecedented generosity of Julius Rosenwald in giving $25,000 to any city in the United States that would raise an additional $75,000 for a Y. M. C. A. building for colored men and boys. Mr. Rosenwald's offer was made on December 28, 1910. In all, 25 cities availed themselves of the Rosenwald beneficence, and buildings were dedicated between 1912 and 1933, the original cost of land, buildings and equipment aggregated $5,815,969. The Rosenwald benefactions amounted to $612,000. Local Negro populations contributed the sum of $472,558 and $4,731,411 was contributed from other sources.

The Inter-racial Commission, whose achievements played a helpful part during the period after the close of World War I in creating better understanding between the white and colored communities of the South was first organized as a part of the work of the National War Work Council of Y. M. C. A.'s and financed from its funds.

The basic policy underlying the experience of the Young Men's Christian Association thus far in its service for Negroes has been the conviction that the most practicable way by which to advance the spirit of cooperation and beneficial service among those concerned lay in the direction of separate but equal accommodations. But at the Secretaries Study Institute, the Laymen's Conference and the Quadrennial Conference of the Colored Work Department in session at Bordentown Manual Training School, Bordentown, N. J., in July 1942, the Conference recommended and requested the National Board of Young Men's Christian Associations (1) To appoint a commission to devise ways and means of eliminating the discriminatory practice among Negroes in the Y. M. C. A. and (2) To appoint a second commission to study and plan the present and postwar program of the Young Men's Christian Associations with colored men and boys. The meeting of the Y. M. C. A. Research Council held on July 7 and 8, 1942 at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. decided to undertake a study of the situation. The results of this study are published in "Negro Youth in City YMCA's, A Study of YMCA Services Among Negro Youth In Urban Communities," New York. National Council of YMCA's. 1944. 80 p.

In 1942, the number of colored associations reporting was 63. The number of members reported was 59,453.[7]

The Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America

Headquarters, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. Seven Negro members of the National Board are as follows: Mrs. Robert W. Claytor, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Mrs. A. Maurice Curtis, Patterson, N. J.; Mrs. William M. Cuthbert, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. Nathaniel Dillard, Richmond, Va.; Mrs. Leonora P. John, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. Edward S. Lewis, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. Richard L. Martin, Jersey City, N. J. Eight members of the National Professional Staff are: Mrs. Louise P. Cochran, Miss Mamie E. Davis, Miss Irene Harris, Miss Dorothy Height, Miss Roberta Maupin, Mrs. Sallie Parham, Miss Estelle Thomas, Mrs. Yolanda B. Wilkerson. Of five officers of the National Y. W. C. A. Convention, one is a Negro, Mrs. Jesse Heslip of Toledo. There are 85 Negro branches of the Y. W. C. A.; 5 centers; 1 independent affiliated association; 1 independent unaffiliated association and joint Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.

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[7] Data furnished by R. W. Bullock.

The Young Women's Christian Association adopted a thirty-five point program recommending the inclusion of colored women in the "main stream of association life" and calling for an end of racial separation in community Y. W. C. A.'s throughout the country at its seventeenth National Convention in Atlantic City in 1946.

NEGRO CHAPLAINS

Early Negro Chaplains

Henry M. Turner (commissioned 16 November, 1863) First Regiment Infantry (U. S. Colored Troops); William H. Hunter (commissioned 10 October, 1863) Fourth Regiment Infantry (USCT); James Underdue (commissioned 22 June, 1864) Thirty-ninth Regiment Infantry (USCT); William Warring (no date given for commission, resigned 20 May, 1865) One Hundred and Second Regiment Infantry (USCT); Samuel Hamson (commissioned 8 September, 1863, resigned 14 March, 1864) Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment Infantry (colored); William Jackson (commissioned 10 July, 1863, resigned 14 January, 1864) Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Regiment Infantry (colored); John R. Bowles (no date for commission, resigned 12 June, 1865) Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Regiment Infantry (colored).[8]

Another reference is to Samuel Hamson of Pittsfield, Massachusetts: "He was refused pay as a chaplain, because of his color."[9]

Also found in the History of the Fifty-fourth Regiment by Emilio is the statement: "At a meeting of the officers on the 24th October, 1864 the Rev. James Lynch, a colored man was elected chaplain of the Fifty-fourth. He was subsequently commissioned, but not mustered."

Herbert Aptheker gives the following information concerning Lemuel Haynes: "Among those at Lexington and Concord in April 1775, were at least, the following Negroes . . . Lemuel Haynes, native of West Hartford, Conn., and destined to be a famous theologian and minister for white congregations of New England (and, at long last, to have his portrait displayed in November, 1939, in the museum at Bennington, Vermont).[10]

Negro Chaplains in World War I

Name and Denomination

Adams, James B., Bapt.
Amiger, William T., Bapt.
Arnold, Frank R., M. E.
Bell, William Y., C. M. E.
Bowen, John W. E., Jr., M. E.
Brice, John, Presb. United.
Brown, Andrew D., M. E.
Brown, Frank W., M. E.
Brown, Julian L., Bapt.
Carter, Louis A. (Capt.), African Bapt.
Casper, Alfred G., A. M. E.
Carver, Monroe S., Bapt.
Christian, Ellis A., P. E.
Clemons, John T., Cong.
Collins, Henry M., A. M. E.
Davis, Thomas E., A. M. E.
Dinsmore, Elbert S. M., A. M. E.
Greene, Richard A., A. M. E.
Hamilton, Eugene H., Cong.
Hatwood, A. Huntingdon, A. M. E.
Hill, John Acton, A. M. E.
Isom, Charles T., Bapt.
Jefferson, Robert W., M. E.
Jefferson, Matthew M., Bapt. N.
Jenkins, Lincoln C., Bapt.
Johnson, Berryman H., Bapt.
Love, Edgar A., M. E.
McAllister, Reuben N., Meth. N.
McDonald, Frederick D. L., A. M. E.
McGee, Lewis A., A. M. E.
Means, Needham M., A. M. E.
Miller, Clifford L., Cong.
Morris, Robert G., M. E.
Newman, Allen D., Bapt.
Ovletrea, John W., A. M. E.
Parker, George C., M. E.
Parks, Cornelius G., A. M. E.
Prioleau, George W. (Major), A. M. E.
Rankin, Arthur E., Presb.
Robeson, Benjamin C., A. M. E. Z.
Robinson, Uriah J., Bapt.
Rogers, Hugh A., Bapt.
Rosedom, George A., National Bapt.
Scott, Oscar J. W. (Capt.), A. M. E.
Shirley, Frank C., Presb. N.
Simpson, James T., A. M. E.
Singleton, George A., A. M. E.
Snowden, Isaac C., A. M. E.
Stark, George S., Presb. N.
Thomas, Alexander W., A. M. E.
Thomas, George A., M. E.
Trigg, Charles Y., M. E.
Wallace, Thomas W., A. M. E. Z.
Williams, Noah W., A. M. E.
Woolfolk, Elkin O., M. E.
Wright, Elmer M., P. E.
Yergan, Max, Cong.

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[8] Source: A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-65 by George W. Williams, Harper & Bros., pp. 143-44.

[9] Source: History of the Fifty-fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1863-65 by Louis F. Emilio, 2nd ed., Boston Book Co., pp. 149-50.

[10] Source: Essays in the History of the American Negro by Herbert Aptheker, International Publishers, New York, 1945, p. 102.

Negro Chaplains in U. S. Army in World War II

Negro Chaplains on Active Duty

Name and Denomination

Anderson, Richard, Presb., USA.
Barrett, Walter D. S., A. M. E. Z.
Beasley, Louis J., Cong. Chr.
Blackwell, Frank A., Meth.
Blakeley, Ulysses B., Presb., USA.
Blakeney, Linson L., Presb., USA.
Blue, David C., A. M. E.
Bowser, George G., A. M. E.
Boyd, Cauthion T., Jr., Ch. of God.
Brewer, David L., N. Bapt., USA.
Bright, Sylvester R., N. Bapt., USA.
Brooks, Theodore H., N. Bapt. USA.
Bruce, Leonard L., A. M. E.
Bryant, Robert A., Bapt. Nat.
Bussey, Reuben T., A. M. E.
Carter, Julius C., A. M. E.
Clay, William A. L., N. Bapt., USA.
Cooper, Rufus A., A. M. E. Z.
Crocker, William B., N. Bapt., USA.
Daniels, Theodore R., N. Bapt., USA.
Davis, Booker T., Presb., USA.
De Veaux, John A., A. M. E.
Downs, John A., A. M. E.
Durden, Lewis M., N. Bapt., USA.
Edden, James A., P. E.
Ellis, Cassius M. C., Bapt., NCA.
Ellis, Leonard A., Presb., USA.
Faulkner, Matthew C., Disc.
Felder, De DeLeon, A. M. E.
Fisher, Charles, Cong. Chr.
Ford, Drue C., N. Bapt., USA.
Ford, Theodore P., Bapt., NCA.
Gaithers, Chalmers F., Bapt., USA.
Gibson, Elmer P., Meth.
Gibson, Ford, A. M. E.
Gibson, Mark W., Presb., USA.
Grau, William C., Cath.
Griffin, James C., N. Bapt., USA.
Grimmett, Ervin E., A. M. E. Z.
Hall, Douglass F., N. Bapt., USA.
Hall, Junious E., Meth.
Handy, John W., Jr., Meth.
Hankerson, Elijah H., N. Bapt., USA.
Harkness, Davis S., Meth. Chr.
Harris, Ellsworth G., Meth.
Harrison, Ernest L., Meth.
Hayden, Gerald L., A. M. E.
Hodge, Charles B., N. Bapt. USA.
Hogarth, Melbrune R., P. E.
Hopson, Brannon J., N. Bapt., USA.
Hughes, Christopher C., A. M. E.
Hunter, Charles S. H., Jr., A. M. E.
Jefferson, Millard F., Meth. Epis. Cld.
Jenkins, Warren J., A. M. E.
Jenkins, Pliny W., Meth.
Johnson, Andrew L., A. M. E.
Johnson, Simeon T., A. M. E.
Jones, Hubert C., Meth.
Lewis, Alexander L., Presb., USA.
Lewis, Samuel A., Luth. Un.
Long, Norman G., Meth.
McWilliams, Alfred L., Meth. Epis. Cld.
Marshburn, Furney N., N. Bapt., USA.
Maxwell, Alphonse, Meth.
Mayo, James A., P. E.
McNair, Elisha B., Meth. Epis. Cld.
Middleton, Joseph R., Meth.
Morgan, Clifton, Ch. of God.
Murray, James H., P. E.
Owens, Theodore R., A. M. E. Z.
Peak, Sanford N., N. Bapt., USA.
Percy, John S., Bapt. S.
Powe, Alphonse S., Presb., USA.
Pruden, Joseph D., N. Bapt., USA.
Richmond, Clarence H., Presb., USA.
Robinson, Douglass, A. M. E.
Ross, Paul G., A. M. E.
Saunders, Robert J., Bapt., NCA.
Scott, Osborne E., N. Bapt., USA.
Sessions, Girard F., A. M. E.
Sideboard, Henry Y., Meth. Epis. Cld.
Smith, Albert L., Presb., USA.
Smith, Theodore R., Bapt., NCA.
Smith, Forrest M., A. M. E.
Stokes, James E., Presb., USA.
Stroud, Lamar A., A. M. E.
Sutterfield, Winnett E., Bapt. S.
Swann, Melvin C., A. M. E.
Wactor, James W., A. M. E. Z.
Walker, Charles C., Cong. Chr.
Walker, James A., A. M. E.
Warley, Exley H., A. M. E.
White, Frank L., N. Bapt., USA.
White, Kenneth, A. M. E.
Whittington, Maxwell S., P. E.
Woods, General R., A. M. E.

Negro Chaplains Reverted to Inactive Status October, 1946

Name and Denomination

Albert, Theodore R., Meth.
Alexander, Lloyd M., P. E.
Alexander, Lorenzo A., N. Bapt., USA.
Alexander, Robert H., A. M. E.
Allen, George E., N. Bapt., USA.
Anderson, Robert S., N. Bapt., USA.
Armstrong, John W., A. M. E.
Ateca, Mitchell C., N. Bapt., USA.
Austin, F. H., N. Bapt., USA.
Austin, Ralph E., N. Bapt., USA.
Bain, John C., Meth.
Baker, Roosevelt A., Bapt., NCA.
Bakerville, Lewis A., P. E.
Bell, William L., A. M. E.
Bennett, Lorenzo D., A. M. E.
Blake, Charles O., A. M. E.
Blalock, Charles W., N. Bapt., USA.
Booze, Harry C., Meth.
Bowden, Henry J. C., P. E.
Bowman, John W., Cath.
Briggs, Emmanuel L., Meth.
Brinkley, William S., Presb., USA.
Brown, Frank R., A. M. E.
Brown, James R., A. M. E.
Brown, Julius T., Jr., N. Bapt., USA.
Brown, Lorenzo Q., Meth.
Brown, Richard T., N. Bapt., USA.
Bryan, Joseph D., Bapt. S.
Bunton, Henry C., Meth. Epis.
Burt, C., Douglass, Reg. Bapt. N.
Byrd, Charles E., Bapt., NCA.
Calvin, James C., Meth.
Carr, Joseph M., Bapt., NCA.
Cash, William L., Jr., Cong. Chr.
Carroll, Edward G., Meth.
Carty, Denzil A., P. E.
Caution, Gustave H., P. E., B.
Chapman, Herman B., Bapt., NCA.
Charles, Harold E., A. M. E.
Cherry, Charles A., Bapt., NCA.
Clanton, John H., N. Bapt., USA.
Clement, James A., A. M. E. Z.
Clement, Theodore S., A. M. E.
Coby, James E., N. Bapt., USA.
Cole, Joseph R., Meth. Epis.
Colvin, William J., A. M. E.
Conyers, William M., Meth.
Cousin, Lee A., A. M. E.
Covington, George E., Presb., USA.
Cox, James A., N. Bapt., USA.
Cox, Lafayette C., N. Bapt., USA.

Crawford, Robert, Jr., N. Bapt., USA.
Crichlow, Luther W., S. D. A.
Crowell, Arthur R., A. M. E.
Crump, Alfonso W., Meth.
Dandridge, William H., C. M. E.
Darnell, Milner L., Meth. Cld.
Dickerson, William A., N. Bapt., USA.
Diggs, Franklin B., Presb., USA.
Diggs, Hyason V., Bapt., NCA.
Diggs, Thomas O., A. M. E. Z.
Dixon, Nelson H., A. M. E.
Dokes, Robert B., N. Bapt., USA.
Douglass, Julius T., Presb., USA.
Dungee, John R., Presb. Un.
Dunston, Alfred G., Jr., A. M. E. Z.
Dyer, Jacob A., N. Bapt., USA.
Edwards, John H., P. E.
Eichelberger, Lewis Z., Bapt., NCA.
Evans, Lorenzo J., Disc.
Falconer, John B., Bapt., NCA.
Ferry, Russell A., N. Bapt., USA.
Fortune, Allen E., Presb. Un.
Freeman, Edward W., N. Bapt., USA.
Frierson, Theodore R., Meth.
Gantt, Edward W., A. M. E. Z.
Gardner, William E., N. Bapt., USA.
Gibson, Crober C., A. M. E.
Giles, Samuel H., A. M. E.
Golden, Charles F., Meth.
Grady, James C., A. M. E.
Grant, James A. G., Sr., Cong. Chr.
Gray, William R., Jr., N. Bapt., USA.
Green, William T., Jr., N. Bapt., USA.
Greenfield, Curtis O., A. M. E.
Greer, Samuel D., Ch. of Chr.
Gross, Robert H., A. M. E.
Guilbeau, Samuel F., A. M. E.
Hacker, Colman L., Meth. Epis. Cld.
Harrington, Joseph H., N. Bapt., USA.
Harris, Thomas J. R., Presb., USA.
Hawk, Charles N., N. Bapt., USA.
Hawkins, Howard P., Meth. Cld.
Heacock, Roland T., Cong. Chr.
Hendrieth, Marlin J., A. M. E.
Hewlett, Everett A., Presb., USA.
Hicks, Elder B., Bapt. N.
Hightower, William H., A. M. E.
Hill, Rufus L., N. Bapt., USA.
Holder, Oscar E., P. E.
Holland, Simmie P., A. M. E. Z.
Holliday, Craranza A., N. Bapt., USA.
Howard, Arthur R., Jr., Meth.
Howard, James F., A. M. E.
Howell, Cajus B., A. M. E.
Hunt, Isaiah H., A. M. E.
Hurley, James R., A. M. E.
Jackson, Clarence E., N. Bapt., USA.
Jefferson, George W., A. M. E.
Jenkins, John J., A. M. E.
Jenkins, Thomas A., Presb., USA.
Jennings, Melvin L., Assem. of God.
Johnson, Darneal F., Bapt. Nat.
Johnson, Harvey E., Cong. Chr.
Jones, Bennie J., N. Bapt., USA.
Jones, Carl M., N. Bapt., USA.
Jones, Nathaniel S., N. Bapt., USA.
Jones, Warren C., Presb., USA.
Jones, William L., Bapt., NCA.
Jones, William O., N. Bapt., USA.
Kemp, Andrew J., N. Bapt., USA.
Kennedy, Cordell H., Presb., USA.
Kidd, Paul E., A. M. E.
King, Ralph R., A. M. E.
Lee, Robert H. C., A. M. E. Z.
Lewis, George F., Disc.
Lissimore, Joseph H., A. M. E.
Little, Harlee H., A. M. E. Z.
Loyd, Gil B., N. Bapt., USA.
Lowe, Matthew A., A. M. E.
Malone, Van Joseph, Sr., Bapt., NCA.
Martin, Argalius E., Meth.
Martin, Granville H., Bapt. Nat.
Mattison, Ernest N., Meth.
May, Carlos M., A. M. E.
Mayfield, Spurgeon J., Cong. Chr.
McAdams, Elliot L., Presb., USA.
McClellan, William E., A. M. E.
McDonald, Isaac I., P. E.
McGee, Charles L., Presb., USA.
McGee, Lewis A., A. M. E.
McLaughlin, Elmer A., A. M. E.
Merriweather, Moses C., Meth.
Middleton, Richard T., P. E.
Morris, James D., N. Bapt., USA.
Muldrow, William H., A. M. E.
Murray, Allen L., A. M. E.
Nash, Wesley B., A. M. E.
O'Neal, Edmund J., A. M. E. Z.
Outlaw, Guy D., N. Bapt., USA.
Owen, Samuel A., Bapt. Nat.
Parham, Thomas D., Jr., Presb., USA.
Parker, Arthur W., Bapt. Nat.
Parker, Raymond W., Presb., USA.
Penn, Robert E., Bapt. S.
Perkins, William M., N. Bapt., USA.
Perry, Cyrus W., Meth.
Pierce, Isaiah B., A. M. E. Z.
Pierson, Cato H., Meth.
Pogue, King D. S., Presb., USA.
Pointer, Ira A., Meth.
Points, Isaac B., Meth.
Powell, Robert B., N. Bapt., USA.
Pritcheett, Charles G., N. Bapt., USA.
Ray, Douglas M., Meth.
Reddick, King D., N. Bapt., USA.
Reeves, John L., A. M. E.
Rhone, Sandy D., A. M. E.
Rice, Deual C., N. Bapt., USA.
Robinson, Edgar L., Luth., MS.
Robinson, Hughes A., Cong. Chr.
Robinson, Luther H., Luth., MS.
Scott, William A., N. Bapt., USA.
Shaw, Alvia A., A. M. E.
Skelton, Robert E., Meth.
Smith, Daniel L., A. M. E.
Smith, Frank A., Meth. Epis. Cld.
Smith, James H., Bapt., NCA.
Smith, James L., Presb., USA.
Smith, Robert J., Bapt. N.
Smith, William A., N. Bapt., USA.
Snoddy, Chester A., Bapt. S.
Spears, Augustus G., Meth.
Spears, Clifford B., Disc.
Stanmore, Levi L., N. Bapt., USA.
Stemley, Carey D., Meth.
Stephens, Fred E., A. M. E.
Stewart, James E., A. M. E. Z.
Strother, William C., Jr., Meth.
Swisher, Marion P., N. Bapt., USA.
Tarter, Charles L., Presb., USA.
Taylor, Ennis L., Meth.
Taylor, Paul L., Presb., USA.
Terrell, Hubert C., A. M. E.
Thigpen, Lee A., Jr., Meth.
Thomas, Alonzo L., Bapt. S.
Thomas, Charles W., N. Bapt., USA.
Thompson, Ernest E., N. Bapt., USA.
Thornton, Henry E., A. M. E.
Tibbs, Albert J., N. Bapt., USA.
Truscott, David L., Disc.
Tunstall, Charles A., N. Bapt., USA.
Walker, Henry W. B., Bapt. Nat.
Ward, Beverly M., Presb., USA.
Washington, Arthur G., Cong. Chr.
Washington, L. Barnwell, Presb., USA.
Washington, Sullus B., A. M. E.
Watkins, Charles T., A. M. E.
Webb, James S., A. M. E.
Wesley, John R., A. M. E. Z.
Wharry, Fore C., Meth.

White, Albert M., A. M. E.
White, Greene H., A. M. E.
White, Walter S., A. M. E.
Wilkins, William A., P. E.
Williams, Albert R., Bapt. N.
Williams, Arthur D., Meth.
Williams, Clifton S., A. M. E.
Williams, George W., Meth.
Williams, Kenneth R., N. Bapt., USA.
Williams, Peter C., A. M. E.
Williams, Samuel J., Bapt., NCA.
Williams, Thaddeus E., Bapt., NCA.
Wilson, Alpheus T., Meth.
Winthrop, Charles R., Presb., USA.
Wright, Giles R., Meth. Cld.
Wynne, Otis J., N. Bapt., USA.
Yancey, George R., N. Bapt., USA.
Zeigler, Daniel J., A. M. E.

Under Order to Be Relieved

Name and Denomination

Horne, Henry P., N. Bapt., USA.
Shaw, Frank S., A. M. E.
Titus, Phylemon, Meth.

Churchmen Tour War Fronts

Bishop John A. Gregg of the African Methodist Episcopal Church toured the South Pacific in 1943, visiting Negro units in the interest of morale. As representative of the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches in America Bishop Gregg visited war zones in Italy, India, Australia and Africa in 1944.

Rev. William H. Jernagin, Baptist leader, toured the Southwest Pacific visiting Negro chaplains and soldiers in 1945 under the auspices of the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches in America.

Negro and White Churchmen Cooperate in Vermont Plan

In 1944, the Rev. A. Ritchie Low, pastor since 1932 of the Congregational Church, Johnson, Vermont, conceived the idea of putting race relations on a friendly Christian basis. His idea was to bring Negro children from Harlem to the hills of Vermont and use them as ambassadors of good will. They would be children from nine to twelve years of age and would live as guests in white homes for two weeks. Dr. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, one of the largest and best organized Protestant Churches in the United States, with a membership of over 10,000, was asked to cooperate. This he did. The children selected were cordially and graciously received and entertained by these families of the Green Mountain country. The Vermont experiment in race relations was more than a success. It was mutually helpful to the participating children and to the families receiving them. In 1944 79 children were involved; 89 in 1945; and 100 in 1946.

DIVISION VI

THE NEGRO IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY 1941-1945

By Julius A. Thomas

National Urban League

WORLD WAR II AFFECTS THE ECONOMY OF THE NEGRO

The Impact of World War II on the National Economy Causes Changes

The five-year period, 1941 to 1945 inclusive, must be recorded as extremely significant in terms of economic change and advancement in the Negro's long struggle for a greater measure of economic security. While substantial progress on several fronts was achieved during the decades prior to Pearl Harbor, it was the war and its impact upon the total economy that precipitated many changes, the full effects of which may not be realized for many years.

Four Important Developments Characterize War Period

In the main, this period was characterized by four important developments—the migration of almost a million Negroes from farms and agricultural communities to northern, southern, and western industrial centers; an increase of some 600,000 in the number of Negroes employed in manufacturing industries; the enrollment of almost 700,000 Negroes in the labor movement; and the induction of 1,150,000 Negroes into the Armed Forces.

Executive Order 8802 Issued and F. E. P. C. Committee Appointed

Attending these major upheavals in the economic destiny of the Negro population, many other forces were feverishly at work to give substance and encouragement to a nation-wide drive for real equality of opportunity for all Americans. The President of the United States in June, 1941, issued an Executive Order (8802) which reaffirmed the national policy of non-discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin. A Fair Employment Practice Committee was appointed to implement the Order. Not since the Emancipation Proclamation had a Chief Executive issued a directive of such scope affecting racial practices in any phase of our national life. As the end of the war approached and the authority of the F. E. P. C. was curtailed, a vigorous campaign was launched to obtain favorable Congressional action on legislation that would permanently ban discrimination in employment on account of race or religion.

Government, Public and Private Agencies Assisted Movement of Negroes Into War Industries

Before the issuance of Executive Order 8802, the activities of other government and private agencies, together with the increasing shortage of labor, had accelerated the movement of Negroes into war industries in many sections of the country. The Labor Supply Division of the Council of National Defense and its successor, the Minorities Service Division of the War Manpower Commission, had made noteworthy beginnings in breaking down barriers to greater use of Negro workers during the early stages of the war. The National Urban League, an inter-racial social work agency with local affiliates in the principal industrial centers, had succeeded in placing Negro workers in many war plants during the same period. The cumulative result of these efforts, plus the implementation of the Executive Order (8802) enabled thousands of Negroes to secure employment in industries which had not used them to any great extent before the war.

Paralleling and complementing the work of these forces were many other contributory factors which cannot be disregarded. Progressive labor unions, both C. I. O. and A. F. of L., began to re-examine their membership policies and procedures with a view of strengthening the war-time demand for the adoption of non-discriminatory hiring practices in the industries in which they exercised bargaining rights. Inter-racial groups, church groups, civic organizations, and miscellaneous organizations whose pre-war activities were confined largely to cultural and social aspects of racial discrimination joined in the fight to eliminate discrimination in war employment.

The end result of these efforts has been reported in preceding paragraphs. The remainder of this section will endeavor to analyze many of these developments, evaluate their implications, and suggest next steps in advancing the position of Negroes in the national economy.

POPULATION SHIFTS AND EMPLOYMENT

Negroes Primarily Rural Dwellers in the South

There is a distinct correlation between the geographic location of any group of people and the kind of employment they will be able to obtain. Since the first boat load of Negro slaves landed in this country in 1619, Negroes have been primarily rural dwellers. As farm laborer, tenant farmer, farm owner, they have been hopelessly lashed to the agricultural economy of the South. Despite the migration which began shortly after the turn of the Century, two-thirds of the Negro population resided in the South in 1940. The majority of this number lived on the farms and in the rural towns of the South.

The movement cityward was accelerated during and after World War I but abruptly halted during the Depression. The Federal Census for 1940 reported a total Negro population of 12,865,518. Of the total, slightly less than ten million (9,904,619) still lived in the South. The movement to the city had made slight inroads on the southern rural population since 44.7 per cent of the total Negro population in the South still resided on farms. Nevertheless, the cumulative effects of past migration had increased the Negro urban population to 6,253,586 or 48.8 per cent of the total. Almost 90 per cent of the Negro population living in the North and West were city dwellers in 1940.

Negro Migration During World War II

Few observers of war-time shifts in the Negro population have been able to agree on the extent of such shifts, and no doubt exact information must await the next Federal Census. It is apparent, however, that the migration did not get under way until well after the first year of the war. This was due in part to the fact that large-scale use of Negro workers in many war industries did not begin until the white labor supply was almost completely exhausted. Moreover, many employers refused to employ any significant numbers of Negroes in the plants which they operated before the war but concentrated them in government-built war plants. Since most of these plants were not in production until almost a year after the war began, Negro workers had relatively few opportunities in war production until early in 1943.

The pattern of World War II migration was very similar to that of World War I except for the fact that a much larger number of Negroes moved to West Coast cities to work in aircraft and shipbuilding plants in the Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle areas. It is reliably estimated that between 150 and 200 thousand Negroes went to the West Coast between 1942 and 1945, and present indications are that a large percentage of the total will remain in this area.

The extent of Negro migration to several important industrial areas was revealed in a recent Census Bureau survey of congested production centers.[1]

During the war years, extensive increases have been recorded in other cities including Cleveland, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago, Newark, New York City, St. Louis, Atlanta, and New Orleans.

Economic Implications of Migration

The economic implications of these population shifts are clearly obvious. The Negro worker, drawn by the magic of war jobs at wages which exceeded anything he had experienced before, tasted a new freedom—freedom from penury and penny pinching. Despite many unsupported assertions that the new prosperity would be squandered in good times and free spending, the Research Company of America[2] reported that 75 per cent of 3,000 Negro families surveyed in Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia held War Bonds and war savings of considerable volume.

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[1] See Division on Population.

[2] Unpublished report, Consumer Study of Negro Families in Three Urban Communities—1945.

Equally important is the fact that many migrant war workers had an opportunity to learn new skills while improving those they were unable to use before the war. Whether or not the post-war period will bring a reversal of this trend remains to be seen. Such sample studies as have been made in a number of war-swollen communities indicate that the vast majority of these migratory workers do not intend to return to their former home communities. It is safe to conclude that the Negro is again "going to town" and leaving behind him the drab, depressing insecurity of life as an underpaid, exploited farm hand.

WORKERS IN WAR AND NON-WAR INDUSTRIES

Unemployment Among Negroes Almost Disappears During World War II

Almost 1,000,000 Negroes were added to the work force between 1940 and 1944, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported in January, 1945. The number of employed men increased from 2,900,000 to 3,200,000, and the number of employed women increased from 1,500,000 to 2,100,000. During the same period, 700,000 Negroes had been inducted into the Armed Forces. By the middle of 1945, the number of Negroes in the Armed Forces had reached a million, and inductions were continuing although at a reduced rate. Unemployment among Negroes almost disappeared, although there was ample evidence of under-employment in several sections of the nation, particularly in the agricultural South.

Distribution of Workers in War and Non-War Industries

The vast majority of these new workers were employed in war and war-related industries and accounted for slightly more than 8 per cent of the total workers in war production. A substantial number of Negro workers found new jobs in service occupations other than domestic service, and there was a substantial increase in the percentage of Negro workers engaged in occupations which excluded or severely restricted their employment before the war.

The most significant increase occurred in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. The Federal Census of Occupations (1940) reported 657,000 Negroes, about 55 per cent of the total employment in manufacturing occupations. The Division of Review and Analysis of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice reported 1,256,000 Negroes employed in manufacturing industries in July, 1944. The distribution of Negro workers in manufacturing and mechanical industries was as follows:

Table 1

The Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries

	Total Labor Force	Non-White*	Per Cent
All Manufacturing	16,500,000	1,256,000	7.6
Munitions	9,500,000	693,000	7.3
All Other Manufacturing	7,000,000	563,000	8.0

The distribution and percentage of Negro workers in important divisions of war and non-war industries were reported by the Division of Review and Analysis as follows:

Table 2

The Munitions Industries

Industry	Total	Negro	Per Cent
Aircraft	2,100,000	116,000	5.5
Shipbuilding	1,700,000	192,000	11.3
Ordnance and Communications Equipment	1,900,000	122,000	6.4
Basic Metals and Rubber	1,000,000	103,000	10.3
Other Munitions and Metallic non-Munitions	2,800,000	160,000	5.7
Totals	9,500,000	693,000	7.3

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*The term "non-white" includes all workers not classified as white. Negroes constitute approximately 96 per cent of the total.

Table 3

All Other Manufacturing

Industry	Total	Negro	Per Cent
Lumber and Furniture	900,000	108,000	12.0
Stone, Clay and Glass	400,000	24,000	6.0
Textile Apparel & Leather	2,400,000	94,000	3.9
Food and Tobacco	1,500,000	219,000	14.6
Paper and Printing	900,000	73,000	8.1
Other Manufacturing	900,000	45,000	5.0
Totals	7,000,000	563,000	8.0

Conference Called to Study Excessive Absenteeism Charge

The performance of Negro war workers was the subject of much speculation throughout the war period. From some sources one got the impression that they were indolent, inefficient, unstable and unadjustable. "Guilty of excessive absenteeism" became a crime for which Negroes were easily convicted without benefit of trial or jury. The situation became so "serious" in the summer of 1943 that a conference was called in Chicago to consider methods that might prove fruitful in dealing with it. Prominent leaders of several well-known national welfare, labor and inter-racial organizations participated in the conference. As a result of these deliberations, a nation-wide campaign was initiated to urge Negroes to hold their jobs through efficient work and regular work habits.

It is difficult if not impossible to evaluate the effectiveness of this effort. High rates of absenteeism were observed in many war industries during the war, and government agencies and labor unions worked assiduously to keep workers on the job. Frequent studies were made to determine the causes of absenteeism, but none of them revealed any specific factor that could be isolated. New industrial workers were found to be more frequent offenders than older experienced workers. Transportation difficulties were responsible for the problem in many areas, particularly where war plants were constructed in small communities far removed from regular street car and bus service. The strain of war tensions was too much for many workers, and they were forced to take time off at intervals. Notwithstanding these well known facts, Negroes came in for a disproportionate share of criticism.

National Urban League Makes Survey of War Workers in Industry

The National Urban League undertook to get the facts about the war record of Negro workers, not for the purpose of refuting unsupported charges, but in order to discover techniques and personnel practices that had served to minimize absenteeism among Negro and other workers. The League approached the problem with the belief that absenteeism is no more a racial characteristic than is any human trait.

Three hundred industries employing approximately 150,000 Negro workers were selected for the laboratory to be used for the inquiry. These industries represented a good cross-section of war production activity and were located in 25 States and 120 towns and cities. The management of these plants was requested to cooperate with the Urban League by answering a few questions regarding their experiences with Negro workers. Among the questions raised in the inquiry were:

1. Have Negro workers performed satisfactorily at the various levels of employment in your plant?
2. Will you indicate any specific difficulty you have encountered in the use of Negro workers?

Results of First Survey By National Urban League

The results of this inquiry were reported by the National Urban League February 1, 1944.[3] It is noteworthy that in 215 of the 300 plants, management said it was satisfied with the performance of Negro workers. In 9 plants, management reported that they were not as good as white workers, and in 50 plants, Negro workers were described as fairly satisfactory.

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[3] Performance of Negro Workers in 300 War Plants. Department of Industrial Relations, National Urban League, February 1, 1944.

The difficulties reported by management were listed as follows:

> In 67 plants, Negroes had a higher rate of absenteeism than other workers; in 21 plants, the employment of Negroes had produced race friction; in 13 plants, the rate of worker turn-over was higher for Negroes; and in 11 plants, Negroes were described as having a "chip-on-the-shoulder" attitude and being "over-aggressive." The majority of the respondents reported that no special problems had arisen in their plants.

Six months after the completion of this inquiry, the plants reporting excessive absenteeism among Negro workers were visited by National and local Urban League staff members for further study of the problem. In 37 plants, management reported that this was no longer a serious problem and attributed the improvement to better adjustment of the workers after greater familiarity with new jobs. In the remaining plants, there were contributory causes which were affecting Negro and white workers in about the same degree.

Second Survey Made By National Urban League On Upgrading and Employment of Women

A second survey[4] of the performance of Negro workers was begun in 1944 to determine, among other things, the extent of upgrading and the number of Negro women employed in the 300 laboratory plants. Complete information on these points was provided by 252 plants employing approximately 100,000 Negroes. Of this total, 18,435 were classified as skilled workers; 30,500 as semi-skilled; and 49,389 as unskilled. Nearly 100 of the 250 plants reported the employment of Negroes in technical, professional, clerical, and supervisory jobs. The significance of these figures cannot be fully appreciated without reference to the prewar employment picture in these plants. Before the war, less than 15,000 Negroes were on the payrolls of the entire group of industries, and only 28 plants reported the use of Negroes in jobs other than unskilled labor. From this study, it must not be concluded that the rate of advancement for Negroes in war industries generally was as rapid as the report indicates. While some training and upgrading was undertaken in many plants, the vast majority of Negroes in war production were holding unskilled jobs.

Between 200 and 300 thousand Negro women found jobs in essential industries during the war. In the main, they represented the last reservoir of domestic labor to be tapped by our expanding war economy. In some sections, particularly in the East, Mid-West, and extreme West, Negro women obtained employment as assemblers, operators, welders, and riveters in aircraft, communication equipment, and precision instrument industries. There was likewise a substantial increase in the employment of Negro women in textile and garment producing industries. The 252 laboratory plants studied by the Urban League employed only 2,564 Negro women before the war, but at peak production, this number had been increased to 28,531. They were distributed according to skills in the following manner: skilled, 3,445; semi-skilled, 7,639; unskilled, 17,447.

Employers Agreed Capabilities of Workers Cannot Be Measured By Racial Factors

All in all, the Negro worker made impressive gains in many manufacturing industries during the war. In addition to the numerical gains, the opportunity to secure training and acquire skills was enjoyed to a greater degree than at any time in the nation's history. It is important to realize, too, that the majority of employers are agreed that the racial factor is an unreliable yardstick by which to measure the capabilities of workers. This fact, firmly and indisputably established, can exert tremendous influence on post-war employment patterns in industry.

THE SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Negro Workers Fill Service Jobs Vacated By White Workers

During the war years, there were some minor changes in the position of Negro workers in the service occupations, but there was little reason for the near hysteria that accompanied reports that Negroes were deserting the domestic service field. What is more nearly the case is the fact that white women workers who had previously worked in many service jobs found employment in the manufacturing industries in much larger numbers than Negro women. Moreover, many jobs in restaurants, soda fountains, and other service establishments were vacated by both white women workers and young men entering the Armed Forces, thus broadening employment opportunities for Negro workers. No accurate estimate of the total number of workers involved in these shifts has been made, but the appearance of Negroes in new jobs in this field was frequently observed.

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[4] Unpublished Report-Performance of Negroes in 300 War Plants, National Urban League.

Negro Women Engaged in Domestic Service Occupations

In 1940, there were 917,942 Negro women engaged in domestic service occupations, according to the Federal Census of Occupations. These workers were distributed as follows:

Northeastern States	132,745
North Central States	73,915
Southern States	696,042
Western States	15,240

In the Southern States, Negro women composed 81 per cent of the total number of women found in this occupational category. In the Northeast, they were 26.2 per cent; in the North Central, 15.9 per cent; and in the West, 10.8 per cent. Negro women accounted for 46.6 per cent of all women engaged in domestic service in 1940, the percentage having increased 10 per cent since 1930.

A growing dislike for employment in domestic service has been observed for many years. It is due mainly to the lack of standards for the occupation, long working hours, and pitifully low wages. Despite the fact the wages were increased by as much as 300 per cent in some areas during the war, many women, particularly younger women, accepted employment in the field only as a last resort.

Efforts to Organize Domestic Workers Unsuccessful

Efforts to organize domestic workers received some attention during the period, but it cannot be reported that any substantial progress was made. In Baltimore, Maryland, a local union was formed with some 250 members. Contracts were actually negotiated with some employers. Because of the usual difficulties in providing adequate union structure for reaching larger numbers of workers in the field, the union was short-lived. In New York City, a similar effort had been launched prior to 1940. Union conditions were obtained for day workers and part-time workers much more easily than for regular workers. At one time, several hundred domestic workers were enrolled in Local 149 of the Building Service Employees Union (AFL), but membership in this local declined steadily in the early days of the war, and it was subsequently disbanded.

Domestic Service a Blind Alley Occupation

A discussion of future employment trends in this occupation is usually flavored with the bold fact that domestic service is a blind alley occupation, too closely identified with the work patterns of the slavery period. Ambitious young women will continue to steer clear of it as long as any other type of employment is available. The remedies for this situation are not easy to discover. In some sections, a genuine effort has been made to regularize and dignify household employment to make it attractive. Wages have been increased far above the prewar level, but the tendency now is to scale downward rather than hold the line. In the face of these uncertainties, it is virtually impossible to anticipate the course of events which may affect the future of domestic employment.

NEGROES IN THE SKILLED CRAFTS

Negro Craftsmen Decline Between 1920 and 1940

In the main, the Negro craftsman has made most notable progress in the crafts associated with the building industry. In 1940, 4.4 per cent of employed Negro males were classified as skilled craftsmen, and 60 per cent of these workmen were in the building trades. As Dr. Herbert Northrup points out in his book *Organized Labor and the Negro* (Harper & Bros., 1944), the Negro building mechanic is predominantly a southern worker and has only recently appeared in other sections of the country in substantial numbers. Since 1920, the number of Negro skilled craftsmen has declined, both numerically and percentage-wise in most crafts. This has been true both in the North and the South. In the South there were 43,333[5] Negro mechanics in seven principal crafts (carpenters, painters, bricklayers, plasterers, cement finishers, plumbers, electricians) in 1920, and they constituted 22 per cent of the total in that area. By 1940, this number had declined to 40,046 or 15.2 per cent of the total.

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[5] Herbert Northrup, "Organized Labor and the Negro," Table 1-b, Page 19.

The Army and Navy Train Craftsmen to Meet War Needs

The most glaring evidence of the decline in the ranks of Negro building craftsmen was brought to light during the early stages of the war. The Selective Service System, in its analysis of skills found among inductees, revealed that while there was a serious shortage of specialists among all recruits, the situation was acute among Negroes. During one period, it was reported that in every thousand Negro inductees, there were 6 auto mechanics, 3 carpenters, less than one plumber, less than one electrician, and a negligible number of draftsmen, machinists, welders, mechanics, linemen, etc. This deficiency among service men was met by initiating concentrated training programs in most of these crafts. An engineer corps alone required 175 carpenters, 14 plumbers, 8 machinists, 8 welders, and 48 mechanics per 1,000 men. Since a large percentage of Negro service men were in engineer regiments, it is known that many Negroes received training in these crafts.

Negroes in other branches of the service were likewise trained to meet the needs of a mechanical war. Linemen, telegraphers, auto mechanics, radio operators, cooks and bakers were trained in signal corps, transportation, and quartermaster units. In the Air Corps, hundreds of Negroes were trained as mechanics, repairmen, and electricians, while the Navy trained machinists, mechanics, metal workers, and other specialists.

In spite of the serious interruption of building construction during the war, it is probable that more Negroes received technical training while in the service than would have obtained such training under normal conditions. Whether or not these men will be able to find employment that will use these new skills is yet to be determined. In the past, the building trades have succeeded in limiting the number of apprentices in most crafts in order to restrict the number of skilled workmen. This procedure has worked to the disadvantage of Negroes, and in some crafts (electricians, plumbers), they have hardly made an impression.

Post-War Opportunities For Skilled Workers Unprecedented

The post-war period will usher in a new building boom to meet the urgent needs for additional housing. It has already been estimated that 1,500,000 mechanics, on-site and off-site, will be needed by 1947. Should Negro workers be drawn into the field in the proportion that they bear to the total work force, at least 150,000 Negro mechanics could expect employment. Skilled mechanics in many other fields will be needed as the economic picture shifts from war to peace. The telephone, electrical instrument, household appliance, furniture, among the light metal industries; the steel, auto and iron industries which turn out farm implements, automobiles, trucks, railroad cars, street cars, and buses, are expected to boom for several years. The skilled Negro workers will have unprecedented opportunities in these fields.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

Negroes Receive More and Better Jobs in Government Service

Paralleling the sharp upward trend in the employment of Negroes in essential war production, there was a decided increase in their employment in various branches of government service during the past five years. Not only was this increase numerically significant, but for the first time Negroes obtained employment in substantial numbers in clerical, technical, professional, and supervisory classifications. Approximately 300,000 Negroes were on Federal payrolls at the peak of war operations in 1944, and they comprised, roughly, 12 per cent of all government civil workers. The Committee on Fair Employment Practice, following a survey of Negro employment in Government Service[6] reported that 19.2 per cent of all departmental service employees were Negroes. In 1938, Negro workers accounted for only 8.4 per cent of Federal workers in Washington, and 9.8 per cent of all Federal workers.

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[6] The War Time Employment of Negroes in the Federal Government. F.E.P.C., January 1945. Prepared by J. A. Davis, C. L. Golightly and I. W. Hemphill.

The report further revealed that in the departmental service 49 per cent of all Negro employees were classified as clerical-administrative and fiscal; 9.9 per cent as clerical-mechanical; and 1.1 per cent as professional and sub-professional; while 39.6 per cent were crafts-protective and custodial. The change in the pattern of Negro employment may best be appreciated by comparing these figures with those reported in a similar study by Lawrence Hayes in 1938. The Hayes report showed that 90 per cent of all Federal Negro employees in the District of Columbia were custodial; 9.5 per cent, clerical-administrative and fiscal or clerical-mechanical; and 0.5 per cent sub-professional or professional.

Majority of Negro Government Workers Concentrated in War Agencies

The vast majority of Negro government workers were concentrated in war agencies, the report revealed. Of the approximately 2,000,000 workers in these agencies, 231,458 or 12 per cent were Negroes. The War and Navy Departments are credited with having employed the largest number of Negroes, but the employment and utilization of Negroes in the War Labor Board, the O.P.A., the War Production Board, and the War Manpower Commission achieved the highest utilization in terms of employment levels. The Executive Departments and field units of the Federal agencies accounted for fewer Negro workers and made less progress in the utilization of their skills and abilities. Substantial gains were recorded in Negro employment in practically all government agencies during the war including the Treasury and Post Office Departments which have always employed a good proportion of Negro government workers. The employment of increased numbers of Negro workers in government departments during a war does not represent any unusual departure from previous practices. However, the total number of such workers during World War II exceeded in quality anything that has happened in the past. This fact, therefore, poses a very serious question regarding future policies in government service. Can Negroes expect to secure jobs commensurate with their qualifications in free competition with white workers? Will personnel officials responsible for selecting "one out of three" eligible civil service candidates consider with equal objectivity the qualifications of Negroes? With approximately 70 per cent of all Negro government employees included among the unclassified civil service workers, the answers to these questions are extremely important. Moreover, it is clearly obvious that much of the war-time progress in the employment of Negroes in government service resulted from the issuance and implementation of Executive Order 8802 and Executive Order 9634. These orders will become inoperative soon after termination of the war. What official action can be taken to insure democratic employment practices in government in the years ahead? Only the future can answer this question, but it is safe to conclude that without strong intervention on the part of top policy-making officials in government, the displacement of Negroes and the reduction of their numbers in the Federal service will be a distressing aftermath of the war's end.

NEGROES IN THE PROFESSIONS

Distribution of Negroes In the Professions

Professional employment has long been the goal of the vast majority of Negroes who manage to continue their education through college. The reasons for the concentration of Negroes in the professions are not difficult to discover. The segregated schools have afforded employment opportunities for the largest number of college-trained Negroes while the ministry, medicine, dentistry, law, and, more recently, social service have attracted most of the remainder. Virtually all of these professions can be successfully practiced without sharp conflict with many prevailing racial patterns in most sections of the country. Aside from that, they provide a certain measure of social and community prestige not found in many other occupations. Moreover, there have been relativley few employment opportunities in commerce and industry for ambitious Negro college graduates. Because of the tremendous increase in the number of Negro college students and the probable increase in the number of Negro veterans who will be able to pursue their educational objectives through college and into professional schools, this field will assume greater importance after the war.

In 1940, the Federal Census of Occupations reported the distribution of whites and Negroes in major professions as follows:

Table 4

Distribution of Whites and Negroes in Selected Professions by Sex—1940

Profession	Total		White		Negro	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Teachers (College)	55,123	20,097	53,664	19,146	1,408	941
Teachers (Other)	260,324	792,375	245,660	739,797	14,169	51,935
Physicians & Surgeons ..	157,648	7,715	153,388	7,564	3,401	129
Dentists	69,370	5,607*	67,757	5,467*	1,471	140*
Nurses & Trainees	8,072	361,215	7,931	353,701	126	7,065
Ministers	135,091	**	117,211	**	17,487	**
Lawyers & Judges	175,261	4,293	174,123	4,251	1,023	40

*—Includes female pharmacists, osteopaths and veterinarians.
**—Figures not available.

Undoubtedly there were some changes in the distribution of Negro professionals during the war years, but such information as has been assembled does not indicate a significant departure from the situation as it existed in 1940. The Army programs for increasing the number of professional personnel available for military service, particularly in the medical professions, enrolled a few Negroes, but the number was not sufficient to produce any substantial increase in the total in this field.

Serious Shortage of Negro Professional Workers

Considering the question of Negro professional workers from the point of view of national needs as well as vocational opportunities, some conclusions may be drawn from the facts at hand. It is commonly held that too many Negroes desire to enter the teaching profession. If this statement were made on the premise that there should be a balanced distribution of professional workers, it could be considered worthy of merit. On the other hand, if the supply of teachers and teachers-to-be is related to the need for teachers, it will be seen that there is yet a critical shortage in this field. This situation results from the fact that in the vast majority of segregated public schools the teacher load is considerably higher than it would be if national standards were observed in staffing these schools. It is reliably estimated that if the nation's educational program were expanded to provide something approaching equality of educational opportunity for every child, we would need almost a million additional teachers. This claim is made not because of the impoverished condition of education for Negroes but because of the unfortunate position of the nation's entire educational program. Although recognized during the war, little was actually done about the problem. It would not be surprising, however, if the whole question of standards and teachers' compensation became a serious national issue within the next year.

Undoubtedly one of the most critical gaps in the professional education of Negroes is the medical profession. As shown in Table 5, there were only 3,430 Negro physicians and 1,611 Negro dentists. Disparities in the number of Negroes engaged in other major professions indicate a real need for hundreds of persons in the medical professions as well as in others with the possible exception of the ministry.

Shortage of Semi-Professional Workers

The semi-professional fields show a corresponding shortage of qualified Negroes, according to the Census. In 1940 there were 79 Negro electrical engineers, 95 Negro civil engineers, 54 mechanical engineers, 125 designers and draftsmen, 47 surveyors, 80 architects, and 254 chemists and metallurgists. During the five-year period covered in this report, many hundreds of Negroes have been exposed to work experiences in war production and the Armed Forces which should stimulate greater interest in these important fields. A major difficulty in the past has been the inability of Negro families to send their children to schools offering training in these fields. In view of the liberal provisions of the G. I. Bill of Rights, this problem should be considerably relieved in the years immediately ahead.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

The Negro As a Wage-earner In the Total Labor Force

Changes in the status of Negroes in the nation's vast commercial activities will be considered in two phases: the Negro as a wage-earner in the total labor force, and the Negro business owner-operator. Some improvement in the position of Negro wage-earners in this important field was noted between 1940 and 1945 both in the number of workers and in the kinds of jobs held by them. It is doubtful, however, if this improvement was sufficient to make a decided difference in the general distribution of Negroes in the field as reported in the 16th (1940) Census.

Of the 3,325,767 males employed as proprietors, managers, and officials (except farm) only 37,240 or 1.1 per cent were Negroes in 1940. Of the 4,360,648 males employed as clerical, sales, and kindred workers in trade and commerce, only 58,557 or 1.3 per cent were Negroes. The majority of Negro proprietors and managers are owner-operators of businesses serving Negroes primarily, and a large proportion of workers in positions as salesmen, clerks, insurance agents, etc., are likewise employed in Negro-operated enterprises. A brisk movement into service and sub-clerical jobs was noted in many communities due to induction of male workers into the armed forces and the transfer of white women workers to manufacturing occupations in war industry. The unfavorable position of Negro male workers in this field is clearly shown in the following tables:

Table 5

Employed Proprietors, Managers, and Officials (Male) in Selected Commercial Fields by Race—1940

Commercial Field	Total	White	Negro	Per Cent Negro
Wholesale Trade	227,334	222,779	3,589	1.6
Manufacturing	402,506	401,366	841	0.2
Transportation & Communication	134,232	133,343	818	0.6
Eating & Drinking Places	200,519	191,402	6,410	3.2
Retail Trades (except eating and drinking places)	1,242,323	1,225,551	13,467	1.1
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	174,668	173,647	907	0.5
Construction	113,898	112,532	1,339	1.2
Postmaster and Misc. Governmental Officials	198,377	197,541	693	0.3

Table 6

Employed Clerical, Sales and Kindred Workers (Male) in Selected Commercial Occupations by Race—1940

Occupation	Total	White	Negro	Per Cent Negro
Bookkeepers, Accountants, etc.	447,606	445,934	907	0.2
Mail Carriers	119,246	113,542	5,642	4.7
Stenographers, Typists & Sec'ys	68,805	68,187	467	0.7
Telegraph Operators	31,554	31,515	35	0.1
Insurance Agents & Brokers	226,061	221,130	4,744	2.1
Real Estate Agents & Brokers	100,856	99,716	1,086	1.1
Shipping & Receiving Clerks	200,669	195,579	4,915	2.4
Other Clerical & Kindred Workers	1,256,689	1,238,241	16,470	1.3

If Negro male workers were virtually excluded from employment in trade and commerce before 1941, female workers were even worse off. The 1940 Census reported 423,320 women proprietors, managers, and officials (except farm) of whom 10,914 or 2.6 per cent were Negroes. Almost half of this total, 4,853, were proprietors and managers of eating and drinking establishments.

But the major disparity between employment of Negro and white women is revealed in the Census report of clerical, sales and kindred workers. Of the total 3,156,982 women employed in the field, only 20,765, one-tenth of one per cent, were Negro women. By occupation, white and Negro women were distributed as follows:

Table 7

Employed Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Workers (Female) in Selected Commercial Occupations by Race—1940

Occupation	Total	White	Negro	Per Cent Negro
Bookkeepers, Accountants, Cashiers, Etc.	448,359	445,691	2,127	0.5
Office Machine Operators	51,454	51,356	92	0.2
Stenographers, Typists & Secretaries	998,081	983,321	4,110	0.4
Telephone Operators	189,002	188,667	259	0.1
Telegraph Operators	8,228	8,220	8	0.1
Other Clerical Workers	690,379	683,195	6,549	0.9
Insurance Agents & Brokers	13,081	12,066	1,010	7.7
Other Saleswomen	724,223	717,080	5,280	0.7

The war years saw an unprecedented demand for clerical and kindred workers, both in government and non-government employment. Negro women in large numbers found opportunities in government employment primarily in the departmental services in the District of Columbia. In a few private industries, Negro women obtained employment as clerks, typists, and stenographers. When the war ended, there were at least five times as many Negro women in clerical occupations as there were before the war, but this increase scarcely affected the percentage of Negro women in the total employed in this field.

The Negro Business Owner-Operator

Improved economic conditions throughout the country are reflected to some extent by the increase in the number of Negro operators of small business establishments. Although specific information regarding this growth has not been made available, a survey of 3,866 businesses owned and operated by Negroes, exclusive of insurance companies and bonds provides an informative body of data on this vital subject. This survey was conducted jointly by the National Urban League and Atlanta University and financed through a grant from the General Education Board. Negro businesses in Atlanta, Cincinnati, Houston, Memphis, Nashville, New Orleans, Richmond, Savannah, and Washington comprised the 3,866 concerns covered in the study. A smaller sample, 384 concerns, was selected for detailed analysis.

Forty-eight per cent of all enterprises surveyed were found to be service establishments; 42.5 per cent retail stores; and 9.5 per cent miscellaneous businesses. Distributed as to kinds of enterprises, the survey showed the ten most frequent businesses were as follows:

Restaurants	627
Beauty Shops	600
Barber Shops	404
Grocery Stores	293
Cleaning & Pressing	288
Shoe Repair	130
Undertakers	126
Confectionaries	114
Taverns	88
Filling Stations	75

Among other characteristics of these enterprises is the fact that they cater to Negro patronage primarily and are located in areas populated almost entirely by Negroes. These concerns reported that close to 98 per cent of their patronage came from Negroes. The majority of all enterprises studied were owner-operated, one-man businesses. About 85 per cent were single proprietorships, and 9 per cent partnerships. Only 3 per cent were corporations, and less than one per cent were cooperatives.

The most striking information obtained in this survey concerns the capital invested, the volume of business, and the training and experience of the operators. The median initial capital of retail stores was $543.73; of service establishments, $446.38; of miscellaneous businesses, $999.50; and of all businesses, $549.50. The median annual volumes of business as reported by all businesses were: retail stores, $3,579.05; service establishments, $2,496.66; miscellaneous businesses, $7,245.26; all businesses, $3,260.01.

The median educational achievement for operators of these enterprises was 9.6 grades and the median business experience was 12 years. Eighty-one per cent of all business operators have had no business training. A total of 11,538 persons were employed by 3,674 concerns, of whom 11,194 were paid workers.

Reference is made to this survey to point up a few pertinent observations. In the main, it must be admitted that Negroes have made only a meager beginning in business if judgment is to be based on the result of the study. The lack of capital and training for business and the racial practices found in most sections of the country have all but excluded Negroes from the main streams of American business and confined them almost exclusively to service establishments catering to Negroes. It is doubtful if successful business can be established and conducted within these limitations. Freedom of enterprise in business must be the goal of the Negro entrepreneur, and he must fight for this just as he has fought for the right to work without discrimination. Until Negroes achieve this objective, they will not loom important in the nation's commerce. The success of Negro-owned insurance companies has demonstrated the ability of well-trained Negroes to organize and operate business in competition with similar enterprises. But there is no reason why these companies should be limited to business among Negroes exclusively. It may be reported in concluding this section that Negroes are operating on the periphery of American commerce and must look to the future for a real chance in business.

DISPLACEMENT IN AGRICULTURE

Negroes Leave Rural Areas For Jobs in Industry

Negro farm operators and farm laborers were vitally affected by the economic upheavals of the war years. The number of persons who left the farms and rural areas to obtain better paying jobs is variously estimated at between 300,000 and 700,000. It is estimated that at the end of 1946 the number had reached the million mark and was still mounting.

Between 1940 and 1945, the number of white farm operators decreased by nearly 100,000. Negroes comprise 40.9 per cent of all tenants in 1945 as compared with 35.0 per cent in 1940. They accounted for a larger percentage of all sharecroppers in 1945, 61.6 per cent compared to 55.3 per cent in 1940. It will be noted, however, that the percentage of Negroes who were full owners increased from 20.9 per cent in 1940 to 23.6 per cent of all Negro farm operators in 1945. The proportion who were tenant farmers dropped from 74.5 per cent in 1940 to 72.3 per cent in 1945, while the number who were sharecroppers dropped from 44.0 per cent to 39.8 per cent of the Negro operators.

Planning For Displacement of Farm Workers By Mechanization Needed

Negroes have traditionally lived close to the land in much of the southern agricultural region. Often exploited by large farm operators and restricted to marginal and submarginal land in some States, the struggle for a higher standard of living and a greater measure of security has been a hard and frequently fruitless one. It would be expected that many Negroes discouraged by this seemingly hopeless and futile situation would prefer to move to more prosperous areas when the opportunity presented itself. During and after World War I, this movement got under way. It was accelerated during World War II but failed to reach the 1917-18 proportions. Recent and anticipated developments in agriculture are raising a number of questions regarding the Negro agricultural worker in the South. The Rust Cotton Picker and other advanced farm implements are expected to reduce the number of laborers required for southern agriculture. Ellcot D. Pratt, writing in the *New Leader* said: "The production of 3,000 to 5,000 cotton picking machines is not impossible by 1947. Since one of these machines can do the work of about 75 handpickers, we may soon have the problem of up to 500,000 unemployed cotton hands with the number increasing within a few years." Mr. Pratt continues with this observation: "The dumping of such large numbers of unskilled workers in the labor market is likely to thoroughly disturb the social situation in the South and its effects are sure to be felt in other parts of the country." He estimates that 50 per cent of the southern labor that will migrate to the northern industrial centers will be Negroes.

The tragic fact about this probable development is that no official action has been taken to direct the re-settling of these workers. While several voluntary private organizations are working to improve the lot of southern agricultural workers, there has been little planning for the inevitable day when this labor will be no longer needed. As we consider the present plight of the harassed Negro farmer and farm laborer, the possibility of a drastic change in the pattern of southern agriculture makes his current position appear almost inconsequential.

NEGROES IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Negro Membership in Labor Unions Increased During World War II

One of the most significant developments of the period, 1941-1945, has been the movement of Negroes into the labor movement. It was reliably estimated that 1,250,000 Negroes were enrolled in labor unions at peak war production. The importance of this change may best be recognized by comparing this figure with estimates of other authorities in this field. Dr. Ira DeA. Reid[7] estimated the total Negro union membership at 110,000 in 1930. By 1935, the number of Negroes in the labor movement was estimated to be 180,000. In 1940, the number of Negro union members was estimated at 600,000. Thus the war years brought an increase of some 650,000 Negroes in the labor movement, while the total membership in labor unions increased from 8,500,000 in 1940 to 14,000,000 in 1945.

Negro Membership in Various Labor Unions

Numerous attempts have been made to determine the Negro membership of the various international and local unions in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the American Federation of Labor (AFL), and the remaining independent unions. It cannot be said that these efforts have been too successful and only estimates are presently available. The CIO claimed 500,000 Negro members in 1944, while the AFL estimated its Negro membership at 650,000. An additional 100,000 Negroes were believed to be members of independent unions not affiliated with either of these bodies. The Labor Research Association reported in 1945 (Labor Fact Book No. 7)[8] the following Negro union membership in major international unions:

CIO Unions	Negro Members
Steelworkers of America, United	95,000
Automobile, Aircraft, Agricultural Implement Workers of America	90,000
Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America, Industrial Union of	40,000
Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, United	40,000
Packinghouse Workers of America, United	22,500
Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, International Union of	20,000
Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated	15,000
Federal Workers of America, United	10,000
Fur & Leather Workers Union, International	8,000-10,000
Transport Service Employees of America, United	10,000
Maritime Union of America, National	8,500
Textile Workers Union of America	6,500
Food, Tobacco, Agricultural & Allied Workers Union of America	6,000
Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, International	12,000
Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees of America	6,000
Furniture Workers of America, United	6,000
Woodworkers of America, International	3,000
Transport Workers Union of America	3,000
Farm Equipment & Metal Workers of America, United	3,000
State, County & Municipal Workers of America	2,800
Playthings, Jewelry & Novelty Workers Union	2,500

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[7] "Negro Membership in American Labor Unions"—Ira DeA. Reid.

[8] Labor Fact Book No. 7—Labor Research Association, Pages 73-74.

AFL Unions	Negro Members
Hodcarriers & Common Laborers	55,000
Hotel & Restaurant Employees, etc.	35,000-40,000
Building Service Employees	35,000
Maintenance of Way Employees, Bro. of	25,000
Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen	25,000
Railway Clerks & Freighthandlers	12,000
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc.	15,000
Boilermakers & Iron Shipbuilders (Jan. 1944)	14,000
Laundry Workers International Union	12,000
Longshoremen's Association, International	10,000
Garment Workers, International Ladies	10,000
Tobacco Workers International Union	9,100
Porters, Bro. of Sleeping Car	8,500
Musicians, American Federation of	4,500
Carmen of America, Bro. Railway	4,500
Carpenters & Joiners, United Bro. of	3,000
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers	3,000
Printing Pressmen, International	3,000
Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers	3,000
Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers	2,000
Painters of America, Bro. of	1,500
Cigarmakers International Union	500
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	500
Glass Workers, Amer. Flint	400
Other Unions	
United Mine Workers (now affiliated with AFL)	50,000

Attitude of the CIO Toward Negro Membership

The mere fact of union membership, as important as it is, does not tell the whole story of Negro participation in the labor movement. There still remains the question of racial practices within the respective local unions affiliated with various international CIO and AFL. Generally speaking, the CIO has been much more aggressive in protecting the rights of Negro members in the matter of promotions, upgrading, holding office and other privileges available to all CIO members. In many contracts, the CIO insists upon clauses barring discrimination against workers because of race or religion. Other measures adopted by the CIO in its fight against discrimination include a national anti-discrimination committee composed of top CIO officials and directed by a Negro executive. This committee has carried on a vigorous campaign designed to promote democratic practices in all CIO unions. The United Automobile Workers (CIO) has a similar committee which develops and projects educational programs, in all U.A.W. locals and polices racial practices in local unions. The end result of the CIO's fight for equal treatment for Negroes has been a sharp increase in Negro employment in all industries covered by UAW-CIO contracts.

Attitude of the AFL Toward Negro Membership

Despite its larger Negro membership, the AFL has not dealt with the question of Negro participation with the same forthrightness. This is not to say that certain international and local AFL unions have not endeavored to treat Negroes fairly. In many instances, Negroes have enjoyed all membership privileges and have held important offices in local unions. Perhaps the chief criticism of AFL racial policies is its refusal or inability to cope with the problems of segregation and exclusion practiced by some of its important affiliates. Conspicuous among the unions whose practices leave much to be desired are the International Association of Machinists, which excludes Negroes from membership by ritual. The Asbestos Workers, Electrical Workers, Plumbers and Steamfitters, Flint Glass Workers, and Granite Cutters, although having no written provisions barring Negroes, manage to keep them out by tacit consent or other subterfuges. The Airline Pilots, except in New York State, Masters, Mates and Pilots; Railway Mail Association; Wire Weavers Protective Association; and Switchmen's Union exclude Negroes by constitutional or ritual provisions. In the more skilled crafts in the building trades, local union practices in some cities amount to near exclusion of Negro workmen. Few Negroes are apprenticed in some crafts, and educational officials in a number of cities declare they cannot offer Negroes training in certain crafts because of union opposition. The practices of these unions have had an adverse effect on the occupational aspirations of Negro youth who may have prepared to be skilled craftsmen in the building trades.

Seven Unaffiliated Railroad Unions Exclude Negroes

Seven unaffiliated railroad unions exclude Negroes by constitutional provision: Locomotive Engineers; Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; Railroad Trainmen; Railroad Yardmasters of North America; Railway Conductors, Train Dispatchers' Association; and Railroad Yardmasters of America.

The over-all effect of war-time efforts to use the entire work force was generally favorable for Negroes in their relations with organized labor. Many thousands of Negroes found employment in organizable industries and were soon a part of the movement. Many unions which admitted Negroes grudgingly found it advantageous to liberalize their racial policies. How this development will affect post-war employment opportunities for Negro workers will not be decided until the reconversion process is further along.

SIGNIFICANT GOVERNMENT ACTION AFFECTING NEGRO WORKERS

Presidential Orders 8802 and 9346

The role of Government in protecting the rights of Negro wage-earners was vastly expanded during the war years. First by the creation of special units to assist in removing barriers to the employment of Negroes in war production and later by Presidential Orders 8802[9] and 9346,[10] the weight of government influence was felt in many industrial centers as well as in government agencies. Although these steps were taken in order to end discrimination against all racial and religious minorities, the majority of complaints were filed because of discrimination against Negroes. Undoubtedly the favorable changes in the employment status of Negro workers must be credited to the prestige of government intervention and implementation of the presidential orders referred to in this paragraph.

How Executive Orders Were Received By Employers

How government action was received by management, labor, and government officials would require more elaboration than is possible in this report. Some employers and a few labor unions found the Executive Order just the thing to bolster their lukewarm opposition to discrimination against Negroes. The more alert employers proceeded immediately to let their employees know that they intended to employ Negroes in compliance with the Order. Several large industries employed Negro personnel assistants to supervise and direct the recruitment and selection of Negroes for their plants. On the other hand, there were industries which succeeded in avoiding open criticism by employing a token number of Negroes. At peak war production the scarcity of labor was so acute, most employers were glad to get competent workers regardless of race or religion.

How Executive Orders Were Received By Skilled Laborers

Opposition to the employment of Negroes in skilled production jobs resulted in strikes and walkouts on the part of white workers in some industries. Two instances of this kind illustrate the effectiveness of government support for government regulations. When Negro workers in the Packard Motor Company's plant were upgraded and transferred to production jobs, 25,000 white workers staged a seven-day walkout. Only the firm position of top UAW-CIO officials ended the strike, and not until the strikers were threatened with dismissal and expulsion from the union did they agree to return to their jobs.

Another case which attracted nation-wide attention was the six-day tie-up of Philadelphia's public transportation facilities. In compliance with the War Manpower Commission's instructions to train and employ Negro motormen and conductors to relieve the stringent labor shortage, the Philadelphia Transportation Company[11] selected eight Negroes and trained them for operators' jobs. They were scheduled to take cars out on August 1, 1944, when a protest strike of white operators and conductors was called. Government officials responsible for settling the dispute refused to yield to the demands of the strikers and threatened to man the street cars with soldiers and draft all striking employees qualified for military service before the strike ended on August 7. There were other major disturbances, including the Alabama Dry Docks riots in 1943.[12] In each of these instances as well as in other less publicized occurrences, prompt and vigorous action on the part of proper government agencies succeeded in restoring order and returning Negroes to war jobs.

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[9] Executive Order 8802 issued by President Roosevelt June 25, 1941, to "reaffirm the policy of the U. S. that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin."

[10] Executive Order 9346 revised and strengthened edition of 8802 issued by the White House in 1943.

Equally important in this connection were several court opinions and directives issued by other government agencies including the War Labor Board and the National Labor Relations Board.

Supreme Court Rules On Locomotive Firemen

In December, 1944, the United States Supreme Court ordered a full trial of the Case of Seele and Tunstall, two Negro locomotive firemen, who sued the Southern and Louisville and Nashville Railroads to recover damages resulting from their removal as firemen on hand-fired locomotives operated by these railroads. Two lower courts had disclaimed jurisdiction in this case which grew out of agreements between the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and 21 Southern railroads to employ only union firemen on new stoker-fired locomotives. Negroes are not accepted as members in this union, and the agreement reached between the railroads and the union would in time completely eliminate Negro firemen.

The decision of the Court was unanimous in supporting the principle that a union having a contract with an employer is obligated to protect the rights of non-union employees at least to the extent of seeing that they are not unjustly discriminated against because of race or color. This was an important decision inasmuch as it served to halt the wholesale dismissal of Negro firemen and established their right and that of other railroad workers to the protection of the union contract then in operation.

California Courts Hit Auxiliary Unions

In February, 1944, a California County Court enjoined the Marine Ship Company from discharging Negroes who refused to pay dues in an all-Negro auxiliary union. The Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, and Helpers (AFL) had a closed shop agreement with the company and had requested dismissal of the non-dues paying Negroes. Negroes, on the other hand, contended that their rights were abridged because they had no part in the bargaining and other processes conducted by the union. In January, 1945, the Supreme Court of California upheld the decision of the lower Court, thus placing upon the union the obligation of extending Negro members the same privileges and protection offered other members. The Brotherhood in its convention in 1944 voted to change the status of Negroes in auxiliary unions and authorized them to elect delegates to the district councils and national conventions and to elect representatives for bargaining and grievance committees.

U. S. Supreme Court Upholds New York Action Against Railway Mail Association

Does the Railway Mail Association have the prerogative under New York's Civil Rights Laws to function as a bona fide labor union while denying membership to Negro clerks under the pretense of being a private fraternal organization? This question was decided in the negative by the State of New York and its action was appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

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[11] "Another Philadelphia Story," by Julius A. Thomas and Reginald A. Johnson, OPPORTUNITY Magazine, published by the National Urban League, Fall issue, 1944.

[12] "Race Conflict and Social Action," by Julius A. Thomas, OPPORTUNITY Magazine, October issue, 1943.

In June, 1945, the Supreme Court ruled that the State of New York had the authority to regulate practices of trade unions within the State and approved the State's action declaring the Association a labor union. The effect of this ruling was to nullify a provision in the Association's Constitution which restricted membership to "native American Indians and members of the Caucasian race."

States Adopt Anti-Discrimination Laws

Motivated by the wave of public support for Federal anti-discrimination laws, efforts were made between 1941 and 1945 to enact State legislation outlawing discrimination in employment on account of race, color, creed, or national origin. In 1945, fifty-five State bills were introduced in nearly every northern industrial State. New York and New Jersey enacted FEPC laws while Indiana and Wisconsin passed two others. In California, Connecticut, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Washington, similar laws were defeated by narrow margins, but proponents of the legislation plan to reintroduce bills outlawing discrimination.

The Ives-Quinn Law. The New York (Ives-Quinn) law forbids discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin. It establishes a five-member Commission to implement the law by receiving complaints, holding hearings, and issuing cease and desist orders enforcible in the Courts. The law is designed to prohibit discrimination by labor unions as well as employers. It became operative July 1, 1945.

The New Jersey Law. The New Jersey law is similar to the New York law except in the provisions for enforcement. It provides that the Assistant Commissioner of Education will administer the law and empowers him with authority to employ such additional personnel as will be required to fulfill the intent of the law.

The Indiana and Wisconsin Laws. The Indiana and Wisconsin laws, although designed to halt discrimination, are relatively inadequate compared with the New York and New Jersey laws. The Indiana law empowers the State Commissioner of Labor to investigate discriminatory employment practices, to formulate educational programs, to eliminate such discrimination and to recommend legislation to the Governor and General Assembly.

The Wisconsin law is similar to the Indiana law and empowers the Wisconsin State Commission to investigate discrimination and take appropriate steps to curtail it. The State of Indiana appropriated $15,000 to implement the law, while Wisconsin appropriated $10,000 for similar purposes. Perhaps the best that can be said for these two laws under present circumstances is that they were enacted to forestall action on stronger, more effective legislation. Since the enactment of the Wisconsin law, the City of Milwaukee has passed a City Ordinance with more enforcement powers than are found in the State law. A similar ordinance was enacted by the City Council of Chicago, Illinois.

Support For Federal FEPC Organized

It is much too early to evaluate the merits of this approach to a solution of the problem of discrimination in employment, but in the first six months after these laws became operative in New York and New Jersey, many important industries and commercial establishments announced that they intended to comply fully with the spirit and letter of the law. Thus Negroes and members of other minority groups customarily discriminated against by employers and labor unions prepared to look to the law for protection of their rights to employment. Renewed efforts to secure passage of Federal legislation to replace the war-time Executive Order (8802) met with defeat during the 79th Congress, but the National Committee for a Permanent FEPC is organizing public support for favorable action on the legislation in the 80th Congress.

THE NEGRO VETERAN IN THE ECONOMY

Benefits Provided By the Service Men's Adjustment Act (G. I. Bill of Rights)

Important for future consideration of the economic well-being of Negroes is the fact that slightly more than 1,000,000 Negroes were inducted into the armed forces. Approximately 70 per cent of these men came from the Southern and Border States. For many

Negro service men, the experiences of Army life represented the first semblance of economic security they had ever known. In addition, the training which they received and the orderly arrangement of day-to-day living habits had a profound effect upon their social attitudes and habits. What this experience will mean in terms of peacetime living remains to be seen. It is probable, however, that thousands of Negro veterans will take advantage of the educational benefits provided by the Service Men's Adjustment Act (G. I. Bill of Rights). Under this act, the government guarantees every service man who was honorably discharged after ninety days of military service (or service connected disability) at least one year's education, refresher or retraining course in any school he desires to attend. To obtain education or training beyond one year, if he was over 25 when inducted, the veteran must show that his education was interrupted by the war. If under 25 years when inducted, the veteran may get up to four years education in any school he chooses, but the period of time will depend on length of military service. While in school, the Government will pay the veteran a substantial allowance of $60 a month, if single without dependents, and $90 a month if he has dependents. In addition, the government will pay tuition, cost of books, supplies, equipment, laboratory or other fees not exceeding $500 a school year.

Other benefits which in time may improve the economic outlook for veterans include guaranteed loans for business purposes, home buying, farm equipment or purchase up to $2,000. The first year's interest on the part of such loans up to $2,000 will be paid by the Government. Further benefits include unemployment allowances of $20 per week for 52 weeks if the veteran is unable to obtain employment, free medical and dental service, pensions, and the privilege of converting government life insurance policies.

The combined effects of these benefits become readily apparent. With almost 50 per cent of Negro males between 18 and 37 entitled to one or more of these opportunities to improve their earning power by acquiring training or education, or by going into business, the outlook for many young men is much brighter than it has been in the past half century.

EARLY TRENDS IN PEACE-TIME EMPLOYMENT

Employment of Negroes High But Earnings Lower Than War Level

Chief among the fears entertained by most observers of the national economic scene was the belief that the period of reconversion would result in the displacement of millions of former war workers. Negro workers were expected to suffer a disproportionate share of the temporary unemployment thus imposed because of their lack of seniority in industrial employment. Fortunately, most of these estimates proved inaccurate and employment continued at a level almost equal to the war-time peak. This favorable circumstance enabled many displaced Negro workers to obtain peace-time employment, although earnings were somewhat lower than war levels. Recent surveys by government and private agencies estimated the total unemployment as of January 1946 at 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 persons, of whom 500,000 were Negroes. Should Negro workers return to industrial and other peace-time employment under conditions obtaining during the war, the outlook for continued work appears much brighter.

Negroes Move Into New Employment Fields

The movement of Negroes into new employment fields was accelerated during 1945 under the impact of anti-discrimination legislation and the demand for democratic employment practices throughout the nation. In New York and New Jersey, the number of Negro girls and women employed by the New York and New Jersey Telephone companies as clerks, typists, and switchboard operators rose from approximately 300 to well over 600. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for the first time began to employ Negro clerical workers in its home office. Most of the larger department stores in New York City began to employ qualified Negroes in a variety of jobs including clerks, salespeople, stenographers, etc.

Outside of New York and New Jersey, the movement to expand job opportunities for Negroes took on new momentum. Local Urban League branches in Philadelphia, Boston, Providence, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, and other important cities initiated movements to break down barriers against Negro workers. Definite assurance that Negroes would be employed as switchboard operators were obtained in Detroit, San Francisco, Providence, and Milwaukee. The majority of the 21 operating units of the Bell System began to consider seriously the need for integrating more Negro workers in better jobs than they had formerly offered them. Simultaneously, many important industrialists were willing to admit that they intended to continue the use of Negro wage-earners. The availability of more desirable employment opportunities in business and industry will place squarely upon the shoulders of Negro youth the responsibility of acquiring skills and work habits that will enhance their qualifications for employment. This development is by far the most important sequence to war-time employment of Negroes.

DIVISION VII

THE NEGRO IN AGRICULTURE

By Jesse R. Otis and Emile N. Hooker

Tuskegee Institute and Hampton Institute

THE PLANTATION SYSTEM AND SHARE-CROPPING

After the slaves were freed, a source of cheap labor remained the basis for carrying on the cotton industry in the South. The system of share-cropping was the answer to cheap labor in that the mass of the recently-freed slaves knew nothing about managing a farm independent of direction. The South still labors under the effects of slavery and its consequential ills. The majority of Negro farmers are still ignorant of the best agricultural methods.

According to the 1940 census, about 95 per cent of the Negro farmers in the nation lived and produced in the 16 Southern States. (See table 1). The Negro in Agriculture, therefore, really means the Negro in the Agriculture of the South. The plantation system of the South has been built around the system of share-cropping. The prevalence of this system and the ignorance of the Negroes and the poor whites who constituted the tenant labor for the system have given rise to a series of problems which have beset the agriculture of the South until this day. Large absentee land holdings; the absence of efficiently operated family-sized farms, and the dependence upon the one crop, cotton, have resulted in wholesale mining of soil resources and in a too generally impoverished people, thus causing the South to be labeled as the Nation's number one problem area. One thing is certain: the plantation system as it has been known in the South is fast disappearing.

Handicaps of Negro Farmers

As a farmer, the Negro is beset by many handicaps, namely: (1) too small farm units for efficient operation; (2) inclination to raise certain crops only, without balancing the business of farming to take advantage of livestock and diversified income; (3) attempting to farm without the use of farm machinery common to the area. There are some Negroes who are going into the business of farming on a commercial basis mostly as intensive producers such as operators of broiler farms, truck farmers, and operators of riding stables. These farmers, however, are not typical of the area. There are a few exceptions, two of which are the communities of Negro farmers near Princeton, Indiana, and Cassopolis, Michigan.

The survival of bona fide Negro farmers, like all farmers in the nation, depends upon their ability to compete with efficient farmers in all areas who in time set the pace and fix the cropping system and types of farming for the area.

Farm Operators, By Race, For the United States, By Regions, 1940 and 1930*

"In 1930 there were 882,850 Negro farm operators in the United States, but in 1940 there were only 681,790, an absolute decrease of 201,060 and a relative decrease of 22.8 per cent in the 10-year period. Practically all, 98.9 per cent, of this decrease occurred in the South, which lost 198,722 Negro operators in the intercensal decade. In each of the three regions of the country, however, the trend of Negroes away from the farms is proportionally very marked. There were 19.9 per cent fewer Negroes on farms in the North in 1940 than in 1930, and 16.3 per cent fewer in the West." (See Table 1-A). Of the 681,790 farm operators in 1940, 17,410 were owners, 413 managers, and 507,367 tenants. See Table 1-B for farms of Negro operators by tenure, number, acreage and specified value for the United States, 1900 to 1940.

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*From Section on Population, by Dr. Oliver C. Cox.

Table 1-A.

Farm Operators, By Race, For the United States, By Regions: 1940 and 1930

(A minus sign (—) denotes decrease)

RACE	NUMBER OF OPERATORS		INCREASE 1930 to 1940	
	1940	1930	Number	Per Cent
United States				
All classes	6,096,799	6,288,648	—191,849	—3.1
Negro	681,790	882,850	—201,060	—22.8
White	5,377,728	5,372,578	5,150	0.1
The North				
All classes	2,579,959	2,561,785	18,174	0.7
Negro	8,898	11,104	—2,206	—19.9
White	2,567,257	2,545,829	21,428	0.8
The South				
All classes	3,007,170	3,223,816	—216,646	—6.7
Negro	672,214	870,936	—198,722	—22.8
White	2,326,904	2,342,129	—15,225	—0.7
The West				
All classes	509,670	503,047	6,623	1.3
Negro	678	810	—132	—16.3
White	483,567	484,620	—1,053	—0.2

Source: United States Bureau of the Census.

Table 1-B

Farms of Negro Operators By Tenure—Number, Acreage, and Specified Values, For the United States: 1900 to 1940

(Data for 1940 and 1930 relate to April 1; for 1920 to January 1; for 1910 to April 15; and for earlier years to June 1)

Tenure	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900
	Number of farms				
Total	681,790	882,850	925,708	893,370	746,715
Owners	174,010	181,016	218,612	218,972	(1)
Managers	413	923	2,026	1,434	(1)
Tenants	507,367	700,911	705,070	672,964	(1)
	Land in farms (acres)				
Total	30,785,095	37,597,132	41,432,182	(1)	38,233,920
Owners	10,314,283	11,198,893	(1)	(1)	(1)
Managers	153,601	249,072	(1)	(1)	(1)
Tenants	20,317,211	26,149,167	(1)	(1)	(1)
	Value of land and buildings (dollars)				
Total	836,067,623	1,402,945,799	2,257,645,325	(1)	396,145,262
Owners	251,328,726	334,451,396	(1)	(1)	(1)
Managers	8,208,132	14,844,767	(1)	(1)	(1)
Tenants	576,530,765	1,053,649,636	(1)	(1)	(1)
	Value of buildings (dollars)				
Total	224,388,138	340,409,360	(1)	(1)	71,902,265
Owners	81,129,400	105,741,696	(1)	(1)	(1)
Managers	1,998,971	4,023,544	(1)	(1)	(1)
Tenants	141,259,767	230,644,120	(1)	(1)	(1)
	Value of implements and machinery (dollars)				
Total	40,193,537	60,327,856	(1)	(1)	18,859,757
Owners	15,671,208	19,784,411	(1)	(1)	(1)
Managers	539,663	623,050	(1)	(1)	(1)
Tenants	23,982,666	39,920,395	(1)	(1)	(1)

(1) Not available.

Source: Chapter III, Volume 3, General Report on Agriculture: 1940.

FARM TENANCY

Farm Tenancy Highest in the South

Farm tenancy is highest in the South. Until 1935 a little more than one-half of all farmers in the South were tenants. According to the 1940 census, 48.2 per cent of all farm operators in the South were tenants. While the number of Negro tenants, was only 34.96 per cent of the total number of all tenants, in the South, the per cent they were of Negro farmers was about 1½ times that for whites, 74.5 and 40.5 per cent, respectively. In 1940, 56 per cent of all Negro farmers in Alabama were tenants as compared with 39 per cent for white tenants. About one-half of all tenants before 1935 were share-tenants and croppers. The per cent of Negro share-tenants and croppers of the total number of Negro farmers was about twice that for whites. In Alabama, for example, the proportions were fairly representative, as shown by the 1940 census: Negro share-croppers in that State were 26 per cent of all Negro farmers as compared with 14 per cent for white share-croppers; Negro share-croppers were 46.7 per cent of all Negro tenants as compared with 32.2 per cent for white share-croppers.

The per cent of tenancy in the South constantly increased until 1930, whereas in other sections of the nation it remained about constant. Since 1930 it has decreased in the South, but still remains about constant in the other areas. (See Table 2). There are some exceptions, of course. In the Black Belt of Alabama the number of Negro tenants (mostly share-croppers) began declining after the 1910 census.[1] The same is true of certain areas of Texas.

The per cent of tenancy in the South Atlantic geographic division decreased 5.9 points (12.3 per cent) from 1930 to 1940; in the East South Central, 5.8 points (10.4 per cent); and in the West South Central 9.7 points (15.6 per cent). In the selected areas the per cent of tenancy in 1940 was about the same as in 1930. A certain per cent of tenancy is desirable, otherwise inexperienced young farmers without capital could never start farming.

Table 2.

Trends in the Proportion of Tenancy in the 3 Southern and in Selected Geographic Divisions—1930, 1935, and 1940. (U. S. Census)

Geographic Divisions		Per Cent Tenants			Per cent 1935 and 1940 are of 1930		
		1940	1935	1930	1940	1935	1930
Southern:	South Atlantic	42.2	46.3	48.1	87.7	96.2	100
	East South Central	50.1	54.8	55.9	89.6	98.0	100
	West South Central	52.6	59.5	62.3	84.4	95.5	100
Selected:	Middle Atlantic	14.6	16.2	14.7	99.3	110.2	100
	East North Central	27.9	29.4	27.3	102.2	107.7	100
	West North Central	42.2	42.6	39.9	105.8	106.8	100
	Pacific	18.5	21.2	17.7	104.5	119.8	100

Causes For Decline in Southern Tenancy

The decline in the number of tenants in the South since 1930 is due largely to the decline in the number of share-croppers. Three things have chiefly contributed to the decline: (1) the coming of the boll weevil; (2) the coming of the AAA; and (3) the increased use of modern farm machinery which has given the decline added impetus because of the shortage of man power at a time when there was a demand for increased production of food, feed, and fiber crops. The use of machinery and new knowledge about the use of fertilizers and soil building crops have resulted in increased efficiency in farm production and greater incomes and profits to farmers. It is not likely that they will turn back to the old system which symbolized inefficiency and low income.

As time passes it is reasonable to expect that tenancy in the South will continue to decline until the optimum per cent is reached, such as will give young inexperienced farmers without capital an opportunity to get started in the business of farming.

Negro tenant farmers, like Negro farm owners, have the same unfortunate handicap—the size of farm operated by them is about one-third to one-half the size of that operated by white farmers. It follows then that the investment in, and the income from, the smaller-sized farm business would bear the same relationship. The size of the farm operated is an index of the ability to manage. Negro agricultural leadership must become conscious of this fact if Negro farmers are to adjust themselves to a system of farming that will enable them to raise their standard of living.

THE NEGRO AS FARM OWNER AND MANAGER

Farm ownership by Negroes has constantly increased since slavery. Mortgage foreclosures during depressions have caused periodic declines in the number of farm owners, but the long-time trend has been constantly upwards in contrast to the downward trend in the number of tenants since 1930. Negro farm owners operate family-sized farms one-third to one-half the size of white owners, and use considerably less farm machinery. (See Table 3). The average size of farm for white owners in the Southern States in 1940 was 122.3 acres; for colored owners 58.7 acres. White part-owners operated farms averaging 342.1 acres; Negro part owners operated farms averaging 68.3 acres. Part-owners operate larger-sized farms and are better farmers than full-owners. This is because they are, for the most part, young, progressive farmers who use more machinery and farm on a more modern basis.

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[1] Otis, J. R. Changes in the Types of Farming in Alabama 1890-1940.

Table 3.

Size and Value of Farms By Color of Operator in Southern States in 1940

	Size and Value of Farms					
	All Operators	Owners	Part Owners	Managers	All Tenants	Croppers
Size: Acres of land in farm						
White operators	145.8	122.3	342.1	2126.3	109.0	58.9
Non-white operators	45.4	58.7	68.3	479.3	40.0	30.2
Value: Land and buildings						
White operators	$3,818	$3,697	$7,016	$41,230	$2,819	$1,545
Non-white operators	1,222	1,403	1,657	20,562	1,132	1,049

Source: United States Bureau of the Census.

The fact that Negro farm owners operate farms one-third to one-half the size of white owners implies the fact that the value of (investment in) their farms would bear the same relationship. Table 3 clearly points out this fact. It is also obvious that the income from these smaller farms would bear the same relation—one-third to one-half less.

Herein lies the answer to the many farm problems which are often spoken of in relation to the Negro in agriculture. It is the reason Negro farmers have a lower standard of living; it is the reason young Negroes born and reared on the farm refuse to remain there; it is the answer to the charges often made that Negroes are assessed more and pay more taxes than white farmers. It is the reason for many of the so-called Negro farm problems.

Manager-operated farms in Southern States averaged 2126.3 acres for whites and 479.3 acres for the colored. Manager-operated farms are usually corporation farms. The very best farm land to be found and high investments in machinery and operating equipment are specific means of identifying such farms. The number has been getting smaller since 1920 and the size larger as years pass.

It is not likely that the number of corporation farms will increase in the next few years. Those that are now in operation will probably exist only until the South offers industrial opportunities for investment by absentee land holders and insurance companies. Two things will curb any long-time tendency of expansion by corporation farming: (1) the family-sized farm owned and operated with efficient labor and adequate machinery; and (2) organized labor which will increasingly make cheap labor impossible.

THE NEGRO AS A FARM LABORER

Number of Negro Farm Laborers

Farm workers in the United States are customarily classified as owners, tenants, croppers and laborers. The gradual stages though which farmers pass in moving from the labor group to ownership is commonly referred to as the agricultural ladder. Taylor, Wheeler and Kirkpatrick[2] said the following about the farm laborer as a group: " . . . the farm laborer occupies the lowest rung on this ladder and is today finding it increasingly difficult to move up even to the next higher rung as share-cropper or tenant; the prospect of eventual land ownership is scarcely within the realm of possibility for the great majority." This statement is of the greatest significance to Negroes, since in table 4 it is shown that the majority of Negroes fall in the labor and cropper groups; for whites this is just the reverse, as the majority of white farm workers are owners.

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[2] "Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture" by Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick—Social Science Report Number 8—Bureau of Agricultural Economics—U. S. D. A., Washington, D. C.

Table 4.
Negro and White Agricultural Workers in the South, By Tenure, 1940

Tenure	Number		Per Cent	
	Negro	White	Negro	White
Total*	1,148,392	2,821,822	100	100
Owners and Managers	173,628	1,384,249	15.1	49.1
Cash tenants	64,684	189,667	5.6	6.7
Other tenants except croppers	142,836	510,815	12.5	18.1
Croppers	299,118	242,173	26.0	8.6
Wage Laborers	468,126	494,918	40.8	17.5

*Exclusive of unpaid family workers.

Source: Data on owners, tenants, and croppers are from Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Agriculture, Chapter 111, Volume 111, General Report on Agriculture, table 3. They include a small number of non-whites other than Negroes. The data on wage laborers in agriculture are from the Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population—Volume 111, Part 1, tables 62 and 63.

Number and Distribution of Negro Wage Farm Laborers

In table 5 the numbers of wage farm laborers are shown for different periods. While the number of Negro wage laborers both in the nation and in the South declined, the proportion of Negroes in the farm labor force increased. This was because the number of white farmers declined more than Negroes. In 1945, Negroes amounted to about 29.6 and 53.2 per cent, respectively, of the number of hired farm laborers in the nation and in the South.

Table 5.
Number of Negro Wage Farm Laborers in the United States, and in the South, 1930, 1940, and 1945.

	1930	1940	1945
United States			
Negroes	529,307	483,785	483,000*
Whites	2,008,038	1,410,175	1,150,000
Total	2,732,972	1,924,890	1,633,000
Per cent Negroes	19.7	25.1	29.6
South			
Negroes		468,126	459,000*
Whites		494,918	404,000
Total		965,464	863,000
Per cent Negroes		48.5	53.2

*-Includes all non-whites, but in the South almost all non-whites are Negroes.

Source: The figures for 1930 were taken from the Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, Volume 4; those for 1940, from the Sixteenth Census of the United States 1940, Population—Volume 111, Part 1, tables 62 and 63; Parts 2-5, table 13; those for 1945 from Survey of Negroes and Negro Wage Rates in Agriculture, Report number 4, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. D. A., October, 1945.

In tables 5 and 6 are shown the distribution of hired farm workers by race and sex for March and May of 1945. From these tables we note that the number of hired farm laborers is highly seasonal. The total numbers of hired laborers as well as the number of non-whites increased considerably from March to May. Apparently May is a peak period for the number of hired farm workers in the United States.

Table 6

Distribution of Hired Farm Workers by Race and Sex, United States and Major Regions, March 1945*

Race and Sex	United States		Northeast		North Central		South		West	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total	1,633,000	100.0	147,000	100.0	330,000	100.0	863,000	100.0	293,000	100.0
Males	1,488,000	91.1	139,000	94.6	322,000	97.6	742,000	85.9	285,000	97.3
Females	145,000	8.9	8,000	5.4	8,000	2.4	121,000	14.1	8,000	2.7
White	1,150,000	70.4	139,000	94.5	327,000	99.1	404,000	46.8	280,000	95.6
Males	1,091,000	66.8	132,000	89.8	319,000	96.7	368,000	42.6	272,000	92.9
Females	59,000	3.6	7,000	4.7	8,000	2.4	36,000	4.2	8,000	2.7
Non-whites	483,000	29.6	8,000	5.5	3,000	.9	459,000	53.2	13,000	4.4
Males	397,000	24.3	7,000	4.8	3,000	.9	374,000	43.3	13,000	4.4
Females	86,000	5.3	1,000	.7	†	....	85,000	9.9	†	....

†–Estimates as less than 1,000.

*–Estimates based on data from enumerative sample survey of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Source: Survey of Wages and Wage Rates in Agriculture, Report number 4, October 1945. United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agriculture Economics.

Table 8

Number of Negro Farm Laborers in the United States by Regions and For the Southern States*—1940. (Employed, Unemployed and Unpaid Family Workers).

	Total of all farm laborers	NEGROES			Per cent Negroes are of total farm laborers	Per cent of Negro total	Per cent of Negro farm laborers that were females
		Total	Males	Females			
United States	3,411,306	827,564	617,353	210,211	24.2	100	25.4
Northeastern States	278,579	7,724	7,365	359	27.7	0.9	4.6
North Central States	903,196	11,096	10,507	589	1.2	1.3	5.3
West	397,178	3,861	3,719	142	9.7	0.5	3.7
South	1,832,353	804,790	595,670	209,120	43.9	97.2	26.0
Alabama	145,973	82,098	54,377	27,721	56.2	10.2**	33.7
Arkansas	114,451	42,047	33,206	8,841	36.7	5.2	21.0
Delaware	6,534	2,584	2,519	65	39.5	.3	2.5
Florida	75,178	45,974	34,099	11,875	61.1	5.7	25.8
Georgia	177,479	102,764	76,859	25,905	57.9	12.8	25.2
Kentucky	111,976	11,055	10,949	106	9.8	1.4	1.0
Louisiana	111,004	72,327	55,436	16,891	65.1	9.0	23.3
Maryland	37,724	14,878	14,195	683	39.4	1.8	4.6
Mississippi	146,554	109,499	65,172	44,327	74.7	13.6	40.5
North Carolina	162,337	78,768	62,459	16,309	48.5	9.8	20.7
Oklahoma	72,982	7,069	6,714	355	9.6	.9	5.0
South Carolina	139,076	102,538	64,842	37,696	73.7	12.7	36.8
Tennessee	111,520	27,154	22,620	4,534	19.5	3.4	16.7
Texas	289,189	64,834	54,635	10,199	22.4	8.0	15.7
Virginia	97,225	40,502	36,895	3,607	41.6	5.0	8.9
West Virginia	32,866	699	693	6	2.1	.1	0.9

Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population, Volume 111, The Labor Force, Part 1, tables 62 and 63, Parts 2-5, table 13.

*-Note: Includes employed persons (except on public emergency work) and experienced workers seeking work.

**-The percentages for the States are based on the total number of Negro farm laborers in the South.

Table 7

Distribution of Hired Farm Workers by Race and Sex, United States and Regions, May 1945*

Race and Sex	United States		Northeast		North Central		South		West	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total	2,331,000	100	186,000	100	384,000	100	1,304,000	100	457,000	100
Male	1,946,000	84	170,000	91	365,000	95	1,006,000	77	405,000	89
Female	385,000	16	16,000	9	19,000	5	289,000	23	52,000	11
White	1,612,000	69	166,000	89	377,000	98	650,000	50	419,000	92
Male	1,467,000	63	153,000	82	359,000	93	578,000	44	377,000	83
Female	145,000	6	13,000	7	18,000	5	72,000	6	42,000	9
Non-whites	719,000	31	20,000	11	7,000	2	654,000	50	38,000	8
Male	479,000	31	17,000	9	6,000	2	428,000	33	28,000	6
Female	240,000	10	3,000	2	1,000	†	226,000	17	10,000	2

†–Less than 0.5 per cent.
*–Estimates based on data from enumerative sample survey of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Source: Survey of Wages and Wage Rates in Agriculture, Report number 7, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. U. S. Department of Agriculture.

In tables 4-7, the data were limited to hired or wage farm laborers. Table 8 contains data for employed hired farm laborers, unemployed hired farm laborers, and unpaid family laborers for the year 1940. They give a more comprehensive picture of the farm labor force than the preceding data.

According to table 8, Negroes in 1940 made up about 24 per cent of the total farm labor force in the nation, of whom one-fourth were females. About 97 per cent of the Negro farm laborers were in the South, Mississippi leading all the Southern States. Negroes constituted about 75 per cent of the total labor force in that State.

Other States in which Negroes totaled more than half of the farm labor force were: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and South Carolina.

Income of Hired Farm Workers

Income data for whites and Negroes may be seen in table 9. We note in this table that the weekly income of non-whites or Negroes was $8.60. Studies have indicated that, in the course of a year, most hired farm workers in the South worked for 6 months or less. Assuming a work period of 26 weeks and an income of $8.60, the average annual income of the Negro hired farm workers in the South as of May 1945 was about $224; for whites, it was about $289.

Table 9.

Average Hourly, Daily, and Weekly Cash Wages, Average Hours and Days Worked during Week For Hired Farm Workers, By Race and Sex, United States and Major Regions, May 1945.†

Area, race, and sex	Cash wages earned May 20-26, 1945 (on reporting farm)			Time Worked May 20-26, 1945 (on reporting farm)		
	Hourly	Daily	Weekly	Hours per day	Days per week	Hours per week
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Number	Number	Number
United States						
White	.41	4.00	19.80	9.8	4.9	48
Nonwhite	.28	2.70	10.60	9.7	3.9	38
Male	.38	3.70	18.20	9.8	4.9	48
Female	.33	3.00	10.20	9.1	3.4	31
Northeast						
White	.38	3.60	21.60	9.7	5.9	57
Nonwhite	.65	5.70	27.70	8.7	4.9	42
Male	.39	3.80	22.20	9.7	5.9	57
Female	.59	4.90	22.30	8.3	4.6	38
North Central						
White	.30	3.20	18.10	10.7	5.6	60
Nonwhite	.27	2.90	12.00	10.5	4.2	44
Male	.30	2.80	18.40	10.8	5.6	61
Female	.28	2.40	10.30	8.4	4.4	36
South						
White	.66	2.80	11.10	9.6	3.9	38
Nonwhite	.23	2.30	8.60	9.7	3.8	37
Male	.27	2.70	11.10	9.7	4.2	40
Female	.21	2.00	5.80	9.4	2.9	28
West						
White	.80	6.10	33.70	9.2	5.5	51
Nonwhite	.70	6.60	35.70	9.3	5.4	51
Male	.66	6.10	34.00	9.3	5.5	51
Female	.72	6.20	32.40	8.7	5.2	45

†—Excludes approximately 87,000 custom workers since the hire of machinery, equipment or workstock was included in their reported cash wages.

Estimates based on data from enumerative sample survey of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Source: Survey of wages and wage rates in agriculture, report number 7. February 1946, Washington, D. C.

TRENDS IN AGRICULTURE

Number of Farms in the United States, 1910-1940

The number of Negro farmers (all tenants and owners) in the United States was 14.5 per cent of all farm operators in 1910. In 1940 the number was 11.8 per cent. This was a decline of 2.7 points (18.6 per cent) in 30 years. In the Southern States, Negro farmers were 28.7 per cent of the total number of farm operators in 1910, and 22.6 per cent in 1940; a decline of 6.1 points (21.3 per cent) in 30 years.

The total number of farm operators in the United States reached a peak in 1920. For that reason, the year 1920 is taken as a base. When the number in 1920 is used as a base the number of all farm operators in the United States declined 5.5 per cent from 1920 to 1940. White farm operators declined 2.2 per cent; Negro farm operators declined 24.3 per cent. (See Table 10). The number of farm managers declined 46.9 per cent during the same period; all tenants declined 3.7 per cent; and croppers in the Southern States declined 3.5 per cent. The number of part owners increased 10.1 per cent, and full owners declined 8.4 per cent, while the per cent of tenancy remained about the same although it increased 11.2 per cent from 1920 to 1930.

Table 10.

Trends in the Number of Farms in the United States By Color and Tenure of Operators, 1910-1940. (Decennial Censuses)

	Number of Farms				Per cent 1910, 1930, and 1940 are of 1920			
	1940	1930	1920	1910	1940	1930	1920	1910
	(000)	(000)	(000)	(000)				
NO. FARMS (TOTAL)	6,097	6,289	6,448	6,362	94.5	97.5	100	98.6
By Color of Operators:								
White Operators	5,378	5,373	5,498	5,441	97.8	97.7	100	98.9
Non-white Operators	719	916	950	921	75.7	96.4	100	98.9
By Tenure of Operators:								
Full Owners	3,084	2,912	3,367	3,355	91.6	86.5	100	99.6
Part Owners	615	657	559	594	110.1	117.6	100	106.3
Managers	36	56	68	58	53.1	81.6	100	84.9
All Tenants	2,361	2,664	2,455	2,355	96.2	108.5	100	95.9
Proportion of Tenancy (%)	38.7	42.4	38.1	37.0	101.6	111.2	100	97.1
Croppers (Southern States)	541	776	561	*	96.5	138.2	100	....

*–Not available for 1910 census.

From Table 10, it is observed that the number of farmers needed to produce the food, feed, and fiber required was less in 1940 than in 1920. It is also to be noted that the number of Negro farm operators (percentagewise) declined 11 times as much as did the number of white operators during the same period. The impact of war on migration from 1920 to 1940 was not a noticeable factor. What then happened to the decrease in the number of farm operators? And what was the reason for the decline in number? Before these questions are answered it is well to follow the course of reasoning a bit further.

Number of Farms in the Three Southern Geographic Divisions 1930-1940

The decline in the number of farm operators in the South from 1930 to 1940 was greater than that for other farming regions in the nation. During this period the average size of farm operated increased considerably due to the use of modern farm machinery and the increase in livestock production. Tractors increase the number of acres of land a farmer can work. Livestock production requires pasture. Both contribute to a larger-size farm.

The number of farms decreased 3.7 per cent from 1930 to 1940 in both the South Atlantic and East South Central Divisions. In the West South Central Division the number of farms decreased 12.6 per cent during the same period. (See Table 11).

Table 11.

Trends of Geographic Divisions in the Number of Farms By Color and Tenure of Operators, 1930-1940. (Decennial Censuses)

Geographic Divisions	Number of Farms		Per cent 1940 is of 1930	
	1940	1930	1940	1930
South Atlantic Divisions	1,019,451	1,058,468	96.3	100
East South Central Division	1,023,349	1,062,214	96.3	100
West South Central Division	964,370	1,103,134	87.4	100
1) By Color of Operator:				
South Atlantic; White	788,545	760,089	103.7	100
Non-white	230,906	298,379	77.4	100
East South Central; White	756,923	741,255	102.1	100
Non-white	266,426	320,959	83.0	100
West South Central; White	781,436	840,785	92.9	100
Non-white	182,934	262,349	69.7	100
2) By Tenure of Operators:				
South Atlantic;				
Full Owners	519,108	467,100	111.1	100
Part Owners	64,553	72,830	88.6	100
Managers	5,991	8,964	66.8	100
All Tenants	429,799	509,574	84.3	100
East South Central;				
Full Owners	447,286	398,594	112.5	100
Part Owners	61,134	67,754	90.2	100
Managers	2,327	2,888	80.6	100
All Tenants	521,602	593,978	86.3	100
West South Central;				
Full Owners	361,296	325,989	110.8	100
Part Owners	90,920	84,408	107.7	100
Managers	5,262	5,505	95.6	100
All Tenants	506,892	687,231	73.8	100

In the South Atlantic Division the number of white farm operators increased 3.7 per cent from 1930 to 1940, while the number of colored farm operators decreased 22.6 per cent for the same period. In the East South Central Division the number of white farm operators increased 2.1 per cent from 1930 to 1940, while the number of colored farm operators decreased 17 per cent. In the West South Central the number of white farm operators decreased 7.1 per cent from 1930 to 1940, and the number of colored farm operators decreased 30.3 per cent during the same period.

From the standpoint of tenure the number of full owners increased 11.1 per cent in the South Atlantic Division from 1930 to 1940 while part owners decreased 11.4 per cent; managers decreased 33.2 per cent; and all tenants decreased 15.7 per cent during the same period.

In the East Central Division the number of full owners increased 12.5 per cent; part owners decreased 9.8 per cent; managers decreased 19.4 per cent; and all tenants decreased 13.7 per cent.

In the West South Central Division, the number of full owners increased 10.8 per cent; part owners increased 7.7 per cent; managers decreased 4.4 per cent; and all tenants decreased 26.2 per cent.

The decline in the number of farm operators in the South where practically all Negro farmers live and farm was not only greater than that in other sections of the United States in this 10-year period, but the number of colored farm operators declined much more than did white farm operators. This decline is likely to continue until the differential in the size of farm operated by them is decreased and greater efficiency in operation is reached. Maximum efficiency, of course, depends upon a unit of operation suited to the family-sized farm which employs modern machinery consistent with the ability of farmers to manage. The better managers and more skilled operators will in time set the pace.

Trends in the Size of Farms

Some idea of the size of farm that makes for an efficient unit of operation may be gained from the facts revealed in Table 12, which shows trends in the number of farms by size groups.

Table 12.

Trends in the Number of Farms By Size Groups and Per Cent of Land Area in Farms in the United States, 1910-1940. (Decennial Censuses)

Size Groups	Number of Farms				Per cent 1910, 1930, and 1940 are of 1920			
	1940	1930	1920	1910	1940	1930	1920	1910
	(000)	(000)	(000)	(000)				
20–49 acres	1,221	1,440	1,504	1,414	81.1	95.7	100	94.0
50–99 acres	1,291	1,348	1,475	1,438	87.5	91.4	100	97.5
100–174 acres	1,279	1,343	1,450	1,516	88.2	92.6	100	104.5
175–259 acres	517	521	531	534	97.5	98.1	100	100.6
260–499 acres	459	451	476	444	96.4	94.9	100	93.3
500–999 acres	164	160	150	125	109.6	106.6	100	83.6
1000 acres and over	101	81	67	50	149.1	119.6	100	74.4
Proportion of Land Area in Farms (%)	55.7	50.8	50.2	46.2	110.9	103.2	100	92.0

Farms less than 20 acres (all land in farms) were not tabulated because they are part-time, highly specialized, or strict subsistence farms which in the agriculture of today cannot be considered along with bona fide general farms from which farmers expect to earn a living from labor wholly spent in the business of farming.

It is to be noted from Table 12 that as the size of farms by groups increased there was a progressive decrease (percentage-wise) in the number of farms by size group up to 499 acres, after which there was an increase in the number of farms by size group up to 1000 acres and above. When the number of farms in 1920 by size groups is taken as a base (1920 equals 100) farms 20-40 acres decreased in number 18.9 per cent; those 50-99 acres decreased in number 12.5 per cent; those 100-174 acres decreased in number 11.8 per cent; those 175-259 acres decreased in number 2.5 per cent; those 260-499 acres decreased in number 3.6 per cent while those 500-999 acres increased 9.6 per cent; and those 1000 acres and above increased 49.1 per cent. Forty-six and two-tenths per cent of the total land area was in farms in 1910 and 55.7 per cent in 1940. This was an increase of 9.5 points (17.1 per cent) from 1920 to 1940.

Increased scientific knowledge of farm management, plants, livestock, fertilizers, land preparation and cultivation, soil and rainfall distribution and the use of more modern machinery are responsible for the trends revealed in Table 12. This trend is to more land in farms and fewer farmers. Where and when it will stop depends upon man—his ability to manage and to apply scientific knowledge which is being released yearly by research in experiment stations. The survival of any farmer or group of farmers depends upon their ability to compete in the race for efficient production.

Associated with the trend in fewer numbers of farmers to produce the food, feed, and fiber needed in the United States and the fractional data before cited is the trend in the average size of farms operated by farmers by color and tenure of operator. If the year 1920 is used as the base year (1920 equals 100) it is seen from Table 13 that the average size of farm has increased. The Negro farmer's position in agriculture in the future will depend upon his ability to adjust himself to this trend of a larger unit of operation. Moreover, his farm income and standard of living can best be measured in relation to that of white farmers who operate larger farms and use modern farm machinery.

Table 13.

Trends in the Size of Farms (All Land in Farms) in the United States By Color and Tenure of Operator, 1910-1940. (Decennial Censuses)

	Average Size of Farms Acres: All Land in Farms				Per cent 1910, 1930, and 1940 are of 1920			
	1940	1930	1920	1910	1940	1930	1920	1910
ALL FARMS IN U. S. A.	174.0	156.9	148.2	138.1	117.4	105.9	100	93.1
By Color of Operator:								
White Operators	188.8	176.0	165.6	152.9	113.5	106.3	100	92.3
Non-white Operators	63.6	44.8	47.3	50.6	134.6	94.7	100	107.0
By Tenure of Operator:								
Full Owners	123.9	127.9	137.0	138.6	90.4	93.4	100	101.2
Part Owners	48.8	38.4	31.4	22.5	155.4	122.2	100	71.6
Managers	1830.2	1109.0	709.8	924.7	231.4	140.2	100	116.9
All Tenants	132.1	115.0	107.9	96.2	122.4	106.6	100	89.2
Croppers (Southern States Only)	43.1	40.7	40.1	....	107.5	101.5	100	....

The average size of farm in the United States increased 17.4 per cent from 1920 to 1940; the average size of farm for white farm operators increased 13.5 per cent from 1920 to 1940; and the average size of farm for colored operators increased 34.6 per cent from 1920 to 1940 although the average size of farm for them declined 5.3 per cent from 1920 to 1930. There was a tremendous increase in the size of farm operated by Negro farmers from 1930 to 1940.

The average size of farm for full owners decreased 9.6 per cent from 1920 to 1940. The average size of farm for part owners increased 55.4 per cent from 1920 to 1940; the average size farm of manager-operated farms increased 131.4 per cent from 1920 to 1940; the average size of farm operated by all tenants increased 22.4 per cent from 1920 to 1940; and the average size of farm operated by croppers in Southern States increased 7.5 per cent from 1920 to 1940.

The business of farming like that of industry is growing more scientific. All who would follow it as an occupation and as a way of life must keep abreast of the trends in the program of assisting the farmer to realize a fuller life economically and socially. A number of agencies are active. Some of them are discussed below.

THE UNITED STATES EXTENSION SERVICE AND THE NEGRO

Extension work may be defined as a program that teaches farm people to do better that which they are doing, and to adopt new farm practices that will give them increased income and a higher standard of living. The history of the service reveals an evolution in thought and procedure the same as has occurred in other governmental services. This is progress which can be seen in the living habits and income of farm people who have been served.

Extension work as it relates to Negro agents is largely a matter of extension work in the South. It has been pointed out that Negroes cannot be considered separate and apart from the body politic of agriculture, extension, or anything else of which they are an integral part. Extension work with Negroes in the South is an integral part of the National Agricultural Extension Service.

Two Schools of Thought Concerning Extension Work

In extension work there are two schools of thought pertaining to Negro workers. One maintains that inasmuch as there must be separate services, there should be an equitable distribution of funds and responsibility based on the per cent of population by race. Funds for the service are granted to the States and administered by the land-grant colleges. There is but one land-grant college in each State. Negro land-grant colleges are subsidiaries of white land-grant colleges. It is not economical to have a dual setup to overcome this problem arising because of race. However, a more equitable distribution of funds could and should be made for salaries and for an increase in the number of workers in terms of population percentages by race in such a way as to avoid duplication of effort.

The proponents of the first school of thought overlook the basic fact that if there is to be but one administrator the nature of the work done by Negro agents involves less administrative responsibility on the county level. This is the way, the service operates for and by Negroes and is, therefore, basically a program of teaching for Negro workers. Consequently, Negro agents do not need as many clerical workers. When considering an equitable distribution of funds this fact must be kept in mind as well as the case load of workers (number of farm people served per agent). Even if there should be set up a case load differential for Negro workers the number of these would need to be materially increased if rural population is used to determine the number of workers.

The second school of thought holds that there is but one Extension Service, and that even though there should be a more equitable distribution of funds there has been an increase in the percentage of funds appropriated for Negro work. In other words, progress is being made in the more equitable distribution of funds. This group also maintains that the administration of extension funds involves local political problems that time only can solve. It is in this light that the following facts and discourse on the Negro in extension work are presented.

The output per worker is the chief measure of efficiency. How to make the agents' work count for more has been a major objective of the extension service, for white and colored alike. It is not as easy to set up tools to measure the output of extension workers as it is to measure the output of factory workers. Output of extension workers today in terms of output 15 years ago cannot be regarded as a criterion for evaluation. Conditions have changed vastly, and more accurate measures can now be employed. Output of Negro workers in terms of white workers cannot be used as a measure because the work of the two is frequently not comparable due to case load per worker and the influence of administrative responsibility by the white agent. About the only effective measure left for evaluating work of all agents, white and black, is output in relation to objectives. Even then the output may be due to many factors whose influence is indirect and not measurable. Some of these may be cited: (1) change in demand; (2) competition between enterprises; (3) the coming of insect pests and diseases of plants and animals; (4) the scarcity of labor resulting from wars; (5) industrial booms; (6) ease of credit. Not so long ago many bankers would loan money only for the production of cotton.

Effectiveness of County Agents' Work

A good county agent is one in whose leadership farm people and business men in related or dependent agricultural industry have great faith. He often becomes the guiding light in the county in which he works. Insofar as this is true, the outcome of his work must be regarded as being more attributable to the agent than the factors which are an indirect aid, if taken advantage of. These same factors may easily become insurmountable barriers if it were not for his wise leadership. At any rate, when one sees the entire cropping system and type of farming transformed in a county in the course of a decade or two he can be certain that a powerful force is at work. People, especially farmers, do not change their habits readily.

Negro county agents are factors in such transformations. They worked with 719,000 Negro farm operators in 1940, causing them to adopt improved methods in production and marketing which resulted in increased income, better homes and better citizens. This job was done in face of many obstacles, the chief ones being that of working with people who are farthest down in the scale of education and agents who are not trained to think in terms of present-day agriculture. Some say that ignorant people subscribe to leadership more readily than people with more training. While this may be true, once the leader gets their confidence, it is also true that ignorance is a handicap to people who have to adapt themselves to a highly technical and scientific job. Man is intellectually lazy. Only a few are original. If training is not provided for county agents to meet modern problems in agriculture, many will not train themselves. Farming, like present-day military tactics and techniques of war, is highly scientific.

Number of Extension Workers

There were 549 Negro Extension Agents in 16 Southern States in 1941, about 13 per cent of the total number of extension agents. (See Table 14). Of this number 293 were farm agents, 246 home demonstration agents, and 9 club agents. There are white farm and home demonstration agents in all counties but in most of the States there is but one Negro agent in many counties. This fact accounts for much of the shortage in number of Negro agents cited in the study of Mr. Wilkerson. Many counties with heavy Negro population have no Negro agents. The reason for this is that in many of these counties local authorities will not agree to a cooperative plan to employ Negro agents.

Table 14.

Number of Extension Agents (Total and Number of Negro) in 16 Southern States, By States and Types of Program, September 30, 1941*

STATES	All Agents		Per Cent	Farm Agents		Home Agents		Boy-Girl Agents	
	Total	Negro	Negro	Total	Negro	Total	Negro	Total	Negro
Alabama	336	72	21	202	36	129	34	5	2
Arkansas	215	33	15	106	14	107	18	1	0
Florida	132	19	14	76	10	54	9	2	0
Georgia	339	52	15	208	25	126	25	5	2
Kentucky	251	7	3	175	5	67	2	9	0
Louisiana	206	20	10	115	12	88	7	3	1
Maryland	64	6	9	32	2	29	4	8	0
Mississippi	299	76	25	164	34	127	40	3	2
Missouri	239	1	§	141	0	91	1	7	0
North Carolina	379	58	15	234	36	143	22	2	0
Oklahoma	206	20	10	105	10	99	10	4	0
South Carolina	173	38	22	88	20	78	18	7	0
Tennessee	308	20	7	200	11	105	9	3	0
Texas	615	85	14	344	48	268	37	3	0
Virginia	253	37	15	173	28	77	9	3	0
West Virginia	136	5	4	65	2	44	1	27	2
TOTAL	4,148	549	13	2,427	293	1,632	246	89	9

*Data from Cooperative Extension Service. (Adapted from study by Doxey Wilkerson, Howard University, 1942, by permission of author.)
§-Less than 1 per cent.

In terms of the total Negro population in the nation the 13 per cent Negro agents now employed is about correct. But the number is far short of the proper proportion on the basis of farm population in the South adjusted to State variation.

Table 15.

Actual Number of Negro Extension Agents in Relation to the Number Required For Equity, By States, September 30, 1941†

STATE	Per cent Negro of Rural Population 1940	Number of Negros Required for Equity	Actual Number of Negro Agents	Difference Between Actual No. and Equitable No.	Per cent Actual No. is of Equitable No.
Alabama	35.6	120	72	—48	60
Arkansas	26.5	57	32	—24	58
Florida	31.3	41	19	—22	46
Georgia	37.5	127	52	—75	41
Kentucky	6.0	14	7	—7	50
Louisiana	40.9	84	20	—64	24
Maryland	17.8	11	6	—5	55
Mississippi	53.4	157	76	—61	49
Missouri	3.0	7	1	+6	14
North Carolina	28.5	108	58	—50	54
Oklahoma	6.6	14	20	—6	143
South Carolina	47.9	52	38	—14	73
Tennessee	13.8	44	20	—24	46
Texas	15.3	94	85	—9	91
Virginia	26.7	69	37	—32	54
West Virginia	6.8	9	5	—4	56
TOTAL	24.1	1,000	549	451	55

†–See Table 14. (Adapted from study by Doxey Wilkerson, Howard University, 1942).
‡–Total number of agents (Table 14). Adjusted to per cent Negro is of rural population. By permission of author.

The criticism made of the Extension Service because of the lack of a fair number of Negro agents could be overcome if Negro club agents were placed in counties where the Negro population justifies them and where the local county authorities will cooperate in employing them.

The number of Negro agents (all types) increased 101 from 1937 to 1941, or 23 per cent; and 83 per cent from 1925 to 1941. The number of white agents increased 314, or 10 per cent from 1937 to 1941; and 103 per cent, 1925 to 1941, (See Table 16). The most noticeable increase was in the number of home demonstration agents. The number of Negro home agents increased 30 per cent from 1937 to 1941 and 87 per cent from 1925 to 1941; while the number of white home demonstration agents increased 18 per cent from 1937 to 1941 and 88 per cent from 1925 to 1941. While the number of Negro 4-H Club agents increased by 2 from 1937 to 1941 (28 per cent) the number from 1925 to 1941 decreased by 3 (25 per cent). Club work is an important part of the extension program and additional Negro club workers would better serve Negro club boys and girls. Indeed, from a long-time point of view more club agents would be a better investment than that for work with adult farmers.

Table 16

Number and Percentage Increase of Extension Agents in 16 Southern States, By Type of Program and Race: 1925 (December 31), 1937 (February 28), and 1941 (June 30).†

Type of Program	Year	Number of agents			Per cent of Total	Number increase over 1925			Number increase over 1937			Per cent increase over 1925			Per cent increase over 1937		
		Total	White	Negro		Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
All Types	1925	2,072	1,772	300	15												
	1937	3,734	3,286	448	12	1,662	1,514	148				80	81	50			
	1941	4,149	3,600	549	13	2,077	1,828	249	415	134	101	100	103	83	11	10	23
Farm Demonstration	1925	1,246	1,073	173	14												
	1937	2,297	2,045	252	11	1,051	972	79				81	91	46			
	1941	2,427	2,134	293	12	1,181	1,061	120	130	89	41	94	98	69	6	4	16
Home Demonstration	1925	766	651	115	12												
	1937	1,363	1,174	189	14	597	523	[illegible]				78	80	64			
	1941	1,632	1,386	246	15	866	735	131	269	212	57	88	88	87	20	18	30
Boy-Girl Club Work	1925	60	48	12	20												
	1937	74	67	7	9	14	19	—5*				23	40	—42*			
	1941	89	80	9	10	29	32	—3*	15	13	2	48	66	—25*	20	19	29

†–Data supplied by the Cooperative Extension Service. The States represented are those listed in Table 8. (It will be noted that data are for different months and seasons in the three years involved. This fact, however, should in no way tend to invalidate racial comparisons). Table cited from study by Doxey Wilkerson, Howard University, 1942, by permission of author.

*–Decrease.

Expenditures For Extension Work

Expenditures allotted for extension work among Negroes (13 per cent of the total number of workers) was 5.7 per cent of the total amount allotted in 1925 and 6.7 per cent in 1942, a 1 per cent increase. (See Table 17). The amount allotted to Negro work in 1925 was $431,502 and $1,042,155 in 1942, an increase of 141.5 per cent, while the total amount allotted increased 198.8 per cent from 1925 to 1942.

Table 17.

Total, Federal, and State, and Local Funds Allotted For Extension Work in 16 Southern States: Amounts and Percentages For Negroes, By Fiscal Years: 1925 to 1941‡

Year Ending June 30	Funds Allotted for Extension Work			Expenditure for Work Among Negroes		Per cent of 1942 Amount	
	Total	Federal	State and Local*	Amount	Per Cent Of Total	Total	Negro
1925........	$7,613,801	$3,322,751	$4,291,050	$431,502	5.7	48.5	43.0
1929........	9,002,117	4,098,060	4,903,148	509,574	5.7	59.6	50.9
1931........	10,244,467	4,515,944	5,728,523	560,134	5.5	66.6	55.9
1932........	10,153,309	4,528,149	5,625,161	561,785	5.5	66.5	56.0
1933........	9,278,684	4,493,785	4,784,899	534,473	5.8	61.3	53.2
1935........	8,096,113	4,134,894	3,961,219	509,995	6.3	53.7	50.8
1936........	12,623,200	8,329,186	4,294,114	741,660	5.9	83.5	74.0
1937........	13,044,284	8,538,740	4,505,544	804,657	6.2	86.1	80.0
1938........	13,533,706	8,719,280	4,814,426	809,665	6.0	89.4	80.6
1939........	14,089,409	8,995,294	5,094,115	911,892	6.1	92.9	91.0
1940........	14,492,183	9,393,461	5,098,722	962,807	6.7	95.5	96.0
1941........	14,795,257	9,382,953	5,412,304	987,836	6.7	97.6	98.1
1942........	15,137,175	9,543,509	5,593,666	1,042,155†	6.7	100.0	100.0

‡–Data supplied by Extension Service, United States Department of Agriculture. (Cited from study by Doxey Wilkerson, Howard University, 1942; by permission of author).

*–Includes State and College Funds, County Funds, Farmers' organizations, etc.

†–Allotment.

The amount of money allotted to Negro extension work by the Southern States varied widely from 1925 to 1941. (See Table 18). The question of equitable distribution of funds hinges around the question of what is to be used as a base for making allocations: (1) the per cent the Negro population is of the national population; or (2) the per cent the Negro population is of the rural or rural farm population in the States where the Negro population is greatest and where Negro extension workers are employed. Whichever base is used the present amount allocated to Negro work is inadequate. If the per cent Negroes are of the national population is used as a base, the amount allocated would need to be multiplied by 2. If the per cent they are of the rural population in the South is used as a base the amount allocated would need to be multiplied by 4. (See Table 18).

Reorganization Needed in Program For Negro Farmers

From time to time the public makes various criticisms of extension work. Some are constructive; some are destructive. Whatever the nature of the criticisms the service can use them to advantage. Administrators of extension work, it seems, must admit that there is reason for unrest on the part of critics. A statement in answer to Mr. Wilkerson's study, which is the authority for these comments, would do much to allay this criticism.

The fact must be kept in mind, however, that the best claim to a more equitable distribution of funds is efficient use of what we now have. There is room for improvement in the quality of work done by all extension workers, and by Negro extension workers in particular. They should continue to do a better job as they strive for what they want. How can they better achieve their objective?

Agricultural production and technique are undergoing a revolution, the impact of which is greatest in the South. The application of science to production has increased the output per agricultural worker and enlarged the size of farm so as to make it a more efficient unit of operation. The weakness of Negro agents is found in their failure to adapt a program for Negro farmers to this trend which is necessary to reorganize. Negro colleges of agriculture which train them, are largely responsible for this weakness on the part of these agents. Not a single one of them has a recognized department of Agricultural Economics. The very basis of the changes we are now experiencing in agriculture is economic in nature. To increase the number of Negro extension workers who will continue to make the "live-at-home" program the end objective of extension training will not solve the problem. The reasons why the number of Negro farmers has declined more than the number of white farmers are to be found in the before stated facts and in the opinions of the writers here expressed.

Table 18.

Expenditures For Total and Negro Extension Work in 16 Southern States, 1925, 1936, and 1941; Per Cent Negro of Total Expenditures and of Rural and Farm Population.*

State	1925		1936		1941		Percent Negro of total			Percent Negro of	
	Total	Negro	Total	Negro	Total	Negro	1925	1936	1941	Rural Population 1930	Rural–Farm Population 1930
Alabama	$ 485,177	$ 46,810	$ 834,906	$ 131,402	$ 975,503	$ 154,589	9.7	15.6	15.8	36	37
Arkansas	435,951	45,246	774,575	34,540	913,949	73,345	10.4	4.5	8.0	27	29
Florida	253,116	16,886	410,992	31,434	552,406	32,544	6.6	7.6	5.9	31	27
Georgia	562,882	34,480	998,037	64,733	1,075,369	68,460	6.1	6.5	6.4	38	39
Kentucky	445,909	4,500	802,948	4,690	931,147	11,152	1.0	.6	1.2	6	4
Louisiana	362,919	21,773	655,534	37,550	751,867	40,486	6.0	5.7	5.4	41	45
Maryland	264,493	1,475	370,921	5,398	389,771	9,464	.5	1.5	2.4	18	19
Mississippi	516,549	55,292	892,121	87,284	1,043,660	111,864	10.8	9.8	10.6	52	56
Missouri	475,775	2,200	746,129	....	922,275	2,400	.5	....	2.6	3	3
North Carolina	623,735	36,548	1,019,519	73,498	1,233,234	111,662	5.9	7.3	9.0	29	31
Oklahoma	500,280	29,141	723,564	34,658	889,575	35,310	5.8	4.8	4.0	7	8
South Carolina	416,217	16,233	603,319	42,052	703,398	61,602	3.9	7.0	8.7	48	55
Tennessee	413,287	6,800	809,110	25,500	922,684	43,685	1.6	3.2	4.7	14	14
Texas	980,050	63,624	1,714,749	112,227	2,044,180	158,524	6.5	6.6	7.7	15	18
Virginia	508,653	44,759	802,010	52,998	930,695	64,619	8.8	6.6	6.9	27	27
West Virginia	368,807	5,735	464,767	3,695	515,545	8,130	1.6	.8	1.6	7	9
TOTAL	$ 7,613,801	$ 431,502	$12,623,200	$ 741,660	$14,795,258	$ 987,836	5.7	5.9	6.7	24	27

*Expenditure data from Cooperative Extension Service; population data from Negroes in the United States: 1920–32, pp. 52–3. Table cited from study by Doxey Wilkerson, Howard University, 1942 by permission of author.

Increased Allotment For Negro Extension Work[1]

Over $2,000,000 has been allotted for agricultural extension work among colored farmers for 1947. This represents an increase of 114 per cent during the last five years. "The enlarged allotment makes it possible for Extension Service in the Southern States to employ 278 more colored workers than were on the staff at the outbreak of the war. The total number of colored agents and supervisors now working in the 15 Southern States stands at 817.

"In commenting on the report, Special Assistants to the Secretary of Agriculture, Claude A. Barnett of the Associated Negro Press and Dr. F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee, say that the enlarged staff of colored county agents will make it possible to extend the services of Extension to a good many farmers who have never been effectively reached. They add, however, that while this represents a substantial forward step in the Extension program, there is still need for additional colored Extension workers. Both Mr. Barnett and Dr. Patterson have been conferring with State Extension directors from time to time in the interest of a more effective program for colored farmers.

"In the appointment of new agents, North Carolina leads with 44, Georgia is second with 34, and Mississippi is third with 30. In the total number of workers, Mississippi comes first with 107 farm and home demonstration agents and supervisors; Texas comes second with 106 agents and supervisors; and North Carolina, third with 99 agents.

"In expenditures, North Carolina leads the other Southern States. It has allotted for Extension work among colored farmers this year, $473,506, or 23.5 per cent of all monies to be spent in the State for Extension work. Texas is second with an allotment of $256,343, or 10.3 per cent of its Extension funds; Alabama is third with an allotment of $239,133, and Mississippi, fourth with an allotment of $226,069.

"Significantly, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas have allotted over 14 per cent of their Extension Service funds for work among colored farmers. However, more than half of all Negro farmers live in these five States. Large numbers also live in Georgia and Louisiana.

"Greatest percentage increase in the allotment of funds during the last five years was made by North Carolina which increased its funds for Negro work by 241 per cent. West Virginia made the second largest increase, 215 per cent, and Louisiana made the third largest increase, 201 per cent.

"A comparison in the amount of funds allotted for white and Negro Extension work in the South shows that the former received $16,158,117.44 and the latter, $2,218,209.46 or 12.1 per cent. During the last five years, funds for whites increased by 55.9 per cent and for colored by 114 per cent. However, in personnel and services, the Extension program for colored farmers still lags somewhat behind.

"It is pointed out that still there are no colored agents in some counties with as many as 500 Negro farm families. Also assistant colored county agents are needed in some counties to help serve the large case-loads which frequently number up to 2,000 farm families.

"The farm and home demonstration agents are Extension teachers of the land-grant colleges. They carry agricultural and home-making training to farm families in their homes and on their farms. The lessons are taught by demonstrations."

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[1] Source: United States Department of Agriculture Special Report, January 13, 1947.

Table 19.

Allotment of Funds For Extension Work Among Negro Farmers; the Number of Negro Extension Agents and Supervisors in 15 Southern States For Fiscal Years 1942 and 1947.

STATES	1942		
	Funds	Percent of Funds	Extension Workers
Alabama	$156,708.80	20.1	71
Arkansas	68,388.75	8.9	33
Florida	35,450.00	9.2	18
Georgia	64,515.00	6.9	51
Kentucky	11,352.00	1.5	7
Louisiana	41,890.00	6.8	19
Maryland	9,684.00	4.0	5
Mississippi	117,054.00	13.8	77
North Carolina	138,744.00	13.1	55
Oklahoma	41,560.00	5.9	20
South Carolina	62,038.00	12.6	37
Tennessee	43,060.00	5.4	20
Texas	171,726.26	9.5	84
Virginia	62,018.00	8.3	37
West Virginia	12,480.00	2.8	5
TOTALS	$1,036,668.81	9.1	539

STATES	1947			
	Funds	Percent of Funds	Percent of Increase	Workers
Alabama	$ 239,133.00	16.2	52.6	86
Arkansas	154,604.33	14.5	126.1	51
Florida	62,853.82	10.4	77.3	29
Georgia	147,636.82	9.5	128.8	85
Kentucky	24,675.00	2.1	117.4	10
Louisiana	126,230.00	10.6	201.3	47
Maryland	19,260.00	5.3	98.8	8
Mississippi	226,069.00	16.4	93.1	107
North Carolina	473,506.00	23.5	241.3	99
Oklahoma	64,701.20	5.7	55.7	29
South Carolina	140,185.65	17.1	126.0	59
Tennessee	81,730.00	6.7	89.8	28
Texas	256,343.59	10.3	49.3	106
Virginia	161,922.20	13.1	161.1	56
West Virginia	39,358.85	6.4	215.4	17
TOTALS	$2,218,209.46	12.1	114.0	817

Source: United States Department of Agriculture, Special Report, January 13, 1947.

Supervisors of Extension Work With Negroes

November, 1946

Alabama
- Dr. J. R. Otis, State Leader, Tuskegee Institute
- Miss M. F. Myhand, District Agent, Tuskegee Institute
- Mr. W. B. Hill, District Agent, Tuskegee Institute
- Mr. C. C. Lanier, District Agent, Tuskegee Institute
- Miss R. L. Rivers, District Agent, Tuskegee Institute
- Mr. T. R. Agnew, State 4-H Club Agent for Boys, Tuskegee Institute
- Miss M. B. Hollinger, State 4-H Club Agent for Girls, Tuskegee Institute

Arkansas
- Mr. H. C. Ray, District Agent, 610½ W. 9th Street, Little Rock
- Mrs. Fannie Mae Boone, District Agent, 9th Street, Little Rock
- Mr. T. R. Betton, District Agent, 9th Street, Little Rock
- Mrs. Ella P. Nelly, District Agent, 9th Street, Little Rock
- Mr. L. L. Phillips, State 4-H Club Agent, 9th Street, Little Rock

Georgia
- Mr. H. P. Stone, State Agent, Georgia State College, Industrial College.
- Miss Camilla Weems, State Agent, Georgia State College, Industrial College
- Mr. Alexander Hurse, State 4-H Club Agent, Georgia State College, Industrial College

Mr. Augustus Hill, Asst. State 4-H Club Agent, Georgia State College, Industrial College

Kentucky

Mr. Louis L. Duncan, Jr., District Agent, 408½ Main St., Hopkinsville

Louisiana

Mr. T. J. Jordan, Asst. State Agent, Southern Branch Post Office, Baton Rouge

Mrs. R. F. Henton, Asst. State Agent, Southern Branch Post Office, Baton Rouge

Mrs. A. J. Lewis, Cooperative Home Demonstration Agent, Box 2110, Baton Rouge

Maryland

Mr. Martin G. Bailey, District Agent, Box 5302, Seat Pleasant 19

Mississippi

Mr. M. M. Hubert, District Agent, 843½ Rose Street, Jackson

Mr. G. C. Cypress, Boys' Club Agent, 843½ Rose Street, Jackson

Mrs. Daisy M. Lewis, District Agent, Jackson College, Jackson

Mrs. Virlie Moody Lindsay, Girls' 4-H Club Agent, Jackson College, Jackson

Mrs. Beatrice Childress, Asst. Girls' 4-H Club Agent, Jackson College, Jackson

Mrs. Alice Carter Oliver, District Agent, Clarksdale

North Carolina

Mr. R. E. Jones, State Agent, Box 68, A & T College, Greensboro

Mrs. Dazelle F. Lowe, District Agent, Box 68, A & T College, Greensboro

Mr. J. A. Spaulding, District Agent, Box 68, A & T College, Greensboro

Mrs. W. T. Merritt, District Agent, Box 68, A & T College, Greensboro

Oklahoma

Mr. Paul O. Brooks, District Agent, Langston University, Langston

Mrs. H. M. Hewlett, District Agent, Langston University, Langston

South Carolina

Mr. E. N. Williams, District Agent, State College, Orangeburg

Mrs. Marian B. Paul, State Supervisor, State College, Orangeburg

Mr. Wayman Johnson, Asst. District Agent, State College, Orangeburg

Tennessee

Mr. W. H. Williamson, Assistant State Agent, Box 543, Nashville

Miss Bessie L. Walton, Assistant State Agent, Box 1171, Nashville 2

Texas

Mr. W. C. David, State Leader, Prairie View University, Prairie View

Miss M. E. Garrett, District Agent, Prairie View University, Prairie View

Mr. J. E. Mayo, Acting District Agent, Prairie View University, Prairie View

Mrs. Pauline R. Brown, Supervisor & District Agent, Prairie View University

Mr. H. S. Estelle, District Agent, Prairie View University, Prairie View

Mrs. J. O. A. Connor, District Agent, Prairie View University, Box 516, Prairie View

Mr. W. H. Phillips, District Agent, Prairie View University, Prairie View

Virginia

Mr. Ross W. Newsome, State Agent, Virginia State College, Ettrick

Miss B. D. Harrison, District Agent, Virginia State College, Ettrick

Mr. S. E. Marshall, District Agent, Virginia State College, Ettrick

Mrs. T. T. Howlett, Asst. District Agent, Ashland

West Virginia

Mr. L. A. Toney, State Leader, W. Va. State College, Institute

Mrs. Tanner J. Livisay, District Agent, Princeton

Mr. T. M. Campbell, Field Agent, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Mr. John W. Mitchell, Field Agent, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia

Mrs. D. D. Allen, Secretary, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION AND THE NEGRO

The Farm Security Administration is a Federal agricultural agency set up to give assistance to needy farmers. It is especially designed to help low income farm people. This agency was organized at first as the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in 1934. In 1935 it was reorganized as the Resettlement Administration. In 1937 the program was expanded and its name changed to the Farm Security Administration. In November of 1946 there was further reorganization and the agency renamed the Farmers' Home Administration.

An important objective of the Farm Security program is that of improving the economic and social status of low-income farmers. At the present time, the major functions of this agency center around the rural rehabilitation and the farm-purchase programs. Table 20 shows the participation of Negroes in the program of the Farm Security Administration as of November 15, 1941.

Table 20.

Negro Borrower Participation in Farm Security Administration Program, November 15, 1941—United States

Type of Program	Number
Rural Rehabilitation	53,322
Tenant Purchase Borrowers	3,061
Families on 22 Rental Cooperatives (Leasing Association)	967
Families on 35 Community Projects	1,889
Families on 6 Migratory Camps	1,199
Total	60,440

Source: "Plain Facts About Negro Farming" by Constance E. H. Daniels—F. S. A. Publication 104.—Printed in "The Brown American," November, 1941.

The community projects have been discontinued. The Negro families that were on these projects are probably now included in the tenant purchase program.

The Rural Rehabilitation Program

The Rural Rehabilitation Program was designed to improve the economic and social status of destitute farmers and farm workers. The program includes the following:

1. Standard rural rehabilitation loans.
2. Loans for setting up small cooperatives.
3. Tenure improvement program.
4. Farm debt adjustment.
5. The medical-care program.
6. Education.

Any low-income farmer who cannot qualify for credit from other lending agencies may get a standard rehabilitation loan, and may also participate in the other features of the rehabilitation program. At the end of the 1944 crop year in 14 Southern States, there were 37,763 Negro farm families operating under the rural rehabilitation program of the Farm Security Administration. A study of a sample of 1,746 of these families showed the following (Table 20):

These farms averaged 79 acres of land, 36 acres of which were in crops. They had assets averaging $1,542; and an average net worth of $973. The average amount borrowed for the year 1944 was $1,254; the total debt at the end of 1944 was $488. The average gross family income was $1,221, of which $1,006 was farm income. The average net family income was $905; the net farm income was $690. The average value of home-used food was $337.

Table 21.

Status of the Active Standard Rural Rehabilitation Negro Family At End of 1944 Crop Year in the Fourteen Southern States*

Item	Fourteen Southern States	Region IV	Region V	Region VI	Region VIII (Oklahoma and Texas)
Active Standard Negro Families.....No.	37,763	6,372	13,883	12,977	4,531
No. of Families in Sample..........No.	1,746	320	840	405	181
Size of Farm 1944.................Acres	79	83	75	76	94
Land in Crops 1944...............Acres	36	32	38	34	42
Total Owned..................... $	1,542	2,110	1,262	1,496	1,737
Total Owed...................... $	569	439	638	526	661
Net Worth....................... $	973	1,671	624	970	1,076
Working Capital End of '44........ $	851	1,084	774	816	860
Total Amount Borrowed From FSA.. $	1,254	1,225	1,196	1,372	1,130
Total R R Debt End of '44......... $	488	280	596	458	535
Delinquency Status:					
Number Borrowers Delinquent....No.	19,714	2,466	5,765	8,719	2,764
Per cent of Borrowers Delinquent. %	52	39	42	67	61
Amount Delinquent for those Delinquent.................. $	243	225	166	305	220
Gross Family Income............. $	1,221	1,704	1,054	1,161	1,228
Gross Farm Income.............. $	1,006	1,514	903	919	858
Total Non-Farm Income.......... $	215	190	151	242	370
Farm Operating Expenses.......... $	316	404	327	270	288
Net Family Income................ $	905	1,300	727	891	940
Net Farm Income.................. $	690	1,110	576	649	570
Value Home-Owned Food.......... $	337	480	285	302	.....

*Data supplied by the Farm Security Administration, Washington, D. C.

Of the total number of Negro rural rehabilitation borrowers at the end of 1944, 19,714 or 52 per cent were delinquent. The amount of delinquency averaged $243.

Tenant-Purchase Program

The tenant-purchase program was set up for the purpose of curbing the trend of tenancy. This program was authorized by the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act which was passed by Congress in 1937. The function of this program is to make loans to tenant, sharecropper, and farm laborer families to enable them to become owners of family-sized farms.

In 1943 Negroes made up 14 per cent of all tenant-purchase borrowers in the United States, while according to the United States Census of 1940, Negroes were 21 per cent of all tenants. According to these figures, if the proportion of tenants is taken as a criterion, Negroes are not getting their share of the tenant-purchase program. This is demonstrated more emphatically when we consider the four southern farm security regions. In these regions, Negroes were 35 per cent of all tenants, but only 19 per cent of all tenant-purchase borrowers. In no region or State were the proportion of Negro tenant-purchase borrowers equal to the proportion of Negro tenants. (See Table 22).

Table 22.

Tenant-purchase Borrowers By Color, 1943

Region and State	All borrowers 1943	White	Negro		Negro as percent of all tenants 1940
			Number	Per cent	
United States	29,502	25,372	4,130	14	21
Four Southern Regions	21,196	17,271	3,925	19	35
Region IV	5,112	4,601	511	10	20
Kentucky	783	783	0	0	3
North Carolina	2,077	1,724	353	17	33
Tennessee	1,277	1,226	51	4	21
Virginia	670	563	107	16	27
West Virginia	305	304	1	—	1
Region V					
Alabama	7,484	5,736	1,721	33	43
Florida	2,423	1,817	606	25	42
Georgia	3,099	2,541	558	18	38
South Carolina	1,715	1,200	515	30	57
Region VI	5,406	4,000	1,406	26	58
Arkansas	1,770	959	811	15	40
Louisiana	1,142	834	308	27	54
Mississippi	2,494	1,646	848	34	71
Region VIII	3,194	2,097	287	9	13
Oklahoma	1,332	1,252	80	6	0
Texas	1,682	1,676	186	10	16

Sources: United States Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration. Release No. 12, 1943. Family Progress Report. 16th Census of the U. S. Agriculture ch. III, Vol. III.

THE TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE HOUSING PROGRAM FOR RURAL BETTERMENT[4]

"On the campus of Tuskegee Institute stands a new four-room one-story cottage. It is a neat livable house that differs little in appearance from houses seen in the newer subdivisions almost everywhere. With present prices one would expect it to cost between six and seven thousand dollars to build, of which possibly three thousand would be spent for materials. The builders show, however, that the actual cost of all the materials used *was slightly more than one thousand dollars!* Furthermore, the construction is so simple that if such a house was built for private ownership the *owner could perform much of the labor himself!* . . . It is really the latest development in Tuskegee's struggle over an eight-year period to find a way to bring adequate housing within the reach of the average farmer. It is a repeatable demonstration in rural housing.

"The story of this research project, participated in by practically all departments of the Institute and with the active support of the Extension Service . . . has been carried on practically without funds except for a small initial grant from the General Education Board. Early in the study it became apparent that since the average southern farmer has little cash money to spend some way would have to be found to cut materials cost drastically and to utilize to an unusual extent the farmers' own labor. It is readily understood that farm labor is available for such use since it is fully occupied with farm tasks only at certain seasons. Experiments with wooden houses made from timber cut on the farm were successful but had limited application. Rammed earth, both in solid sections and in blocks, was tried but certain technical difficulties with this material seemed insurmountable. Soil-cement mixtures such as are sometimes used for roads were tried and given up—not because these mixtures seemed unusuable but for lack of the facilities and personnel for the experimental work needed. The suggestion that led to the erection of this present experimental house came from Dr. F. D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute. 'Why not use a concrete block,' thought Dr. Patterson. 'The ingredients are cement and gravel and water and labor. Since gravel can be found in almost any creek bed a farmer would only need to buy the cement in order to make them.'

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[4] Source: Mimeographed pamphlet, "It Can Happen Here," by Louis E. Fry, Architect and Housing Consultant. January 1, 1947.

"Concrete for blocks could be mixed wet and poured into shallow wooden forms. These blocks were first observed in use by a Tuskegee graduate living in the Tuskegee community. The laying of them was modified in the present plan by using half blocks instead of metal ties in joining the parallel exterior walls. The blocks so made could be laid in such a way as to produce a hollow wall. The air spaces in the regular concrete blocks could be produced not by the way the blocks were made but by the way they were laid. This was Dr. Patterson's own idea, too. The details were worked out by the staff of the Department of Mechanical Industries at the Institute.

"Simple but sturdy wooden forms were made. A creek bed was found that had promising looking gravel in it and the block making plant set up on its bank. After a series of experiments a mixture of one part of cement to about six parts of pit run gravel was used. Gravel was used just as it came from the earth. Mixing was done in a small batch mixer (it could have been done by hand on a mixing board) and the soupy mass poured into the forms. After twenty-four hours in summer (longer in winter) the blocks were removed and stacked in the shade to season until ready for use. It was just as simple as that. Surprisingly enough these methods produced blocks which tests showed to have a strength in excess of that required by standard specifications for commercial blocks.

"At the building site the blocks were used for exterior walls, for chimneys, and for all interior partitions. . . . No plaster was used in this house except that a single coat of cement plaster was used on one side of each three inch partition to stiffen it. . . . Consistent with the use of concrete for walls and partitions, the floors are also of concrete. The base slab was poured about four inches thick over a six inch cinder bed laid directly on the earth. Topping was of cement and sand, put on before the base slap had set and troweled to a smooth glossy surface. The same savings, due to the use of local gravel, accrue here as was the case with the blocks. . . . Houses with concrete floors in direct contact with the earth are cooler in summer than if of wood and built up as is more commonly done. . . . In winter there will be no uncomfortable drafts coming through the floors as is so often the case with houses built up on piers and open underneath. The cinder underfill (it could be gravel also) prevents dampness from coming up from the ground.

"Walls and floors of concrete are rat proof because they cannot be gnawed. They are termite proof because termites cannot digest cement and gravel. They are roach and ant resistent because there are fewer cracks. The floors can be scrubbed without hurting them and if properly treated they are practically scuff proof. Concrete cannot burn so houses built this way are more fire-resistant than the more usual types. Absence of plaster to crack, wood floors to sand and varnish, and a great decrease in the amount of exterior woodwork to paint (as compared with wooden houses) make the maintenance of such houses inexpensive and easy.

"Other parts of the house are more orthodox. The roof was framed of wood in the usual manner and covered with asbestos-cement shingles. Ceilings are of insulation board in large sheets, painted to match the walls. Doors and windows together with their frames are of stock patterns. The heating and lighting and plumbing were handled in the usual ways except that they are a bit more adequate. The result of all this is that a very pleasant place to live has been created. Its strongest appeal . . . is that *it can be built by farmers with small cash outlay.*"

MECHANIZATION IN AGRICULTURE

Mechanization of Farming In the South

The mechanization of farming in several areas of the South is ushering in changes of great importance. Texas and Oklahoma, even before Pearl Harbor, had seen the invasion of tractors transforming the countryside into multiple-sized farms. The Mississippi Delta and the better lands of the Old Southeast have, during recent years, been cultivating larger crops with fewer laborers than in pre-tractor days. In two of the thirteen Southern States the percentage of farm operators using tractors in 1945 approximated the national average. These two, Oklahoma 30.3 and Texas 29.1, were followed by Florida with a percentage of 14.4. The national average is 30.5. (See Table 23.)

Table 23.

Per Cent of Farm Operators Reporting Tractors On Farms in 1930, 1940 and 1945,* and Per Cent Increase From 1930 to 1940, and 1940 to 1945 For Selected States**

State	Farm Operators Reporting Tractors on Farms				
	Per cent Reporting Tractors			Per cent Change	
	1930	1940	1945	1930-40	1940-45
United States	13.5	23.1	30.5	70	32
13 Southern States	3.9	7.8	11.0	90	44
8 Cotton States***	3.9	9.3	13.2	112	43
South Atlantic****	3.6	4.8	7.3	30	52
Virginia	5.4	6.2	8.4	22	36
North Carolina	3.9	4.3	6.4	12	63
South Carolina	2.0	3.1	5.4	38	75
Georgia	2.1	3.8	5.9	59	57
Florida	7.4	10.2	14.4	47	42
East South Central	2.1	3.6	5.3	72	50
Kentucky	2.8	4.4	6.2	63	41
Tennessee	2.7	4.4	6.7	72	53
Alabama	1.7	2.9	4.5	64	56
Mississippi	1.5	2.7	4.1	91	50
West South Central	5.7	14.9	20.9	125	49
Arkansas	1.8	4.3	6.6	121	53
Louisiana	2.4	4.6	6.9	89	50
Oklahoma	11.4	22.9	30.3	75	32
Texas	6.4	20.6	29.1	165	42

*–Figures for 1930 and 1940 from U. S. Census; Figures for January 1, 1945 are taken from estimates made by Bureau of Agricultural Economics as shown in "Number and Duty of Principal Farm Machines," by A. P. Brodell and M. R. Cooper, F. M. 46, Washington, D. C., November 1944.

**–The percentage of farm operators using tractors in January 1945 was arrived at by showing a percentage gain in operators from 1940 to 1945 equal to the percentage gain in number of tractors during the 5-year period.

***–South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma.

****–Excludes Delaware, Maryland, D. C., and West Virginia.

Hand Labor Cannot Compete With Machines

Dr. Arthur Raper has pointed out in the booklet, *Machines in the Cotton Fields*, published by the Southern Regional Council, September, 1946, that "we need first of all to recall that cotton and tobacco, the farmers' main sources of cash in the South, are two of the least mechanized crops in the nation." The agricultural South using hand labor cannot without change prosper in an age of mechanized production. However, well intentioned and industrious, the man with a hoe and a one-mule primitive plow cannot maintain respectable standards of living in a country where other men use labor-saving machines. Likewise, a region characterized by primitive methods of production must remain economically backward. As long as most everything bought by the southern farmer is machine-made while everything that he sells is hand-made, the differentials in living standards will be to his disadvantage.

Not All Parts of the South Can Be Agriculturally Mechanized

Not all areas of the South can be transformed into mechanized, large-scale farms. Professor Peter F. Drucker, Bennington College economist, after an extensive study of the Southern Region, has drawn up a map indicating the geographic areas which lend themselves best to mechanization of cotton production. (See *Exit King Cotton*, *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1946). These areas, in brief, are the rich lands of the Mississippi Valley extending from the Gulf to upper Arkansas and Tennessee; the Gulf Coast, especially around Corpus Christi; some of the low-lying hill counties of Alabama and Mississippi—wherever a yield of more than one bale an acre is obtainable; at least two-thirds of Texas; and the new, irrigated cotton lands of New Mexico, Arizona, and California—where cotton can be grown for as little as four or five cents a pound on mechanized farms. Not included, however, are the low-yield, high-cost regions—all of South Carolina, Georgia, and eastern Texas, most of Arkansas, Mississippi and Alabama—which will, in all probability, be forced out of cotton production. In these low-yield, high-cost areas more than half of all the cotton farmers of the United States live—"primarily small, poor farmers," writes Drucker, "who have no alternative cash crop and neither the capital nor the training to develop one."

New Inventions Increase Probability Of Mechanized Farming

While the industrial revolution has hardly reached the South, a number of recent inventions are hastening the movement toward mechanization. The cotton-picking robots, for example, each doing the work of a half-hundred human harvesters, have already demonstrated their worth. While the number of these machines installed at present is small and relatively insignificant, there is the probability of increasingly large numbers ahead. Already, three of the largest manufacturers of farm machinery—International Harvester, Allis Chalmers, and John Deere—are in the race to supply the market. The mass production of these cotton harvesters is definitely in the plans for the future.

Complementing the extraordinary efficiency of these machines, the Graham Page fire-spitting cultivator and the McLemore "Sizz Weeder" will reduce to a minimum the human labor formerly required to keep the cotton fields free from weeds. This type of cultivator will render the fields practically weedless for a considerable period of time. Tests with the "Sizz Weeder" at the Stoneville, Mississippi, Experiment Station, have disclosed an overall operating cost of 48 cents an acre. This is small indeed when compared with $4 to $12 an acre usually paid hand laborers to chop out weeds with a hoe. Also it is estimated that a laborer with a hoe can "chop" only a half-acre in a ten-hour day; while a two row "Sizz" can cover 25 acres in a day. A four row cultivator can cover 46 acres in the same length of time. Furthermore, squirting a band of intense heat just above the ground, the flame cultivator has another value. It not only sears the weeds and weed seeds, but it kills insects as they are knocked to the ground by the moving machine. The cotton plants are unscathed because of the toughness of their stalks.

In the judgment of Colonel A. J. McLemore, inventor of the "Sizz", his weed-destroyer will bring about complete mechanization of thousands of farms which produce cotton, corn, sugar cane, vegetables and other crops. The chief reason why the cotton robot has not been used more extensively in the past is because the farmer, even when possessing a tractor, cultivator and a cotton picker, still had to retain a sizable force of laborers just to hoe the crops.

Mechanized Farm of the McLemore Brothers, Montgomery County, Ala.

On the farms of the McLemore Brothers, white farmers, totaling 7,700 acres in Montgomery County, Alabama, there is a 150-acre tract of cotton land that, in the 1946 season, was prepared, planted, fertilized, chopped, weeded, defoliated, and picked entirely by mechanical means. This was probably the first time that the human hand rarely touched the cotton from the time plans were made until the burlap-wrapped bale of cotton was delivered from the gin press. What is even more extraordinary is the fact that a single man did the entire series of operations on this 150-acre field.

Social and Economic Problems Involved In Agricultural Mechanization

Needless to say, the human effects of a complete mechanization of the cotton industry alone would upset the equilibrium of production and of life far and wide. Approximately 10,000,000 human beings in the South would be directly affected. Probably 2,000,000, it is estimated, would be occupationally displaced. Of this number, perhaps 1,200,000 would be white and at least 800,000 Negro. Whether these displacements would create serious economic and social problems depends upon the period of time consumed in the changes. Some experts in the field of southern economics believe the changes would be sudden and chaotic; others, that the changes would be distributed over a considerable period of time. Dr. Raper believes that each mechanical picker will, however, displace more workers at one time than the tractor, and will displace them more completely, especially since cotton picking is the one remaining big hand process in cotton production. Hand workers will commonly be thought of as surplus labor only after a mechanical picker has been put into operation on a particular farm. Other nearby planters may continue with traditional hand methods of operations for another year or two, while some few growers may continue hand methods of production because of the ease with which they can secure from among the families already displaced by mechanized farms the very kind of workers they like to use. "Workers will be displaced farm by farm, year by year. Operators still relying on hand methods of production will remain as dependent as ever upon the availability of workers. In short, hand workers on any given cotton plantation are indispensable as workers right up to the time that they are displaced by machine pickers when most of them will not be needed at all."

Still further is the possibility that the effects of displacement may be mollified by the reduced necessity for women and children working in the fields. Colonel McLemore made a pertinent remark on this aspect of the situation. "The majority of hired pickers," he said, "are Negroes. They include all members of the family. When mechanized cotton farming comes into its own, it will not be necessary for the women and children to be hoeing and picking cotton. The women can stay in the home where they are needed more, and the children will have more time for schooling."

Organized Efforts Necessary to Meet Displacement Problems

"What new activities should be launched by the vocational agricultural people, the Agricultural Extension Service, the Farmers' Home Administration and other agricultural agencies, the churches, and the farmers' organizations to help as many families as practicable to make a good living on farms, and to help those who leave the farms to get ready to do something else? . . . Small operators can be served by their neighbor's machinery when custom work is done at equitable rates. Also a group of small farmers can own and operate machinery jointly. Cooperatives might prove helpful to the small, independent farmer in securing the advantage of machinery without being saddled with uneconomic equipment. It is not implied here that the present farms in the poor land areas are large enough if properly managed, but it is important to remember that the increase of the size of the farm is but one of the ways to develop an adequate farm unit."

DIVISION VIII

THE NEGRO IN BUSINESS

By Albon L. Holsey

Tuskegee Institute

This report gives a general view of the Negro in business during the period 1939-1946. Various factors affecting businesses operated by Negroes will be indicated: The pre-war status; the impact of war and its effects; the increase of consumers' dollars; the expansion into new fields of business; and, above all, the increasing knowledge and determination on the part of Negro leaders in business.

PRE-WAR STATUS OF NEGRO BUSINESS

Census reports for 1939 of Negro proprietorships of retail establishments showed a total of 29,827 such outlets with gross sales of $71,466,000. The 13,778 employees in these establishments received $5,386,000 in salaries and wages. Of these outlets, the food group led with 11,038 units of which 5,655 were grocery stores. Of the 333 units in the apparel group, 65 were women's ready-to-wear shops, 55 were millinery shops, and 94 were women's and infants' accessories and apparel shops. Only 15 men-boys' furnishings stores were recorded. Eating places numbering 9,750 were a close second to the food group. The furniture-household and radio group numbering 65 was unexpectedly small in view of the widespread demand for this type of merchandise. The 548 drug stores with a gross annual intake of $4,470,000 averaged $8,139 per store.

The Census recorded 1,268 filling stations, 4 motor-vehicle dealers (new), 6 used-car dealers, 128 florists, 169 liquor stores (packaged goods), 4 heating-plumbing equipment dealers, 2,240 fuel-ice dealers, 17 hardware stores, 15 book stores, 10 jewelry stores, and 4 farm and garden supply stores.

A comparative study of routine and special service establishments in 14 cities is presented in Table 1 as an indication of the extent to which geographic and other factors have influenced the selection of types of business endeavors. The 14 cities include 6 in the North, 2 in Border States and 6 in the South.

TABLE 1

Negro Businesses in Selected Cities 1939*

CITY	KIND OF BUSINESS.							
	Auto Repairs and Garages	Barber Shops	Beauty Parlors	Cleaning Pressing	Undertakers	Printing Shops	Shoe Repairs	Shoe Shine Parlors
Baltimore	56	179	217	87	26	5	40	119
Birmingham	9	41	10	22	10	4	27	28
Chicago	72	250	262	207	41	35	58	95
Cleveland	40	95	99	56	8	7	10	68
Detroit	30	115	145	105	24	13	31	37
Jacksonville	4	32	10	16	5	......	18	4
Houston	39	94	79	33	13	9	22	62
Los Angeles	27	66	118	55	3	7	17	460
Memphis	20	62	40	45	13	3	36	92
New Orleans	17	137	57	82	8	9	24	10
New York	104	266	367	298	63	54	63	205
Richmond	17	99	70	26	17	7	31	28
St. Louis	42	120	140	72	30	4	18	111
Washington	17	175	249	68	32	17	25	56

*Source: Census of Business—Volume III, Service Establishments: 1939.

With respect to the special service establishments three, employment agencies, watch and jewelry repair shops and radio repair shops are selected for special comment. Their variability of incidence seems related to geographic location. Employment agencies, for example, do not appear in any of the 6 southern cities. They are found in New York, Chicago, Detroit and Baltimore. Watch, clock and jewelry repair shops—an old line of specialized service—are found in Memphis, New Orleans and Richmond in the South, where 3 each were recorded.

Somewhat surprising were the scattered radio repair shops. This new industry offers, it would seem, unusual opportunities for establishment of repair shops. However, of the 6 southern cities included in the study, only Houston (5), New Orleans (6), and Richmond (4) indicated any shops in this apparently lucrative field. Of the other large cities, New York led with 63, Chicago followed with 27, Detroit and St. Louis reported 18 each, and Los Angeles, 10. In other words, all of the larger cities outside of the South reported Negroes in the radio repair industry, while cities like Atlanta, Birmingham and Memphis, with large Negro populations, reported none

Importance of the Negro Market

In the period immediately preceding Pearl Harbor, business men were pointing out the general importance of the Negro market. Discussions relative to this matter were becoming prevalent, especially in conferences on Negro business, in many parts of the country. White business men were beginning to see the wisdom of encouraging a market at home that compared favorably in size with the sum total of our foreign trade. Late in 1940, Newbold Morris, President of the New York City Council, in an address before the Hampton Association, said, "Big business ought to know more about the Negro market." He pointed out that "in seventeen of our largest Southern cities Negroes consume $2,000,000,000 worth of our goods annually, an amount two and a half times as large as our exports to Great Britain, France, Germany, Poland and Finland in 1938"

Continuing, the speaker explained that "our foreign trade, long suffering from tariff-barriers, continues unstabilized with present war restrictions. Yet within our own borders lies one of the greatest markets undeveloped. This consumer outlet represented by our Negro population, would expand in enormous proportion with the advancement of their living standards. Equip our largest minority with the means of increasing their purchasing power and we create a better prosperity for the nation as a whole."

Important Conferences On Negro Business

Many conferences on Negro business passed resolutions in similar vein. A meeting of 200 business and professional women from three Southern States—Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, meeting in Savannah included the following in its final recommendations: ". . . develop Negro markets by the creation and operation of agencies for that purpose; through cooperatives, government and private loans, and reinvestment earnings; bring about a continuous and progressive increase in available capital for business expansion." The Virginia Trade Association sponsored a similar conference at Hampton Institute in June, 1940, and called for a "movement to speed economic security by opening more opportunities in business through ownership and employment."

The most significant of these meetings was the "Conference on The Negro in Business" sponsored by the United States Department of Commerce and held in the Commerce Department auditorium on April 18 and 19, 1941. In his foreword to the printed proceedings of the conference, Emmer Martin Lancaster, Advisor on Negro Affairs for the Department of Commerce, said: "This conference was called for the purpose of effecting a more adequate integration into the Department of Commerce of business Problems peculiar to the Negro."

NEGRO BANKS

Negro Banks and War Securities

In the period of this review, banks operated by Negroes prospered in deposit increases and in various ways contributed to the war effort.

William Pickens, of the United States Treasury Department, who headed the promotional organization for the sale of bonds among Negroes, reported in 1945 that 11 Negro banks were holding nearly $13,000,000 in war securities. Top purchasers were Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham, N. C., with $2,662,905; Industrial Bank of Washington, D. C., $2,537,041; Consolidated Bank and Trust Company of Richmond, Va., $1,749,000 and the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company of Philadelphia, $1,442,284. Other banks listed in Mr. Pickens' report with heavy bond purchases were Crown Savings Bank of Newport News, Va., Danville (Virginia) Savings Bank and Trust Company, Fraternal Bank and Trust Company of Fort Worth, Texas, Citizens Trust Company of Atlanta, Citizens Savings Bank and Trust Company of Nashville, Farmers State Bank of Boley, Oklahoma and the Victory Savings Bank of Columbia, South Carolina.

Growth of Negro Banks

Emmer Martin Lancaster, of the United States Department of Commerce, issued his first annual report on Negro banking institutions in 1941. The statement showed that the twelve Negro owned banks in the United States—eleven of them in the South—had experienced a healthy growth in both deposits and total resources during the calendar year 1940.

On May 16, 1945, Major R. R. Wright, founder and active President of the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company of Philadelphia, celebrated his 92nd birthday. His success and vigorous activity made front page and feature stories in a number of daily and weekly papers. His life was reviewed in the *Negro Digest* and on the occasion of his trip to the West Coast, he was entertained at an interracial dinner with E. B. Krick, Vice-President and Cashier of the American Trust Company of San Francisco. The attention given Major Wright focused attention upon Negro banks in general and afforded an opportunity to re-state the fine record made by them in support of the war effort.

These banking institutions initiated many local efforts to encourage thrift and savings among Negroes who were earning peak wages. Their increased bank deposits were thus revealed in many press reports. "Now in the Million Dollar Class" was the headline in several local papers which told of this growth in assets. In Newport News, for example, where the shipyards employed thousands of Negroes, the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* making comment, said: "Announcement last week that the Crown Savings Bank of Newport News, Virginia, has resources of over $1,000,000 emphasizes anew the favorable existing opportunities for business enterprise and economic achievements by the race in vital defense areas such as that wherein this progressive institution serves constituents of all races." Other banks reported as having "resources well over the million mark" were the Citizens Savings Bank and Trust Company of Nashville—oldest Negro bank; Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham; Danville (Virginia) Savings Bank; Consolidated Bank and Trust Company of Richmond; Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company of Philadelphia and Citizens Trust Company of Atlanta. "This increased activity," said the *New York Age* in 1942, "is attributed to sound business acumen and favorable economic conditions stimulated by the war economy."

More Negro Banks Needed

The growth of these banks encouraged the *Chicago Defender*, in February, 1944, to suggest the need for more banks. "If we take a look over the country," said the Defender, "we will find several Negro owned banks specializing in the credit needs of colored business. But unfortunately they are altogether too few. And in most of the larger Northern cities where there is a heavy concentrated population of colored people, there are none at all."

In an interview, L. D. Milton, of the Citizens Trust Company of Atlanta said, in 1946, that some of the "fast" money earned by Negroes during the war went into enterprises but they were mostly "good time" places which had lush periods when service men by the thousands were passing through. While he deplored the fact that more of the "fast" money did not go into business of a more substantial and enduring nature, he observed that during the war period the steady, substantial Negro did buy and erect homes. Of bond buyers, Mr. Milton reported that too large a majority of those who participated in payroll deduction plans cashed their bonds and converted them in "fast" money. "Many Negroes," he said, "bought bonds voluntarily and are keeping them. So our bond-cashing has gradually tapered down."

There are signs that in the post-war period there may be an increase in Negro banking institutions. Plans have already been announced for opening a bank in Kansas City. H. W. Sewing, Bishop J. A. Gregg, Dr. S. D. Scruggs, and Bishop J. A. Hamlett are among those supporting the Kansas City institution and Dr. J. E. Walker, able and versatile President of Universal Life Insurance Company, shared his experience and prestige in establishing the new bank in Memphis, Tenn.

List of Negro Banks

Citizens & Southern Bank and Trust Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Georgia
Consolidated Bank & Trust Company, Richmond, Virginia
Danville Savings Bank and Trust Company, Danville, Virginia
Crown Savings Bank, Newport News, Virginia
Citizens & Savings Bank & Trust Company, Nashville, Tennessee
Farmers State Bank, Boley, Oklahoma
Fraternal Bank and Trust Company, Fort Worth, Texas
Industrial Bank of Washington, Washington, D. C.
Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina
Tri-State Bank Company, Universal Life Building, 234 Hernando Street, Memphis, Tennessee
Victory Savings Bank, Columbia, South Carolina

CREDIT UNIONS

From Bulletin No. 850 entitled, *Activities of Credit Unions in 1944*, and published by the United States Department of Labor, we have the following facts concerning Negro credit unions: By the end of 1944, a total of 91 credit unions had been organized, under the Federal Act, among Negroes. Of these, 74, or 81 per cent, were in active operation at the end of the year, and the remainder were inoperative or had their charters canceled. For the entire group of Federal credit unions—both white and Negro—74 per cent were active.

Table 2 compares the 72 Negro associations for which data were available with the whole group of 3,795 reporting Federal credit unions. As it indicates, the Negro associations, although smaller than the average for all Federal credit unions and less well financed, were holding their own very well and even excelled the showing of the whole group as regards bad loans that had to be written off.

TABLE 2

Negro Associations Compared With Total Associations 1944

ITEM	Reporting Negro Associations	Reporting Federal Associations
Total Number of Associations	72	3,795
Actual Membership as Per Cent Total Membership	34	33
Average Members Per Association	174	343
Total Share Capital	$ 642,711	$ 133,586,147
Average Per Association	$ 6,926	$ 35,200
Average Per Member	$ 51	$ 102
Total Assets	$ 683,100	$ 144,266,156
Total Loans Outstanding	$ 230,756	$ 34,403,467
Per Cent Current	87	85
Per Cent Military Loans	2	5
Per Cent Delinquent, 20 mos. or more	11	10
Reserves for Bad Loans as Per Cent of Loans Outstanding	9	13
Total Loans Since Organization	$ 1,723,451	$ 657,786,637
Bad Loans as Per Cent of Total	0.09	0.13

Credit unions in churches have been encouraged by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Dr. George E. Haynes of the Council has taken an active interest in the movement in Harlem, with the result that such unions now exist in half dozen or more of the larger institutions.

In Detroit the Fannie B. Peck Credit Union of the Bethel A. M. E. Church reported in 1941, 3,000 members, 390 loans totaling $15,573.70 and assets of $6,372.48.

An unusual story of a credit union was told in the *Chicago Defender* June 1, 1946. It is the moving story of Simpson P. Dean who organized the Light of Tyrrell Credit Union in Tyrrell County, North Carolina. We quote: "It financed the purchase of a cooperative sawmill and the construction and remodelling of 16 homes. The credit union also launched the Light of Tyrrell credit store with 300 members and more than $30,000 annual volume of business. Through efforts of the credit union, 72 farms in the county are owned by Negroes. Hundreds have savings accounts up to $2,500. The health standards of the county have risen through the Tyrrell Hospital Association."

CONTRACTING

In general, Negro contracting participation in providing goods and services for war uses were meager. Emmer Martin Lancaster, Advisor on Negro Affairs in the United States Department of Commerce, after a thorough canvass of all Federal agencies to ascertain the number of contracts awarded to Negroes, reported the following late in 1942: "The lack of information possessed by Negro merchants as to Army and Navy procurement procedure, has reduced to a minimum their business relations with these departments. However, these agencies generally expressed their desire 'to extend all economic assistance possible' and urged the Department of Commerce to furnish them 'the names of business concerns to receive invitations to bid for requirements of these offices.'"

Assistant Administrator Baird Snyder and William J. Trent, Jr., Race Relations Officer, Federal Works Agency, reported the following negotiations with architectural and construction firms: Samuel F. Plato of Louisville, Kentucky, was awarded several contracts by the Public Buildings Administration for the construction of Post Office Buildings and defense housing projects. The firm of McKissack and McKissack of Nashville, Tennessee, constructed several school buildings in Tennessee under the Public Works Administration program. Hilyard A. Robinson, architect of Washington, D. C., was appointed architect consultant to the Public Buildings Administration for the design of a defense housing project at Sparrows Point, Maryland. The firm of Robinson, Porter and Williams was awarded the contract for architectural services on the Langston Terrace Housing Project in Washington, D. C., which was developed by the Public Works Administration.

Army and Navy Awards

"The Allied Engineers, Inc., an architectural engineering firm of California, was successful in securing an award from the Bureau of Yards and Docks, United States Navy, for the architectural design of the United States Fleet Base, Long Beach, California, a $39,000,000 construction project. Paul R. Williams, Negro architect, organized this firm in company with six other architects, secured the Navy contract and officiated as architect on this project which netted his firm a fee of $200,000. Recently, Mr. Williams formed the Standard Demountable Homes Company of California and is negotiating with the Government to construct demountable homes for war workers."

The largest prime contract awarded by the War Department to a Negro owned company is reported by the United States Engineer Office of Mobile, Alabama. The firm of McKissack & McKissack of Nashville, Tennessee was awarded a contract for the construction of an airfield and cantonment near Tuskegee, Alabama, on the 27th day of May 1941, to the amount of $1,451,478. This contract was extended by twelve supplemental agreements, totaling $4,201,358. The fee of said contract was $47,058. Mr. Hilyard R. Robinson, Washington, D. C., was awarded a fixed fee contract of $7,500 for architectural services.

"The District of Columbia awarded a joint contract to Alexander and Repass and A. M. Cohron & Son, both of Des Moines, Iowa, for the construction of the Independence Avenue structures to the amount of approximately $775,000. The Independence Avenue structures comprise three separate structures, namely, a bridge across the north end of the Tidal Basin, the seawall structure and a grade separation structure. . . . The master project, involving a number of sub-projects, was financed on the basis of approximately 75 per cent Federal and 25 per cent District of Columbia."

COOPERATIVES

During the war period, cooperatives among Negro farmers made marked advancement. This growth was stimulated by the great demand for farm products with its attendant higher prices and the scarcity of farm implements and equipment. A typical example is that of a dozen Negro farmers in and around Millen, Georgia, who in 1943, under the guidance of R. T. Church, Negro county agent, purchased cooperatively a peanut harvesting machine. After servicing their own farms, the machine was operated on other farms and this extra service enabled them to pay for it the first year.

College Cooperatives

College cooperatives showed steady advancement during the period and rendered an increasingly valuable service to faculty and students. Notable examples are: The Community Consumers Cooperative at Industrial College, Georgia. Founded with $31.00 and the enthusiasm of a handful of students and faculty members, the organization in 1944 owned property valued at $5,000 and did a gross business in excess of $25,000.

Twin Pine Cooperative Store was organized at Jackson College, Mississippi. President J. L. Reddix of the college was one of the original founders of the Cooperative Store in Gary, Indiana, which attracted nation-wide interest. This store sells school supplies, light lunches and soft drinks. In 1941-42 the project grossed $2,400 but more recently has been moved into larger quarters on the campus and its service extended. Fort Valley State College reports organization of a student-faculty cooperative which shows progress.

Urban Cooperatives

Conspicuous examples of the success of the urban cooperative store are the Red Circle Group, Richmond, Va., and the Altgeld Gardens Co-op Food Store, Chicago, Ill. "110 pioneer families in the Altgeld Gardens public housing community pitched in about $20.00 each and started a store on September 4, 1944. Worth $34,000, it grosses $9,000 weekly and expects to turn back to the 1,300 customer families between twelve and fifteen thousand dollars in 1946."

Concerning the Red Circle group in Richmond, Virginia, Wiley A. Hall, Executive Secretary of the Richmond Urban League, who has worked closely with E. R. Storrs, the President, says: "At the outbreak of the war, Red Circle had four stores all of which were doing well. The war began to take away manpower; satisfactory replacements were difficult with the result that one store closed. We continued to suffer from inefficient help and rationing simply added to our difficulties." With the end of the war, two of their men returned and with a full and efficient working force Red Circle Stores are rapidly regaining their pre-war volume.

In Chicago, the People's Consumers Cooperative Store experienced similar difficulties. In Washington, D. C., Negro cooperative stores were opened in the Frederick Douglass and Langston Terrace Housing Projects. In St. Paul, Minnesota, and New Haven, Connecticut, inter-racial consumers cooperative stores have been opened. The New Haven store began in 1935 as a buying-club and in 1943 had 800 white and colored members. Their grocery store reported annual gross volume of $200,000. The St. Paul store opened for operations in 1945 and in the first six months reported gross monthly sales of more than $7,000.

Credit unions have been an important factor in stimulating interest and accumulating sufficient capital reserves to begin store operations. This was the experience of the Peoples Cooperative Store located in the Tuskegee Institute, Alabama community; and the Ayden (North Carolina) Cooperative Exchange, which began in 1941 as Bright Leaf Credit Union.

INSURANCE COMPANIES

Negro insurance companies prospered during the war period and generously shared their prosperity with the Government by purchasing through the Seventh War Loan a total of $21,156,198.13 in war bonds.*

Alert to the selling implications involved in the promotional campaigns initiated by the United States Treasury Department to sell bonds, Negro insurance executives, through their national association, greatly intensified their efforts to induce Negroes to purchase insurance while their wages and incomes were high.

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*Report of C. L. Townes to Executive Committee, National Negro Insurance Association, July 12, 1945.

"I hope," said C. C. Spaulding, President of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company of Durham, in 1943, "that our people will not be like the 'foolish virgins' during this boom period and waste all of their substance, but that they will instead salt away some of it. The present employment situation is artificial." Such sound advice was voiced by other leaders in the insurance field and results were manifested in heightened agency sales records and premium income.

Selective Service drained off much of the experienced manpower in the agency forces but women were called in to fill the ranks and most of them were developed into capable sales people. How this situation was met was best described by C. L. Townes, Secretary of the Virginia Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company, who in his report to company stockholders in 1945 said: "Despite the tremendous war-time problems of manpower shortage, the two years covered by this report represent the most progressive period we have experienced in the history of the company. We have never allowed black-outs, dim-outs, rationing of gasoline and tires, travel restrictions, the draft, mandates of the War Manpower Commission or any of the many governmental regulations to deter our dogged determination to keep climbing." President Booker T. Bradshaw of this institution reported that company assets had almost doubled and surplus, tripled.

The stabilizing and coordinating force behind the sales and promotion campaigns of these insurance companies was the National Negro Insurance Association which celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1945.

Promotional Campaigns

Promotional campaigns such as the annual "Essay Contest," "Collection Month" and "Insurance Week" were stepped up during the war period. Thus public attention was focused on the value and necessity of insurance as well as the character and stability of Negro Insurance companies.

A measure of public response to National Negro Insurance Week is indicated by comparing face values of policies contracted for during the campaign. In 1940, the amount was $23,651,569.08 and in 1945 was increased to $33,839,337.76.

Further indication of growth was shown in the report of A. Maceo Walker, association Actuary during the 1945 session of the Executive Committee. The report said:

"The total income for 1944 was $36,091,576.17. This represents our largest gain in any one year. In 1943, our total income was $28,671,338.65. This is an increase of $7,420,237.52. Our increase for 1943 over 1942 was $4,138,778.01.

"Our total premium income was $32,861,152.90. Our total premium income in 1943 was $26,166,325.03. This is a gain of $6,694,827.87, which is a considerable increase.

Our Income by Years is as follows:

TYPE OF INSURANCE	1942	1943	1944
Ordinary	$ 3,369,589.20	$ 3,689,734.77	$ 4,583,441.93
Industrial H. & A.	9,122,725.25	10,243,341.36	10,806,672.93
Industrial Life	9,164,612.63	10,223,436.63	16,011,961.26
Other industrial	893,764.97	988,617.26	1,417,310.35
Group	20,376.66	21,062.51	21,132.40
All Other	4,406.93	132.50	20,634.03

Not only in bond-buying did the Negro Insurance Association assist in the war effort, for their anti-inflation committee did such effective work that Chester Bowles sent a message of appreciation. This committee encouraged insurance agents to work with local price panels and other OPA activities.

In 1943, Emmer Martin Lancaster issued his first annual report on Negro insurance companies which included records of 202 companies including burial associations as well as health-life and accident companies.

Discrimination and Insurance

Even some instances of discrimination were injected into the historical review of Negro insurance during the war period.

Legislation enacted in 1941 as a result of the efforts of Assemblyman James Stephens, Negro member of the New York Legislature, was designed to prevent certain forms of discrimination against Negroes by some of the insurance companies. One nationally known company in New York which is said to carry more insurance on Negroes than all the Negro insurance companies combined, countered by announcing a policy of "not soliciting applications for insurance from colored persons in the State of New York." Later this same company offered to "sell" its Harlem business to Negro insurance companies.

J. W. Pate, writing in the *Chicago Bee*, June 20, 1943, reported that despite a Minnesota law which prohibits insurance companies from discriminating against citizens on account of race or color, the Cooperative Life Insurance Company of St. Paul had adopted a discriminatory policy against Negroes.

An Associated Negro Press story from New Haven, Connecticut, March 17, 1945, contained a protest from the CIO New Haven Industrial Union Council that certain "big" insurance companies in Connecticut were grossly discriminating against Negro applicants.

An editorial in the *New York Age*, December 20, 1941, said: "Charging that Negro insurance brokers have experienced difficulty in the placing of automobile liability and property damage insurance for their Negro clients, a group of Harlem brokers have recently gotten together to form the United Insurance Brokers Association and upon completion of the organization, plan to write this type of insurance."

Another Associated Negro Press story, July 10, 1943, from Detroit, tells of a group of Negro business men forming an insurance company that will insure clients against police brutality and injuries sustained in riots. T. W. Boyd, leader of the movement, plans for the company to operate on a nation-wide basis.

Awareness of these conditions inspired Joseph D. Bibb, *Pittsburgh Courier* columnist, to write, June 14, 1941: "Colored people paid over $40,000,000 into white insurance companies last year and in spite of this staggering sum of money spent, they received the sum total of no jobs in return. . . . Colored insurance companies last year received a little over $9,000,000 in premium income from colored people and gave 5,000 jobs to their own people, as well as gilt-edged protection."

During the five-year period, 1941-46, some significant occurrences deserve mention. In 1941, M. S. Cabiness and John Drew, Tuskegee, Alabama, representatives of Alexander & Company, Insurance Brokers, Atlanta, Georgia, placed five types of insurance required for the Tuskegee Army Air Field. The Carver Life Insurance Company of Oakland, California, was chartered in 1945. Also in 1945, Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Company of Los Angeles, California, purchased valuable property for erection of a new home office building. The first insurance charter to be granted to a company owned and operated by Negroes in the State of New York was presented in 1945 to Dr. Charles N. Ford, President of the United Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Membership List
National Negro Insurance Association
1945-46

Afro-American Life Insurance Co., 101-105 E. Union St., Jacksonville 2, Fla.
Atlanta Life Insurance Company, 148 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 1, Ga.
Booker T. Washington Burial Insurance Co., 1530 5th Ave., North, or (P. O. Box 2621), Birmingham 2, Ala.
Bradford's Funeral System, Inc., 1525 7th Avenue, North, Birmingham, Ala.
Central Life Insurance Company, 1416 North Boulevard, Tampa 7, Fla.
Commonwealth Burial Association, 12-18 E. Garfield Boulevard, Chicago 15, Ill.
Domestic Life & Accident Insurance Co., 601 West Walnut Street, Louisville 3, Ky.
Dunbar Life Insurance Company, 7609 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland 3, Ohio

Excelsior Life Insurance Company, 818 Good Street, Dallas 1, Tex.
The Federal Life Insurance Company, 1818 7th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Fireside Mutual Insurance Company, 1183 East Long Street, Columbus 3, Ohio
Gertrude Geddes Willis Industrial Life & Burial Insurance Company, 2120-28 Jackson Avenue, New Orleans 13, La.
Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Co., 4261 Central Avenue, Los Angeles 11, Calif.
Good Citizens' Mutual Benefit Association, Inc., 1809 Dryades Street, New Orleans 13, La.
Gibraltar Industrial Life Insurance Co., 640 North West Street, Indianapolis 2, Ind.
Great Lakes Mutual Insurance Company, 301 East Warren Avenue, Detroit 7, Mich.
Guaranty Life Insurance Company, 460 West Broad Street, Savannah, Ga.
Jackson Mutual Life Insurance Co., 4636 South Parkway, Chicago, 15, Ill.
Keystone Life Insurance Co., 1505 St. Bernard Avenue, New Orleans 16, La.
Louisiana Industrial Life Insurance Co., 2107 Dryades Street, New Orleans 13, La.
Mammoth Life & Accident Insurance Co., 608 West Walnut Street, Louisville 3, Ky.
Metropolitan Funeral System Association, 4455 South Parkway, Chicago 15, Ill.
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., 112-114½ Parrish St., or Box 201, Durham, N. C.
Peoples Insurance Company, Inc., 550 St. Michael Street, Mobile 10, Ala.
Pilgrim Health & Life Insurance Co., 1143 Gwinett Street, Augusta, Ga.
Protective Industrial Insurance Co., 528½ North Third Street, Birmingham, Ala.
Provident Home Industrial Mutual Life, 1734 Christian Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Richmond Beneficial Insurance Company, 700-02 North Second Street, Richmond, Va.
Safety Industrial Life Insurance, 1128 North Claiborne Street, New Orleans, La.
Southern Aid Society of Virginia, 214 East Clay Street, Richmond, Va.
Southern Life Insurance Co., 1841 Pennsylvania Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Standard Industrial Life Insurance Co., 1530 North Claiborne Street, New Orleans, La.
Supreme Camp of the American Woodmen, 2130 Downing Street, Denver 5, Colo.
Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Co., 3501 South Parkway, Chicago, Ill.
Superior Life Insurance Society, 319 Kirby Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Union Protective Assurance Company, 368 Beale Street, Memphis, Tenn.
United Mutual Life Insurance Company, 360 West 125th Street, New York, N. Y.
Unity Mutual Life Insurance Co., 4719 Indiana Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Universal Life Insurance Company, 234 Hernando Street, Memphis, Tenn.
Victory Industrial Life Insurance Co., 2019 Louisiana Street, New Orleans, La.
Victory Mutual Life Insurance Co., 5607 So. State Street, Chicago, Ill.
Virginia Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Co., 214 East Clay Street, Richmond, Va.
Watchtower Life Insurance Company, 222 West Dallas Avenue, Houston, Tex.
Winston Mutual Life Insurance Co., P. O. Box 998, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Wright Mutual Life Insurance Co., 4808 Beaubien Street, Detroit, Mich.

List of Underwriters Associations

Akron Insurance Managers' Council, 22 West Market Street, Akron, Ohio.
Chicago Negro Insurance Association, 4636 South Parkway, Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati Managers' Council, 612 West 9th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Georgia Negro Underwriters Association, 523 Cotton Avenue, Macon, Ga.
Insurance Managers' Council of Cleveland, 2321 East 55th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Insurance Managers' Council of District of Columbia, 1818 Seventh Street, Washington, D. C.
Lexington Negro Underwriters Association, 180 Dweese Street, Lexington, Ky.
Insurance Underwriters' Association of Michigan, 4808 Beaubien Street, Detroit, Mich.
Newport News Underwriters Association, P. O. Box 562, Newport News, Va.
Norfolk Underwriters Association, Box 1288, Norfolk, Va.
North Carolina Negro Insurance Association, Rocky Mount, N. C.
South Carolina Negro Insurance Association, Box 778, Columbia, S. C.
Underwriters' Association of Maryland, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Washington Life Underwriters' Association, 717 Florida Avenue, Washington, D. C.
West Side Negro Underwriters' Association, Station B, Box 132, Dayton, Ohio.

NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE

Serving as President of the League from 1939 to 1944, Dr. J. E. Walker, President of Universal Life Insurance Company of Memphis, Tennessee, steered this organization through the critical war years to new heights of service to the Negro race and to the nation.

The same year that Dr. Walker was elected President, Dr. F. D. Patterson, Chairman of the Steering Committee, put the League upon a budget basis and with Dr. Walker's untiring efforts the organization moved into a self-supporting basis.

The League and The War Effort

The League's special war and defense work began in 1941 when Emmer Martin Lancaster, Adviser on Negro Affairs, United States Department of Commerce, invited officers of the League to cooperate in the first conference on Negro business which was held in the auditorium of the Commerce Department in Washington. The National League's regional Vice-Presidents became regional consultants on defense activities initiated by the Commerce Department through Mr. Lancaster's office.

The Executive Secretary of the League worked closely with the United States Department of Commerce, the United States Chamber of Commerce and all agencies of the Government whose programs affected retail operations. Such information was relayed to local organizations and published in the Business League section of *Service* Magazine.

In a letter dated May 26, 1943, Dutton Ferguson, Information Specialist, Consumers Division OPA, wrote the Business League's Executive Secretary as follows: "Mr. Prentiss M. Brown, Administrator, Office of Price Administration, has brought to our attention the timely circulars which you have issued periodically to all the local branches of the National Negro Business League. In this connection, we are pleased to send you a marked copy of the current Administrative Order Number 4 (revised), concerned with the general organization and operation of local War, Price and Rationing Boards. You will note that sections of this Order specify the democratic composition expected within the membership of these Boards. The same recognition of racial and minority groups will be the responsibility of seeing that all regulations of this Order are observed." The Business League was alert to all forms of discrimination in OPA operations and made frequent reports to the proper officials.

Some of the activities of the Business League at local levels included: Victory garden campaigns in Houston and Shreveport in which the Negro Chamber of Commerce gave prizes and otherwise supported the efforts of the Negro county agents. Field representatives of the Consumers Division of OPA were presented at meetings sponsored by local Housewives Leagues. This was affected through contacts established between Miss Frances Williams of OPA and Mrs. Fannie B. Peck, National President of the Housewives League, an affiliate of the Business League.

In a tense situation in Houston, following the Beaumont riot, the Negro Chamber of Commerce took the initiative in working with the white Chamber of Commerce and city officials to avert a threatened racial flare-up. The full page advertisement in the *Houston Post* which they used was a model of alert thinking and inter-racial cooperation. Towards the end of the war, the Cleveland Business Alliance conducted an all-day conference on the GI Bill of Rights.

When the Committee for Economic Development was organized to prepare the nation for the readjustments of peace, the national office of the Business League established friendly contacts with the officials and the materials and instructions for planning at local levels was relayed through the national office to all local Leagues and other local Negro business groups.

War Time Business Clinics

Working in close cooperation with Mr. Lancaster of the Commerce Department, the National Business League began in 1943 holding a series of War Time Business Clinics. Clinics were held in Birmingham, St. Louis, New Orleans, Tyler, Texas, and in modified form in other places. The local affiliated Negro business group was host to the Clinic.

In the Clinic discussions, two definite facts were established: "First, Negroes who are engaged in business enterprises which relate to production and distribution need to know more concerning operative procedures of the several government War Emergency Agencies which deal with these processes. Second, problems of Negro adjustment to the program of these government agencies which may arise at community levels may be referred for broader interpretations to State and Regional offices of the respective agencies."

Work With War Bond Savings Clubs

During the 1943 convention of the Negro Business League which was held in Baltimore, Md., the Honorable Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, was the featured guest speaker. Contacts thus established with both white and Negro officials of the Treasury Department eventually led to the League receiving an invitation to head up a nation-wide movement to activate the Prattis Plan for organizing War Bond Savings Clubs in communities, which proposed:

"To acquaint Negroes of the United States with the necessity for thrift and economic freedom through the medium of the Treasury War Bond Program." To this end a score of leading American Negroes met in Washington, February 29 and devised plans for forming War Bond Savings Clubs throughout the United States.

In opening the one-day session, Dr. J. E. Walker, President of the National Negro Business League, Memphis, Tennessee, pointed out that Negroes have won high places in every activity of American life except in the field of economics and finance. "The War Bond Programs," he said, "offer an ideal medium for Negroes to learn the ways of economy and thrift and it is hoped will light the way to the eventual release from economic thralldom into which Negroes have allowed themselves to drift."

"The plan which will be used as a model for the War Bond Saving Clubs is that already established at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, through the efforts of P. L. Prattis, Executive Editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier* and originator of the plan. Under it, a specified number of citizens organize for the purpose of saving money each month to buy war bonds in whatever denomination their purses will allow. Each individual makes his own purchases in the manner prescribed by law and then deposits his or her war bond with the Secretary of the club for safekeeping. In this manner each organized group can see the economic strides being made through the medium of War Bond Savings and thus be spurred on to greater efforts for thrift."

A feature of the League's program which was an incentive for greater achievement in business was the establishment in 1940 of the C. C. Spaulding Annual Award for "meritorious" contributions towards the advancement of Negro business.

Later other awards were added. The Robert R. Moton Cup was presented by Dr. F. D. Patterson, President, Tuskegee Institute, for the city which during the year enrolled the largest local membership in the National League. All awards were presented as a feature of the annual convention.

WAR EXPERIENCES AND THE POST-WAR OUTLOOK

If the experiences which Negro business men had during the war served no other purpose, they did make them sharply aware of deficiencies in management technique.

Also, under pressure of the emergency, many discovered latent abilities which with imagination and courage enabled them successfully to venture into new undertakings.

Factors, many of which were by-products of a war economy, contributed to an understanding and an awakening which may in the post-war period lead to achievements far beyond the pre-war record.

Unfortunately, Census figures on Negro proprietorships for 1945 are not available for comparison with those of 1939. However, opinions gathered from various sources indicate that there has been a considerable increase. Taverns, night clubs and eating places, particularly in and near war industry plants and areas where soldiers were encamped, prospered during the war period.

Some of the factors which are contributing to a more favorable outlook may be listed as follows:

Negro newspapers including the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Afro-American*, the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, the *Atlanta World*, the *Amsterdam News*, the *Chicago Defender*, have during the period of this study explored and presented to their readers feature stories of unique business enterprises operated by Negroes. Johnson Young's six barber shops in Atlanta; Safe Bus Company of Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Ted Vidal, New York Negro furrier; Louis McKenzie of New York, first Negro to become an accredited representative of a major air-line; William Ellison, World War veteran, who has established in New York City a plastic manufacturing company; Jon K. Butler, Washington, D. C., Milliner; Winifred Mason, maker of costume jewelry in Greenwich Village, New York; and Mildred Blount, Hollywood, California, Milliner, and many others furnish evidence of Negro business capacity.

Many of our leaders have sensed impending opportunities for post-war expansion of Negro business and presented them for consideration and study as part of an overall program. Negro undertaking business offers an example. Early in 1941, Charles E. Hall, retired Census Bureau statistician, proposed in a syndicated article that the several small casket manufacturers of the race combine and on a cooperative basis operate the casket business of Negroes. From reliable data he estimates that such a company would be capable of doing a million dollars in business a year. That sound thinking is rapidly converging on organized expansion in this field is revealed in the recent establishment in Atlanta of a college of Mortuary Science. R. R. Reed, also of Atlanta and Editor of the *Colored Mortician* estimates the Negro public pays to the 3,000 Negro funeral directors more than $22,000,000 a year and states that there are 17 Negro firms manufacturing embalming fluids and other supplies for morticians.

James A. "Billboard" Jackson of New York holds a very unique position with the Standard Oil Company and is the only Negro member of the American Marketing Society. Early in 1945, Mr. Jackson discussed the Negro market for this scientific group. He showed that Negro fraternal organizations with large memberships and valuable assets, Negro insurance companies with millions of assets and policy-nolders, Negro trade unionists, 68,000 Negro teachers, thousands of Negro physicians and dentists, Negro government employees and even the 2,000 Negro families in the Middle West with substantial incomes from oil properties were all listed as a part of the Negro Market, to the amazement of his audience.

STUDY OF NEGRO BUSINESS AND BUSINESS EDUCATION

Early in 1944, with a grant from the General Education Board, Atlanta University and the National Urban League sponsored a "Study of Negro Business and Business Education." Representatives of the National Negro Business League and the United States Department of Commerce were invited to attend the original planning meeting which was held at Atlanta University. A total of 3,866 Negro owned and operated business enterprises were studied in Atlanta, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Durham, Houston, Memphis, Nashville, New Orleans, Richmond, Savannah, St. Louis and Washington, D. C. The study also included business education courses in Atlanta University, Clark College, Dillard University, Fisk University, Georgia State College, Hampton Institute, Louisville Municipal College, Morehouse College, Morgan State College, Morris Brown College, North Carolina College for Negroes, Spelman College, Tennessee A. & I. State College, Virginia State College, Virginia Union University and Wilberforce University.

Dr. Joseph A. Pierce of Atlanta University who was Research Director for the study addressed a conference at Howard University in April, 1946, on the subject of *Problem Areas for Negroes in Small Business.* In reviewing the findings of the Atlanta University-National Urban League Study, Dr. Pierce said: "The life blood of business is patronage, and Negroes in business want and need patronage. The study of Negro consumers revealed that Negro businesses are capturing only a small percentage of their potential patronage. For articles like clothing and shoes, about 99 per cent of the consumers trade with businesses operated by whites. For furniture,-hardware, and other household supplies the percentage of Negroes who buy from Negro businesses are slightly higher but not significantly so. Even for groceries, and in the twelve cities surveyed there are 293 grocery stores operated by Negroes, only about 28 per cent of the Negro consumers trade with Negro concerns. The service and semi-service lines of business get a larger share of the Negro's patronage, due largely to social forces which restrict their patronage to Negro concerns.

"A combination of factors is probably responsible for the lack of Negro patronage. Few business operators actually study their markets and attempt to determine consumer preferences and practices. Also, little attention is given to sales promotion. Only 0.7 per cent of the sales or income dollar of the retail stores studied was allocated to advertising. Yet, according to one authority, 'Few successful retail stores spend less than two per cent for advertising,' while the majority spend three per cent or more. Other factors like service to customers, quality of merchandise and appearance of the establishment are of paramount importance in the operator's efforts to expand the patronage of his enterprise.

"The study of business revealed an alarming condition in the training of business personnel—both management and employees. In the 3,866 businesses studied, the average operator had only 9.6 years of schooling and 81 per cent of the total have had no formal business education. Yet, data on volume of business by extent of education of the operator indicated that there is high correlation between education and the financial success of the business.

"Then, there is the area of accounting and record keeping. The need for adequate records has been pointed out so frequently that no additional emphasis is necessary here. The fact is, however, that Negroes in small business still do not keep adequate records. Moreover, many—15 per cent in the study—do not keep records of any type.

"In addition to expansion and growth, Negro business men must seek new fields to conquer. New lines of business, not even yet on the scene, are sure to emerge in the post-war era. They will result from discoveries and inventions made possible by war discoveries. The varied experiences of American men and women with foreign cultures and quasi-adaption to them will create brand-new wants to be satisfied."

In pre-war days, Negroes like Harold Ross of St. Louis and Menelik Jackson of Atlanta, had demonstrated their selling ability for household electrical appliances. They were not merely salesmen. They operated branch offices with their own staffs of highly trained sales people. When the war came, the idea was taking hold rapidly and there were many Negroes operating in a sales capacity with great success. As production is resumed, more and more Negroes are being offered opportunities to become salesmen, travelling representatives and branch managers. There is also evidence that in the postwar expansion of chain stores—dry goods, women's apparel, men's clothing, hosiery—plans are being seriously considered to study the Negro market with its possibilities for Negro operated branches in such Negro population centers as Atlanta, Georgia; Birmingham, Alabama; New Orleans, Louisiana and Houston, Texas.

The foregoing trends appear to offer Negro business the opportunity and the implements for solidifying many of the gains made during the war and pyramiding those pre-war experiences which will assure a normal and stable growth.

DIVISION IX

THE RACE PROBLEM AND RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

By W. HARDIN HUGHES

Pasadena, California

RACIAL CLASSIFICATIONS INEXACT

The races of mankind have been variously classified depending upon the extent to which acquired characters, in addition to the biological, have been included in racial definitions. The earlier classifications were confused as well as multiplied by the failure to distinguish between the cultural and the biological factors. Although there is practical agreement among sociologists and anthropologists today, that race should be defined in terms of biological characters, racial classifications are still inexact. In all places where divergent peoples have come in contact, whether in war or in peace, an offspring of mixed stock has resulted. The most we can say concerning any human stock is that it tends to possess more or less of certain physical characters. "Criteria of fundamental races are valid," wrote Franz Boas, "only when they are common to all individuals of the race and are not found in other races. Thus the dark pigmentation, the frizzly hair, the broad nose of the true Negro are racial characteristics as contrasted with the slight pigmentation, blond, wavy hair and narrower nose of the north European.

"There are no races of man in which no overlapping occurs in regard to all traits examined. Negroes and Europeans may be tall or short, round headed or long headed, large or small brained. The averages and variables of these traits may differ, but the distributions are such that many if not most values are common to both races."

Distribution of Racial Populations

Roughly, the racial populations of the world are distributed as indicated in Table 1. The estimates are based on data published in the *Economic Almanac* by the National Industrial Conference Board, 1943-44.

Table 1.

Main Racial Divisions of World Population At End of 1939*

Division	Population	Per Cent of Total
Caucasian	848,000,000	39.8
Mongolian	795,000,000	36.6
Negro	250,000,000	11.5
Malayan	125,000,000	5.7
Semitic	117,000,000	5.4
Red Indian	35,000,000	1.6
Racial Total	2,170,000,000	100.0+

*-Estimated.

In Table 2, the distribution of the Negro and Mulatto population in the Western Hemisphere is shown. It will be noted that practically 10 per cent of the 250,000,000 Negroes of the world live in the Americas. This per cent, however, does not include the 15,000,000 who are classified as Mulattoes in the Americas outside the United States. It will be noted, also, that the Mulattoes of the United States are classified as Negroes. The figures add up to approximately 41,000,000 people of color in the Western Hemisphere.

Table 2.
American Negro and Mulatto Population in the Western Hemisphere, 1940

	Negro Population	Per Cent of Total	Mulatto Population	Per Cent of Total	Total Population All Races
North of Mexico:					
Greenland	0	.00	Included Under Negroes		18,000
Alaska	150	.21			72,361
Canada	20,559	1.80			11,422,000
United States	12,865,518*	9.80			131,669,275
TOTAL	12,886,227	9.00			143,181,636
Mexico, Antilles, Central America:					
Mexico	80,000	.41	40,000	.20	19,446,065
Antilles	5,500,000	39.29	3,000,000	21.43	14,000,000
Guatemala	4,011	.12	2,000	.06	3,284,269
British Honduras	15,000	25.55	20,000	34.03	58,759
Honduras	55,275	4.99	10,000	.90	1,107,859
El Salvador	100	.0001	100	.0001	1,744,535
Nicaragua	90,000	6.52	40,000	2.88	1,380,387
Costa Rica	26,900	4.09	20,000	.14	656,129
Panama	82,871	13.12	271,208	42.91	631,549
TOTAL	5,854,157	13.84	3,408,308	8.04	42,309,452
South America:					
Columbia	405,076	4.40	2,205,382	24.32	9,206,283
Venezuela	100,000	2.79	1,000,000	27.93	3,580,000
British Guiana	100,000	20.30	80,000	23.44	541,237
Dutch Guiana	17,000	9.55	20,000	11.23	177,980
French Guiana	1,000	.25	1,000	.25	40,000
Ecuador	50,000	2.00	150,000	6.00	2,500,000
Peru	29,054	.41	80,000	.71	7,023,111
Bolivia	7,800	.26	5,000	.15	3,300,000
Brazil	5,789,924	14.00	8,276,321	20.01	41,356,695
Paraguay	5,000	.52	5,000	.52	960,000
Uruguay	10,000	.46	50,000	2.30	2,145,545
Chile	1,000	.02	3,000	.06	5,023,539
Argentina	5,000	.038	10,000	.076	13,129,723
TOTAL	6,520,854	7.34	11,885,708	13.38	88,784,023
SUMMARY:					
North of Mexico	12,886,227	9.00	Included Under Negroes		143,181,638
Mexico, Antilles and Central America	5,854,157	13.84	3,408,308	8.04	42,309,452
South America	6,520,854	7.34	11,885,708	13.40	88,784,023
Total in Americas in 1940	25,261,238	9.21	15,289,011	5.56	274,275,111

Adapted from Angel Rosenblatt, La Poblacion indigene de America, desde 1492 hasta la actualidad, Institucion Cultural Espanola, Buenos Aires, 1945. This table is taken from an article by Frank Tannenbaum in Political Science Quarterly, March 1946.

*—United States Census Report, 1940.

THE THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF THE RACE PROBLEM AND OF RACE RELATIONS

The Negro's Peculiar Adventure

The Negro of the United States has had a long adventure since his departure from Africa. "Looked at from the Negro's point of view," writes Tannenbaum, "it has been a good adventure. In spite of the slave trade, in spite of the horrors of the middle passage, in spite of the centuries of slavery, the Negro has accommodated himself to the New World in a manner not merely creditable but surprising. . . . He is part of the nation. He is active, vocal, self-assertive, and a living force. He has become culturally an European, or, if you will, an American. . . . This adventure of the Negro in the New World has been more different in the United States than in the other parts of this hemisphere. In spite of his complete identification with the mores of the United States, he is excluded and denied. A barrier has been drawn against the Negro. This barrier has never been completely effective, but it has served to deny him the very things that are of greatest value among us—equality of opportunity for growth and development as a man among men. With us the shadow of slavery is still cast ahead; and we behave toward the Negro as if the imputation of slavery had something of a 'slave by nature' in it. The emancipation may have legally freed the Negro, but it failed morally to free the white man, and by that fact denied to the Negro the moral status requisite for effective legal freedom. . . . We have denied ourselves the acceptance of the Negro as a man because we have denied him the moral competence to become one, and in that we have challenged the religious, the political and the scientific basis upon which our civilization and our scheme of values rest. This separation has historical basis, and, in turn, it has molded the variable historical outcome."

The "Negro Problem"

In a very real sense, the problem which we usually designate as "Negro" is a white problem created not by Negroes but by white Americans. "The concept, 'Negro problem'," wrote H. A. Overstreet, "is one of many stereotypes that distort thinking and make it difficult for whites to get themselves straight about what is really at issue. To speak of the 'Negro problem' is to assume that it is the colored man who has created and still creates some profound difficulty for the whites when as a matter of fact, it is the whites who, by their original enslavement and continuing maltreatment of the Negro, have created and kept on creating profound difficulties for Negroes and themselves."

This problem, as all others, is subjective and psychological. The objective factors are not in themselves sufficient to constitute a problem. In fact, several million human beings of two or more races, divided however unequally as to numbers, and occupying a single geographic region, are not a problem. It depends in large measure on the circumstances under which the races come together and the relative status and strength of each at the time of initial contact. Not even the fact of majority versus minority is sufficient to determine which race will attempt to dominate the other. Unhappily, so-called culture and civilization determine which will be the more successful in forcefully dominating the other.

An inter-racial problem very certainly arises when the dominant race in physical control possesses attitudes and initiates practices with respect to the dominated race inconsistent with their own best judgments and creeds. This inconsistency, in the words of Myrdal in his *American Dilemma*, is embarrassing. "It makes for moral uneasiness. The very presence of the Negro in America; his fate in this country through slavery, Civil War and Reconstruction; his recent career and his present status; his accommodation, his protest and his aspiration; in fact, his entire biological, historical, and social existence as a participant American represent to the ordinary white man in the North as well as in the South an anomaly in the very structure of American society. To many, this takes on the proportion of a menace—biological, economic, social, cultural, and, at times, political. This anxiety may be mingled with a feeling of individual and collective guilt. A few see the problem as a challenge. To all it is a trouble."

Conflict Between Ideal and Practice

Continuing, Myrdal says: "The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American. It is there that the inter-racial tension has its focus. It is there that the decisive struggle goes. . . . The American dilemma is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we call the 'American Creed,' where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests, economic, social, and sexual jealousies, considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook."

The "Negro-problem" from the viewpoint of the Negro, is very different from that of his white compatriot. Believing thoroughly in the American ideals of democracy, the educated and reflective Negro is conscious of the discrepancy between these ideals and the practices which constantly irritate him. What the illiberal white wishes to prevent in practice, the Negro conscientiously strives for; and the more thoroughly the Negro is imbued with the ideal of democracy, the more persistent he becomes in demanding his legtimate rights. Not infrequently, moreover, does his increasing understanding of his rights and responsibilities lead to inter-racial tension.

The Negro's Double Problem

"In such a situation," writes Ira De A. Reid in the July, 1945, issue of the *Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes*, "is the American Negro. His status in the United States is distinctly one of partial accommodation. He is at once a part of and apart from the social milieu in which he lives. He is, in theory, a growing part of the widening community subject to eventual integration, subject to all its vagaries and opportunities, and, in practice, a person living in a caste-like, separate behavior against the dominant race.

"All of this indicates that the race-conscious Negro American leads a double life, observing, on the one hand, most of the technical forms of the democratic community, and on the other, promoting strong bonds of sub-group interests and adjustment of racial aims. Since the fulfillment of his life in either group is never attained, his adjustment is always problematic and his philosophy is at most times slanted in favor of the sub-group where he finds his earliest adjustment—among his own people and their racial aims. This marginal status is reflected in the fact that in the normal or larger society the Negro is more or less continuously subjected to stimulations to which he cannot always acquire actual irresponsiveness, and to which he cannot react directly without suffering a real or imagined disadvantage. Yet, if Negroes withdraw to their own racial community they find an inadequacy which does not permit their full social adjustment. They, therefore, gain some satisfaction in being able to have a hyphenated status or relationship with the larger community. . . . The middle-of-the-road type of relationship represents an attempt to bridge the gap between the extremes of 'social integration,' the democratic deal, and 'racial aims'—the Negro community goal."

RACISM AND THE RACE PROBLEM

Racism Makes Problem Difficult

In the latter half of the 19th century, at a time when science had become almost a dogma to the common man, and white men were seeking better "reasons" for their inhuman treatment of colored people, rationalizations of a pseudo-scientific nature were resorted to. Had not the biologists declared the evolution of the animal world? And there were those who thought they knew which races had made greatest biological progress and which had made least. Invariably, the colored races were placed at the bottom of the assumed series. Biologists, of course, had never made such discovery, but some there were who interpreted their findings in this fashion.

Soon, nevertheless, many white men of the Western World, engaging in wishful thinking and seeking scientific explanations for their superior-inferior relations with colored races, formulated and proclaimed their racial doctrines. "The white race," declared Arthur de Gobineau in his "Essay on the Inequalities of the Races," "originally possessed the monopoly of beauty, intelligence, and strength. By its union with other varieties, hybrids were created, which were beautiful without strength, strong without intelligence, or if intelligent, both weak and ugly."

In superlative terms, wrote Houston Stewart Chamberlain in his *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century:* "the great radiant heavenly eyes, the golden hair, the gigantic stature, the symmetrical muscular development, the lengthened skull—which an ever active brain, tortured by longing had changed from the round lines of animal contentedness and extended toward the front—the lofty countenance required by an elevated spiritual life as the seat of expression," these, he declared, are characteristic of the white race.

The racism of Hitler and of other would-be-superior Nordics of the present century was only a slight modification of what de Gobineau and Chamberlain had formulated. "Judgment, truthfulness, and energy," declared the German scholar, Hans F. K. Gunther, "always distinguish the Nordic man. He feels a strong urge toward truth and justice. . . . He is never without a certain knightliness."

Racism in America

Thus wrote, and still write, the racists about themselves. Peoples have always thought well of their own virtues—real and imagined—and have not been too liberal in their estimates of others. During the present century, a pseudo-scientific doctrine of race has had its proponents in many parts of the world. Western nations have had disturbing fears of the "Yellow Peril"; and many Caucasian Americans have looked disdainfully and discriminatingly upon peoples of darker hue. At the very beginning of the 20th century, a leading senator, Albert J. Beveridge, in the Congress of the United States, speaking for the majority group of America, declared:

> "We will not renounce our part in the mission of the race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man. . . . What shall history say of us? Shall it say that, called by events to captain and command the proudest, ablest, purest race of history in history's noblest work, we declined the great commission? . . . Pray God the time may never come when mammon and the love of ease will so debase our blood that we will fear to shed it for the flag and its imperial destiny!"

Thus orated the senator on the tenth day of the 20th century. It was during this same period that the United States annexed the Philippines, Guam, and Eastern Samoa, made a territorial possession of Hawaii, and sent American troops to help police the Chinese ports.

Racism Fostered By Out-dated Theories

Because of the cumulative nature of libraries, which contain much more of the old than of the new, students are more likely than not to be exposed to racial theories and ideologies of the past. This, in itself, is not to be criticized; for it is sometimes as important to know the evolution of knowledge as to be familiar with the more refined conclusions of the present. Without guidance, however, the student is not likely to discriminate between the out-dated inferences of the past and the better tested conclusions upon which competent scientists are now agreed. While there is practical agreement among the outstanding social scientists today with respect to the basic similarities of races, it is not at all difficult to find the out-dated conclusions of the 19th century scientists not only in the books of our libraries but also in the minds of retarded scholars. In fact, many books published within the first quarter of this century contain copious so-called evidences of racial inequalities.

As late as 1910, in the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, we read, "Mentally, the Negro is inferior to the white. The remark of F. Manetta, made after a long study of the Negro in America may be taken as generally true of the whole race: 'The Negro children were sharp, intelligent, and full of vivacity, but on approaching the adult period a gradual change set in. The intellect seemed to become clouded, animation giving place to a sort of lethargy, yielding to indolence. We must necessarily suppose that the development of the Negro and the white proceeds on different lines. While with the latter the volume of the brain grows with the expansion of the brainpan, in the former the growth of the brain is, on the contrary, arrested by the premature closing of the cranial sutures and lateral pressure of the frontal bone!'" The quotation from F. Manetta, however, was not of recent origin even in 1910 but had been published in the first place as long ago as 1864.

Earlier Misinterpretations Corrected

Competent biologists no longer hold to the premature closing of the cranial sutures of the Negro, and psychologists have found other than physiological conditions to account for the seeming mental retardation of the older Negro children. Several studies have shown that very young children—both white and black—in poor and underprivileged homes tend to stand as high on the general intelligence scale as very young children of the more privileged homes. The older children in the underprivileged homes, however, have evidenced lower intelligence quotients than their younger brothers and sisters. The "Canal Children" of England, white children, when tested at the different ages, illustrate this principle. Studies of Otto Klineberg in

America reveal similar results concerning Negro children in underprivileged homes.

Most psychologists are now agreed that the younger the children when tested, the easier it is to find a common experiential basis for measuring their intelligence. Infants of whatever race have very similar experiences, but as they grow older the environments to which they respond become more differentiated. By the time children of different races, even though living in the same country, have reached adolescence, differences in their nurtures have become so great as to make impossible anything like a scientific comparison of their innate capacities.

The weakness of "general intelligence tests," well known to those who are now working in the field of psychological measurement, is this factor of unlike experiential backgrounds. This factor is sufficient in itself to falsify inferences based on test scores alone, relative to comparative potentialities of races. However helpful the tests are, and they have certain values in estimating the capacities of individuals whose environments and past experiences are similar, they are utterly inadequate in the comparative studies of races.

Social Scientists Do Not Accept Racism

Apropos in this connection, is the resolution of the American Psychological Association at its annual meeting in 1938: "In the experiments which psychologists have made upon different peoples," we read in the report, "no characteristic, inherent psychological differences, which fundamentally distinguish so-called races, have been disclosed. . . . Psychologists look elsewhere for the explanation of current racial hatred and persecution. . . . Racial and national attitudes are psychologically complex and cannot be understood except in terms of their economic, political, and historical backgrounds. Psychologists find no basis for the explanation of such attitudes in terms of innate differences between racial and national groups. The many attempts to establish such differences have so far met with failure. Even if successful, they would offer no justification for repressive treatment of the type now current in Germany. In the scientific investigations of human groups by psychologists, no conclusive evidence has been found for racial or national differences in native intelligence and inherited personality characteristics. Certainly no individual should be treated as inferior merely because of his membership in one human group rather than another."

Not less significant and convincing is the declaration of the American Ethnological Society at its centenary meeting in 1942. One hundred scientists representing the leading colleges and universities of the United States resolved:

> "That the American Ethnological Society, for one hundred years dedicated to the study of peoples not belonging to Western civilization, express . . . its profound conviction that racial persecution and discrimination cannot be scientifically justified. We protest the distortion of anthropology which falsely assigns inborn superiority to some one race and assigns inborn inferiority to others. Ethnological studies rouse enthusiasm for the inventions and social life of many peoples of all races and make it impossible to accept the dogma that a civilization depends upon the enslavement of one race by another."

INEQUALITIES AND EQUALITY

Individual Differences

In countless ways, however, individual men are unequal. White people are no exception to the general rule. They are tall and short, intelligent and idiotic, cultured and uncultured, saintly and sinful. With respect to every measurable characteristic, they cover the entire scale. Some Caucasians there are whose contributions to the betterment of the world will be remembered and handed down for ages to come; while others will be remembered, if they are thought of at all, for their hindrances to human progress.

Other peoples—black, brown and yellow—are correspondingly dissimilar among themselves. No race is homogeneous; no race can be rightly stereotyped. The principle of individual differences, in short, applies to every people of the globe. The difference between the noblest and the meanest in any race is as great, in all probability, as the corresponding differences within any other race. In the words of the late Franz Boas, authority in anthropology, "If we were to select the most intelligent, imaginative, energetic, and emotionally stable third of mankind, all races would be represented." Likewise, if we were to select the least intelligent, the least imaginative, the least energetic, and the least emotionally stable third of mankind, all races would be represented. And the scientific probabilities are that the middle third, so selected, would include people of all races.

The principle of diversity in unity is in evidence everywhere. Individual differences we should expect to find; but these differences appear in a scientifically predictable manner. The biologists, about a hundred years ago, were the first to discover the principle by which measurable characteristics of a given species can be mathematically estimated and charted. By application of this principle, it has become possible—when the greatest and the smallest measures of a trait are known—to calculate the distribution of all other members of the species and to chart them accordingly.

Exceptional Individuals and Others

Of course, Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, Marian Anderson, and many other Negro Americans who have achieved world renown are rightly thought of as exceptional. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Edison, John Dewey, and all other major contributors to the world's culture and civilization are also in the exceptional class. Few there are in any generation or time who qualify for worldwide honors. Superior inborn capacities coupled with appropriate opportunities are essential to outstanding achievement. Sometimes, however, superior capacities transform what seem to be ordinary opportunities into the extraordinary. Individuals who bring about such transformation are equally to be honored whatever the color of their skins—honored, not because of any mystic duty of anyone to accord honor; but, rather, because honoring when not restricted by ignorance, prejudice, and selfishness, is the normal reaction of men to those who have contributed to the common good.

Fortunately, society is not wholly dependent on its outstanding geniuses for its maintenance; for, on the scale of human capacity, just below the level of genius, are the near-geniuses only slightly less gifted by nature. And just below these on the scale of innate human capacity, are others in larger numbers, who are superior but not quite as superior as the near-geniuses and the geniuses. And still farther down the scale, about a point midway between the two extremes is the average man, the "common man" as we are wont to call him, whose importance must not be overlooked or underestimated. Truly the common man plays an essential role in every society. Since he outnumbers all others combined, it is within his power to conserve or to destroy the social heritage. How important that his cultural and educational status be raised to the highest possible degree! In fact, society cannot neglect with impunity any of its members however lowly they may be.

The "Normal Curve of Distribution"

The account given above will be recognized as applying to the "normal curve of distribution." Add the other half of the curve, terminating at the low end of the scale, and the curve is complete. We may not be able, with the present instruments of measurement, to determine the finer degrees of innate intelligence between the two extremes; but we may rightly assume, from the tested inferences of measurements already made, that all degrees of innate capacity exist between the extremes of idiocy and genius; and that if millions of representative individuals of any race of mankind were located on the scale according to the innate potentialities of each, the total distribution would match the curve described above.

Now from this it logically follows that two races, each possessing some individuals of the highest as well as the lowest measure of capacity, would distribute on the innate-capacity scale in similar fashion. The curve of distributed capacities of the one could be superimposed upon the curve of the other; and the approximate agreement of the two curves would be indicative of group equality with respect to the capacities measured. This kind of equality in no sense implies equality of individuals within either group compared.

Although our methods for measuring intelligence are somewhat inadequate, we still are able to recognize genius fairly well. When young Ernest Wilkins, Negro student at the University of Chicago, made Phi Beta Kappa at sixteen years of age and received the Ph.D. degree in Mathematics from that institution before he was nineteen, his professors were sure that they had discovered a genius. What ordinary mind, at that immature age, would be able to make a contribution to the sum total of mathematical knowledge! Geniuses in other fields of human endeavor are discovered in like fashion. In science, invention, literature, music and art many names of Negro Americans have become internationally known. The biographies of these contributors to our culture and civilization would fill volumes of most interesting reading.

A Philosophy of Human Relations

But why elaborate the individual differences of men; differences that are as much in evidence in one race as in another? Are not the common aspects of human nature and of society as important as the variables? The common needs, the common values, the common goals—these are the similarities and equalities most significant for our discussion. Everywhere, the common factors are unmistakable. Bone for bone, muscle for muscle, nerve for nerve, and sense organ for sense organ, the races are so similar as to be classified as a single biological species. The same physiological principles apply to all.

Likewise, common psychological factors need to be taken into account in any scientific analysis of human conduct and relationship. Everywhere and in all time, men strive however blindly for the realization of certain human values. Whether happiness is THE universal goal, as some insist, or whether it is the natural accompaniment of the good life; happiness is, nevertheless, an essential aspect of universal goals. In its absence, men do strange things. Or, may we say, in the doing of "strange" and inappropriate things there is unhappiness. Furthermore, neither happiness nor unhappiness can be racially segregated. The "greatest happiness principle" as stated by John Stewart Mills, implies not only the greatest happiness for the greatest number; but the least of unhappiness for the smallest number. Unhappiness anywhere in the worldwide society has its unhappy effects elsewhere. No majority, however numerous and physically powerful, can possibly insure its own continuous happiness by restricting the happiness of others. The Golden Rule, recognized by the greatest ethical thinkers in all ages and incorporated into the sacred literature of the world religions, has become a social necessity on an ever increasing scale.

An essential condition of happiness is freedom. From earliest infancy, men respond unhappily to arbitrary, unnecessary, and especially to inequitable limitations of freedom. Necessary limitations are in a different category, but they must be recognized as equitable. There is no greater source of unhappiness in the family, in the community, in the nation, and in the family of nations throughout the world than the feeling on the part of some members that they are being discriminated against. Discriminations are always violations of legitimate human freedom. So generally recognized is the need for freedom that peoples in all ages have been willing, at almost any cost, to contend for its realization. To fight for its freedom is considered the supreme right of every people.

Correspondingly universal is the common need for security. If happiness is to be realized in any considerable measure, freedom and security must go hand in hand. Unlimited freedom would inevitably lead to insecurity; while absolute security, even if it were possible would invalidate the very conditions under which progress and happiness are attainable. Too much security would have the effect of destroying human incentive and perpetuating a static society. All inventions and institutions of human society are the objective effects of insecurities and other evils overcome in the past. Each insecurity eliminated, however, has brought into being other insecurities hitherto unimagined. Within every institution, declared Aristotle, are the seeds of its destruction.

Naturally and normally, however, there will always be insecurities enough without the artificial creation of more. Men need to be secure in their physical lives and in the economic possibilities for sustaining them. They need, furthermore, to be secure in the common rights to "liberty and the pursuit of happiness" guaranteed, at least on paper, by the supreme law of the land. Like happiness and freedom, security cannot be segregated.

There can be no sharp line of demarcation between those who are secure and those who are insecure. A state of insecurity anywhere endangers security everywhere. A global illustration of this principle may be seen in the conditions and events preceding the World Wars. Insecurities multiplied and spread to every nook and corner of the globe. How to bring about universal security is the greatest problem confronting the United Nations.

Closely related to the other needs, is the need of every individual for social identification. Beginning in early childhood, the normal person develops a feeling of "we-ness," a "consciousness of kind," and an awareness of oneness with his primary group. These early experiences, similar as they are throughout the world, account in large measure, for the common ethical ideals of mankind. The in-group characteristics—mutual aid, fair dealing, truthfulness, sympathy, loyalty, justice, and the like—become the ethical bases for human relations. Only in a society in which there is mutual identification of its members with the whole, can there be a full realization of these ideals. Mutual understanding and a true "consciousness of kind," in the words of Giddings, "make group life possible, create loyalty, ability to stand together, to fight pestilences and famine, to build up the industries of the world, in short, to build up civilization." And no nation, we may add, is fully prepared to identify itself with the family of nations before it has reduced to minimum the artificial obstacles to mutual identification at home.

PROPOSALS CONCERNING SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO-WHITE PROBLEM

Several theories for the solution of the Negro-white problem in America have been suggested or advocated, ranging all the way from natural extinction to complete integration of the minority group.

Natural Extinction

In the closing years of the 19th century and the opening years of the present, students of racial populations in the United States were predicting the natural extinction of the American Negro. In his book entitled *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, published in 1896, Dr. F. L. Hoffman wrote: "The Negro is subject to a higher mortality rate at all ages, but especially so at the early age periods. . . . It is sufficient to know that in the struggle for race supremacy the black race is not holding its own; and this fact once recognized, all danger from a possible numerical supremacy of the race vanishes. Its extreme liability to consumption alone would be sufficient to seal its fate." And, as late as 1913, Edward Eggleston, in a book called, *The Ultimate Solution of the American Negro Problem*, concluded that there is a decided tendency toward a more or less complete elimination of the American Negro as an unfit element of the population. "The causes operating to bring about this solution of the Negro problem," he declared, "will persist and ultimately, within the present century, so reduce the numerical strength of that race as to have removed the Negro problem from the files of serious questions."

From the time of the first Census in 1790, the proportional trend of Negro population in the United States has been downward. At that early date, Negroes were 19.3 per cent of the total population, but only 9.8 per cent in 1940. Within the fifty years since Hoffman's prediction, despite the proportional decrease in population, Negroes in the United States have had a numerical increase of approximately 60 per cent, while the white population during the same period has increased 115 per cent.

The downward proportional trend of the Negro population, however, was partially due to an increasingly large immigration from Europe, reaching a maximum of over 1,000,000 Caucasians annually before the first World War, and to the supernormal fertility of immigrant women. Had it not been for the substantial additions from abroad, the rates of increase of whites and Negroes in this country would have been more nearly equal.

Competent students of the subject are now pretty well agreed that the principles of population growth and retardation are very similar as to races. Negroes are more prone to succumb to certain diseases; but there is little doubt that a large part of their excess mortality is a result of unfavorable environment rather than inherited constitution. In general, we can accept the judgment that excessive death rates tend to prevail in the least favorable environments while subnormal birth rates are usually found in the best physical and cultural environments. It is well known that in wide areas of the more prosperous North and East, the white population is not sufficiently fertile to maintain itself with the present imbalance of births and deaths. It would seem that the most certain method for bringing about the ultimate extinction of any people is to raise its physical standards and its cultural opportunities to the maximum. If this be true, the white, not the Negro, population is leading in the procession toward natural extinction.

Caste System

In many parts of the United States, in the South for instance, a caste-like system of Negro-white relationship prevails and is defended as the best solution of the inter-racial problem. In theory, the system is biological and hereditary; the status and rights of the individual are determined by his color or ancestry. In its pure form, which can scarcely be found anywhere, the biological caste system is in opposition to amalgamation. On one side of the line which separates the two races are those who are convinced of their own superiority and who consider "white supremacy" desirable if not essential to the common welfare.

The position of those who advocate a biological caste system would be materially strengthened if the assumptions upon which the system was formerly rationalized were true. No longer, however, do we hear well-informed persons declaring that the Negro is not quite human, that his inborn capacities are many degrees lower than those of Caucasians; that biological mixing of the two races would result in a breed of inferior quality, and that amalgamation would forever retard the progress of white civilization. The number of mulattoes of every degree of blackness who are outstanding contributors to our civilization and culture, make the existing rationalizations inadequate and unconvincing.

Amalgamation

Amalgamation is nature's method of reducing mankind to a common biological denominator. If not rapidly, at least gradually, depending upon the extent of physical differences and the conditions under which two racial stocks come together, the color line invariably fades. "This conclusion," declares Herskovits, the anthropologist, "is not only supported by the testimony of historic fact, when available, but is also to be inferred from the degree of variation which marks most existing populations, and which indicates that sexual attraction is no respecter of racial lines. Where any two groups meet," he continues, "crossbreeding results, even where the most vigorous social restrictions are imposed."

Amalgamation, while not being advocated by leaders of thought on either side of the color line, would, if eventually realized, resolve the problem of Negro-white relationship. But even if the entire population of the United States were absolutely homogenous with respect to color and physiognomy, the problems of human relationship would remain. There would be social and economic classes—the upper class, the middle class, and the lower class. There would still be the rich and the poor; the learned and the ignorant; the selfish and the altruistic. There would still be vested interests ready for exploitation. In fact, the whole scale of human problems—psychological, sociological, economic, religious, governmental, and the rest—would remain.

Perhaps the chief benefit resulting from complete amalgamation would lie in the fact no part of our population could then be earmarked for discrimination. In the absence of distinguishing traits of color and physiognomy, however, groups against whom discrimination was intended could be artificially marked for the purpose. The Hitlerian method of designating Jews by required differences in dress or by actually branding their physical bodies is an illustration of what can be done in the absence of natural traits of visibility. It is true, nevertheless, that anti-social attitudes of a dominant people toward another tend to be magnified by differences in biological traits.

The fact of such differences between the whites and the blacks in the United States is not sufficient in itself to account for the inter-racial antagonisms and the unfavorable attitudes toward amalgamation which exist here. The relations between the white and the colored elements of our population are due in some measure to geographic and historical influences. The fact that no other part of the New World offered to the early colonists an extensive land area situated in a temperate climate where natural resources were almost unlimited was an important influence. Here, generally speaking, whole families rather than male adventurers, came to make permanent settlements. Furthermore, in Latin America, especially during the first century of colonization, the Spanish and Portuguese, already biologically mixed with darker people, became still darker by amalgamation with the Indians. Consequently, this mixing reduced further the color differences between the Spanish American and the Negro, thereby facilitating the continued process of amalgamation. Only in the United States, was emancipation of Negro slaves brought about as the result of civil war.

Colonization

Some have thought that the Negro-white problem of race relationship could be solved by the emigration of Negroes to other lands. "There are many parts of the world," they declare, "to which Negroes could migrate, where they could have a nation of their own, and where they could develop their own civilization free from the interference of the white man. Africa," they say, "has many thousands of square miles suitable to the establishment of such a nation. . . . Should Negroes of the United States migrate to these countries, they would transplant Western Civilization and the American way of doing things. Better educated than the natives, they could take charge of these backward countries, helping to civilize them and making them into great nations."

For more than a century, a kind of "Zionism" for Negro Americans has been advocated and several efforts have been made toward its realization. The American Colonization Society, organized in 1817, made the first practical attempt to secure for Negro Americans a permanent home in Africa. The founding of Liberia was the result. But the most ambitious plan to encourage emigration of Negro Americans to Africa in recent times was conceived by Marcus Garvey, a Negro orator and propagandist, who in 1917 had succeeded in gaining the support of many followers, estimated in the millions, whose purpose was to establish a "Black Empire" in Africa.

The latest colonization plan for solving the Negro-white problem in this country was advocated by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo in the form of a bill introduced into the Senate, April 24, 1939. In his speech to the Senate on that date, Mr. Bilbo said: "A physical separation by the voluntary colonization or resettlement of the black race in the fatherland, from which it was brought here by fraud and force, will thereby give the Negro race an opportunity to protect the integrity of its blood stream and have a free and full opportunity to reach the greatest heights of development of which the race is capable and build a nation of the Negro race that will take its stand among the nations of the earth; and by this separation the blood stream of the white race shall remain unchanged and all the culture, progress, and the blessings of the white man's civilization shall forever remain in the priceless possession of the Anglo-Saxon in this proud Republic. . . ."

Senator Bilbo's plan, technically cited as the "Repatriation Bill," if passed, would have authorized the President to enter into negotiations with France and Great Britain for the purchase by the United States of land, not to exceed 400,000 square miles, adjoining the Republic of Liberia. While the "Repatriation Bill," failed for lack of support to become law, the colonization idea which it contained has, from time to time, been seriously considered. Occasionally, political groups in the Southern States have passed resolutions favoring an amendment to the national Constitution authorizing repatriation of "undesirable elements in our population to areas of their ancestral origin to the end that the American citizenry would eventually become purely Caucasian."

Such policies would hardly be consistent with our history and general philosophy. In the past, we have glorified the "melting pot" aspect of our nation and have recognized the strength which comes from the diversification of peoples. We need now, as never before, the contribution to our civilization which each minority race is in position to offer. Such need is especially in evidence in times of national emergency. This need exists, however, at other times as well. The strength and progress of our civilized society depend upon the cooperative relationship of all its parts. Emigration of millions of the population—of whatever origin—even if it were possible, would seriously weaken the nation. Furthermore, the Negro segment of our population has contributed greatly to the building of American civilization and it feels that America, not Africa is its home.

Intensive Segregation

Intensive segregation of Negroes within the United States has frequently been suggested as a solution of the Negro-white problem. By "intensive segregation" is here meant the grouping together in communities, cities, and expansive land areas, of very large numbers of Negroes, who would constitute integrated societies free and apart from Caucasian contact and influence. The arguments made for this kind of separation of the two races are similar to those made for colonization abroad.

Some have advocated a plan by which the national government would purchase lands in some region within the United States in which Negro population is greatest and set it apart as a 49th State of the Union to be occupied and controlled by Negroes only. Others have seen in the sparsely populated and undeveloped parts of the United States a possibility for intensive segregation. States like Arizona, Nevada, Texas and New Mexico, they point out, could be developed into expansive agricultural and horticultural areas for Negroes. Why could not large numbers of Negroes, they ask, move into the thinly populated sections of the Western and Southwestern States, buy out the present owners, extend irrigation over millions of acres of fertile lands, build their own cities and towns, and do whatever more is necessary for their own welfare? State and Federal aid for the development of such intensively segregated areas has been suggested.

Critics of the segregation plan, however, point out what to them seem weaknesses. Communities like individuals, they say, cannot live unto themselves. Each unit whether individual or social is related in countless ways to a very complex society—the State, the nation, and the world of nations. The process of social evolution, through successive stages, has carried us on to the practical concept of "one world or none." Any considerable portion of mankind that is broken up into competitive, independent, and sovereign units is out of line with modern, social progress. Such a region, State, or community is seriously handicapped in its own internal development. At least social scientists are practically agreed on these principles.

Furthermore, invalidating any plan for intensive segregation of Negroes, are the natural obstacles in the way of its realization. Except in time of national upheaval and emergency, such as we have seen recently throughout the world, entire peoples do not break their usual and habitual relations with others, however unsatisfactory they may be, and adventure in mass to new and untried situations. Equally true, it is, that the white population, even of the South, is by no means unanimous in desiring the absolute severance of Negroes from their communities. The economic value of the Negro to the South is well known. Not only the South, but the entire nation, is the recipient of essential benefits from the Negro's participation in the economic life of America.

Social Integration

One other method for solving the Negro-white problem of race relations remains; namely, social integration. This is not to be confused with the controversial issue of "social equality." Nowhere, in fact, not even in the most homogeneous white populations of our country, is there social equality. In the private affairs of life—in the selection of intimate friends, in the choosing of husbands and wives—families and homes are not to be invaded. The social integration theory in no wise implies a change in this matter. There are, however, certain integrating characteristics of human society which are essential to its perpetuity and general welfare. This is as true of primitive tribes as of the most advanced and complex modern society. From earliest time, to be more specific, integration has been characteristic of those societies which have been able to maintain themselves in the long run and to go forward into advanced stages of culture and civilization. Dis-integration is the antithesis of all that makes for social progress.

Organization flexible enough for constant adjustment to social change; cooperation of every unit of the society to the extent of its fullest potentiality; freedom of every individual to occupy a place most suitable for the rendition of maximum service; morale, created by the consciousness of a common purpose; and the feeling on the part of each that justice prevails—these are some of the evidences of social integration, the ideals toward which our society should consciously strive.

Legal Aspects of Race Relations

In America, there is no unanimity of judgment concerning the optimum relationship of the law to the mores in the matter of race relations. Some, especially in the South, defend the position that the mores take precedence over law; that laws grow out of the mores and can scarcely go beyond them; and that laws which are incompatible with the mores cannot be enforced.

This position, however, while having some semblance of truth, needs to be carefully examined. With respect to time, mores in general come before law just as folkways precede the mores. The folkways come into existence without deliberate planning. They become customary and, for a time, are more or less unconsciously accepted. Subsequently, many of the folkways are rationalized and thereby attain a status of mores. At a still later stage of their development, the mores are critically examined and evaluated, not by the people in general but by their moralists, ethicists, and lawmakers, with a view to the enactment of certain of the mores into law.

This basic relationship between the mores and the law can easily be misinterpreted into meaning that the mores take precedence over law; that laws merely sanction what has already become generally established in the mores. Obviously, if this were true, there would be no necessity for law. But the mores of a people contain the good, bad, and indifferent. The purpose of the moralist, the ethicist, and the lawmaker is to discover the best and to standardize it for general practice. The mores of a people contain the experiential elements out of which ethical standards of human conduct and relationship are formulated. In this sense, mores precede normative standards and law, and, to this extent are determinants of law.

Law at its best, represents the minimum of ethical conduct required for the realization of the common goals of a people. Law at its worst, is the antithesis of this. The fact that large numbers—even a majority—insist on discriminating against their fellows, to the detriment of their society, is no justification either for discrimination or for the passing of laws in harmony with such discrimination.

In the matter of State discriminatory laws which are incompatible with the United States Constitution, there can be no question as to what is nationally desirable. Whatever the mores of a geographic section of our country, they are either consistent or inconsistent with the fundamental law of the nation, the Supreme Law, which unquestionably takes precedence over provincial mores and traditions. Bearing further on the relationship of mores to law, it should be pointed out that many Jim Crow laws have become generalized and required practices which had been exceptional rather than common in the South. This is an illustration of the fact that a law may bring about uniformity of the mores where uniformity did not exist before. Not only laws but illogical decisions of the Supreme Court with respect to laws may cause discriminatory mores to be extended to places where they have not previously existed.

THE PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RACE PROBLEM AND RACE RELATIONS

Segregation the Basis of Inter-racial Policies in the United States

While inter-racial policies in the United States are anything but uniform a common thread of similarity runs throughout. With respect to Negro-white relations, that common thread is segregation. Almost everywhere—in the North as well as in the South—segregation in some more or less definite form exists. While in the North, segregation is maintained chiefly by social pressure and by quasi-legal arrangements such as restrictive covenants; in the South, segregation is more nearly total and is secured by laws and by mores even less flexible than law.

As stated by Will W. Alexander in the January, 1945 issue of *Harper's Magazine*: "Segregation is one of the most puzzling aspects of American life, and one of the most difficult questions in American race relations. It is generally recognized by Negroes as their number-one problem and is insisted upon by many whites as the one thing in the American race scene that can never be modified or dispensed with. Here we have the greatest conflict between our professed democratic doctrines and our actual practice in day-to-day living. Segregation tends to defeat the inspiring work of Negro education."

Supreme Court Decision On Segregation in Travel

When a case involving the validity of a segregation statute reached the United States Supreme Court in 1896, the decision rendered encouraged the South to multiply their segregation laws. The Court upheld segregation laws in the following language:

> "The argument against the legislation also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to the Negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. . . . Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. . . . If one race is inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane."

In the minority opinion of the Supreme Court in this case, however, Justice Harlan (a Kentuckian, a former slave-owner, and a man who had opposed the adoption of the Civil War Amendments) made the following caustic comment:

> "If a state can prescribe as a rule of civil conduct, that whites and blacks shall not travel as passengers in the same railroad coach, why may it not also regulate the use of the streets of its cities and towns to compel white citizens to keep on one side of a street and black citizens to keep to the other? Why may it not, upon like grounds, punish whites and blacks who ride together in street cars or in vehicles on a public road or street? Why may it not require sheriffs to assign whites to one side of a courtroom and blacks to another? And why may it not also prohibit the commingling of the two races in the galleries of legislative halls or in public assemblages convened for the consideration of the political questions of the day?"

Practically every Southern State has done, and is continuing to do, precisely the things Justice Harlan anticipated. Even his apprehensions concerning the psychological effects of State segregation laws have been realized: "What," he asked, "can more certainly arouse hate, what more certainly can create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than State enactments, which, in fact, proceed upon the grounds that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens?"

The decision of the United States Supreme Court, referred to above, became a sanction and also a suggestion for enactment of discriminatory practices, which at that time, had scarcely been practiced anywhere. Usually, the initiative for the enactment of discriminatory laws has not come from the majority of the people, even in the South. An examination of the motives of politicians will dispel the thought that majorities have exercised themselves unduly in efforts to enact their mores, either good or bad, into laws. Speaking on this subject, Carey McWilliams declared: "The principal means by which politicians create issues is to propose legislation. Here they initiate; they do not merely follow the mores."

Anti-discrimination Legislation

Will Maslow, writing in the March, 1946, issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, had this to say:

> "Perhaps the oldest types of anti-discrimination legislation are the various State acts forbidding any place of public resort, amusement, or accommodation to discriminate against a customer because of race, color, creed, or national origin. These laws began to be enacted following the decision of the United States Supreme Court that the Federal Government had no power to outlaw such discrimination."
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> ". . . Today twenty-two states have enacted such laws and they are now in effect in every State except Vermont,

nine Western states, and all of the seventeen Southern or Border States except Louisiana. (Louisiana has a Reconstruction statute forbidding discrimination by common carriers and places of public resort, but the law is contemptuously disregarded by its public officers.)"

"These statutes typically apply to hotels, restaurants, refreshment stands, public conveyances, theaters, amusement parks, hospitals, libraries, and educational institutions, and forbid the denial of accommodations to minority groups. Some of these statutes likewise forbid any public advertisement designed to discourage patronage of minority groups. In ten states violation is a criminal offense punished as a misdemeanor by fine and imprisonment. Seven other states likewise afford the aggrieved individual a civil action for damage. In one state civil damages only are provided, and in the remaining three states either a civil suit or criminal proceeding, but not both, is allowed. Minimum fines or minimum recoveries in civil suits are provided by nine states but the amount is small, ranging from $10 in New Hampshire to $100 in New York. The constitutionality of such legislation is well established."

Ineffectiveness of Anti-discrimination Laws

"By and large," Maslow continued, "these statutes have not been effective. Public prosecutors regard such offenses as trifling and are unwilling to prosecute unless furnished with airtight cases. The aggrieved individuals themselves prefer to swallow humiliation and insult rather than assume the burdens of a lawsuit which usually turns out to be profitless in view of the small minimum recovery allowed and the difficulty of proving larger money damages.

"Since jail sentences are almost never imposed and fines are small, the prevailing attitude among those subject to these laws is to treat the fine as a business expense, to take pains to avoid being detected, and to continue discriminating. One powerful sanction, the suspension or cancellation of the license indispensable to the operation of almost all of these places of public accommodation, is missing from all of these laws, except, ironically enough, that of Louisiana.

"Only one state, Illinois, has recognized that a civil rights law can only be enforced by creating a specialized state agency charged with the sole duty of administering such a statute. A 1943 law created a Division for the Enforcement of Civil and Equal Rights in the Attorney General's office, empowered to investigate all violations and to take enforcement measures. To date this division, however, has shown no signs of activity."

Racial Discrimination In the South

In the South, discriminations against the Negro are seen in practically every sphere of life. They are common in public conveyances—street cars, trains, boats, airplanes; in public places—hotels, restaurants, cafes, railway and bus stations, theatres, moving picture houses, public buildings; in department and other stores—with respect to service, courtesy, general treatment; in education—school buildings, school equipment, teachers' salaries, transportation facilities, enforcement of compulsory attendance laws, provision for higher education; in health—lack of sanitary conditions, public health service, hospital services; in public parks and playgrounds; in courts of justice; in treatment by police officers; in the general rights of citizenship; in vocational opportunity; and in scores of other situations in which discrimination is all too common.

Throughout the major part of the Southern Region and in the Border States of the South, discrimination on public conveyances is the general rule. Such practice is not only characteristic of the segregation pattern determined by the mores and traditions but is a legal requirement of the statutes of the several States and is enforced with a degree of exactness not common to the enforcement of laws in general. Rudeness and petty tyranny of street car conductors toward Negro passengers; refusal of bus drivers to take on Negroes before all white passengers have been accommodated; disregard on the part of street car and bus operators of signals given by Negro passengers who wish to get off; abusive language and sometimes physical force and death inflicted by public conveyance operators upon Negro passengers for minor violations of segregation rules—such treatment, while not sanctioned by law, is to be expected in a region where inter-racial etiquette is considered inviolate; where "white supremacy" is to be maintained at any cost; and where actual murder motivated by a traditional determination to keep the Negro "in his place," can and does, too frequently, take place with impunity.

Not only non-Southerners but liberal Southerners have seen the unnecessary friction created by such practices on public conveyances. Virginius Dabney, of the Richmond, (Va.) *Times-Dispatch*, came out boldly in an editorial on November 13, 1943, entitled, *To Lessen Race Friction*, as follows:

> "The purpose of these laws, when they were enacted, was to keep the races separate. Actually, under existing conditions, they have the opposite effect, and they are a constant irritant. Hundreds, if not thousands of times a day, these regulations serve to throw the races into closer contact than ever, and at the same time wound the feelings of the Negroes.
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> "The laws result in closer interracial contact than would otherwise be the case because, whereas white and colored passengers usually sit in separate seats, the invariably crowded condition in the aisles of street cars and buses at rush hours throw the races together as never before. Colored passengers who get on crowded cars or buses have to push their way through the dense mass of white people, and in the case of one-man cars they must force their way to the front again. It would be preferable if the Negroes were allowed to stand or sit in the car or bus wherever they could find room, thus avoiding the push through the crowded aisles. It is this push," continued Dabney's editorial, "which causes the trouble. Repeal of the State law which requires segregation of the races on street cars and buses, and of local ordinance which embody the same requirement, would solve the difficulty."

Some Advocate Increased Restrictions

Few States in the Southern Region are free from inter-racial friction needlessly caused by discrimination in transportation. There are those, however, who would add to the confusion by increasing the restrictive regulations on public conveyances. In the latter part of 1945, for example, the Alabama Public Service Commission in the case of Pullman travel ordered that at least one car consisting of compartments, roomettes and bedrooms be provided in which Negro passengers desiring berths could be sold the more deluxe accommodations at regular rates. If closed accommodations were not available, Negroes could be given seat space, "in which case the partitions must be in place and curtains drawn at all times." It was to be required that the order be posted in a conspicuous place in each car on every train.

Subsequently, during a hearing before the Alabama Public Service Commission, W. A. Northcutt, general solicitor for the Louisville Railroad and representative of seventeen carriers, argued that the proposed regulations were impractical and would prove distasteful to white and Negro passengers alike. He specifically cited that portion of the new regulation which requires that Negro Pullman passengers be concealed either in closed compartments or behind curtains. The railroad counsel stated that the carriers represented by him had served twelve and one-half million passengers "with less than a dozen complaints filed." Arthur Shores, Negro attorney of Birmingham, representing the Co-ordinated Committee for the Equalization of Transportation Facilities, quoted the United Nations Charter, the Federal laws, and the Alabama code to uphold his contention that the regulation proposed by the Alabama Public Service Commission had exceeded its legal authority.

The United States Supreme Court Holds Segregation on Inter-state Buses Unconstitutional

The case at issue was that of Mrs. Irene Morgan who was arrested and fined ten dollars for failing to occupy the section of a bus designated for Negroes while traveling from Virginia to her home in Baltimore, Maryland. In a six-to-one decision, the Supreme Court held that State laws requiring separation of the races on inter-state buses to be unconstitutional. "It seems clear to us," states the majority opinion, "that seating arrangements for the different races in inter-state motor travel require a single, uniform rule to promote and protect national travel. Consequently, we hold the Virginia statute in controversy invalid." This decision was rendered in May, 1946.

The basis upon which the decision was made leaves little doubt that it applies equally to rail and air inter-state passengers. The single dissenting opinion was read by Justice Burton who held that, "It is a fundamental concept of our Constitution that where conditions are diverse the solution of the problems arising out of them may well come through the application of diversified treatment matching the diversified needs as determined by our local governments."

Effects of Negro Migration To The West

The following brief treatment of Negro-white race relations on the Pacific Coast is based on a much fuller account in two special issues of the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, January, 1944, and November, 1945. The two issues were edited by Dr. L. D. Reddick, Curator of the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature of the New York Public Library and Lecturer on Negro History and Culture, College of the City of New York.

After Pearl Harbor, the war industries on the Pacific Coast attracted more than a million persons including 250,000 Negroes. Not only new faces but somewhat strange ways were now to be seen in many places. It was to be expected that under the resulting conditions of pushing and crowding there would be increased competition for housing, recreation, and transportation.

> "Definitely," declared Dr. Reddick, "the race-relations frontier had shifted to the West, particularly to the West Coast. . . . The reactions of the various groups to the Negro were determined in part by each group's particular interest and function in the society. Thus, some war industries were so eager for Negroes to come that they scoured the South and, for a while, even recruited among Southern Negro women. There were other war industries, however, that had to be persuaded by the War Manpower Commission to employ and upgrade workers without regard to their color or creed. . . . The CIO unions, generally speaking, followed their national policy of non-discrimination; but the AFL boilermakers and machinists, who dominated ship and aircraft construction and much else, resisted the influx of Negro workers through all the well-known devises. . . . Real estate and property owners' associations, in some instances, imported and, in others, adopted the practice of restrictive residential covenants which sought to bar Negroes from the more desirable neighborhoods. Federal and local housing authorities, with a conspicuous exception at Seattle, likewise, followed a policy of complete or partial segregation."

In such a combination of anti-social conditions, the people were bewildered and undecided as to what their attitudes toward recent arrivals should be. The white southern in-migrants, however, were not only certain but aggressive in their attempts to impose their ideologies of race relations upon the West Coast cities and towns. Many of the signs, "We Cater To White Trade Only," were traceable to small restaurant operators who had migrated from the Southern States.

The West, however, had never been perfect in its attitudes toward people of color. Recently the Coast States had seen 127,000 Japanese Americans uprooted from their homes and segregated forcefully in relocation camps. "We may say," writes Dr. Reddick, "that the West had an attitude toward Negroes before it contained any sizeable numbers of them. It had learned about the Negro through motion pictures, radio, newspapers, comic strips, fiction magazines, and books. . . . These imperfectly realized images gave a predisposition that could easily crystallize under face-to-face contact or continued propaganda."

Race Relations in Seattle

Before the war, Negro families were somewhat scattered in most of the major sections of Seattle. In spite of this fact, however, there had been a tendency for the Negro population and Negro institutions to concentrate in four more or less independent sections of the city. During recent years, dispersion of Negro families to other areas has been checked or prevented by "gentlemen's agreements" of real-estate men to restrict the sale of property to Negroes to the four major areas of concentration. As a result, the more recent in-migrant workers have found it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to secure decent housing. Many of them moved into areas already crowded by Negroes or doubled-up in the section formerly occupied by the Japanese.

Fortunately, this situation was somewhat relieved by the policy of the Seattle Housing Authority, a policy which has been rated as unusually democratic and practical.

> "It is the one public housing authority on the Pacific Coast," writes Dr. Robert O'Brien, in the Journal indicated above, "which has consistently refused either to set up segregated housing for Negro workers or to place Negro in-migrant workers in a racial island of segregation within the existing projects. Negro tenants are integrated not only in the living program but also into the educational and recreational program of the projects. Negro personnel is employed by the Authority in various capacities on the basis of individual merit. Jim Crow practices are not in evidence in either the project restaurants or in the recreation centers.
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> "The Puget Sound area," continues Dr. O'Brien, "is close to the pioneer and Yukon days when men asked few questions about their neighbor's racial or social antecedents and when individuals were judged by their own at-

tainments. In opposition to this democratic tradition has been the importation of a caste pattern of human relations from the Southern states. Not only Southern whites, but often Negroes from the rural areas, have brought this pattern of segregation and have been unconscious instruments in setting up separate institutions in this territory. Upon the outcome of the struggle between the exponents of these two philosophies in the growing communities on the Pacific Coast may, in part, rest the direction taken by the United States as a whole."

Race Relations in Portland

Portland, Oregon, has been dubbed the "Northern city with a Southern exposure," northern because of its geographic location but southern in many of its traditions and attitudes in matters inter-racial. From time to time, as the history of the community reveals, unhappy inter-racial incidents have occurred. Chinese, Japanese, and Negroes have experienced discriminating treatment by the dominant race.

As a result of the influx of large numbers of people to the Portland area since the beginning of the war, one out of every three residents of the city today is a newcomer. Of the recent arrivals, 22,000 are Negroes. "Old-time residents have resented the entire immigrant population. They have particularly resented the Negro immigrant. His 'high visibility' has rendered him easily identifiable, and he has symbolized the intrusion of all newcomers to the old-timer. . . . The more the Negroes came, the tighter the conditions for all. . . . The Portland Realty Board has made it extremely difficult for the Negro population to expand normally." The "code of ethics" of this Board, as of realty boards in many other cities, states that "a realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood members of any race or nationality or any individual whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood."

Increasing the difficulty of the situation is the ten-to-one numerical relation of Negro newcomers to the older Negro residents. The contrasts of experiential backgrounds of the two groups make cooperative action difficult. Furthermore, Oregon has no Civil Rights Law. A half-hearted attempt to place a Civil Rights Bill on the statute books in 1944 was decisively defeated.

Race Relations in San Francisco

Up until 1941, San Francisco enjoyed the reputation of having no Negro-white race problem. In a total population of 634,536, a Negro population of 4,846 was exceedingly small. By 1945, the Negro population had been multiplied five times. While this increase was due to an influx from almost every part of the United States, an overwhelming majority of the Negro in-migrants came from Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas.

As a result, several aspects of the Negro-white relationship quickly changed. The problem of housing for Negroes was suddenly intensified in accordance with the general patterns of industrial cities elsewhere described. With the evacuation of the Japanese in 1942, both white and Negro in-migrants moved into the neighborhoods thus vacated. So desperate was the need for shelter that 10,000 persons were soon occupying an area where less than 5,000 Japanese had lived in crowded quarters before. Making matters still worse, 55 per cent of these houses were substandard as rated by the San Francisco Board of Health.

In general, restaurants and other places of public service and amusement have been fairly satisfactory with respect to Negro patronage. At all times, however, there have been cases in which service was denied on account of color. In these cases, the victims have recourse to the Civil Court of California, which is designed to provide redress for such grievances. In spite of the abundance of what might be considered provocative factors, physical conflict between members of the two races has been infrequent.

Race Relations in Los Angeles

The effect of the war on race relations in Los Angeles is not unlike that in other industrial centers. The need for workers in the shipyards and airplane factories; the bidding for people of every description to meet these needs; the thousands by thousands arriving daily; the scramble for houses where no vacancies could be found; the doubling and sometimes trimultiple-doubling of residents in the poorest sections of the city and its surrounding towns—all of this contributed to the general confusion of the population and especially to the discomfiture of tens of thousands of Negroes who had been encouraged to take an increasing part in a tremendous war production in southern California.

While the special United States Census in April, 1944, arrived at 134,000 as the number of Negroes in Los Angeles County, official estimates a year later placed the number at 200,000. The county housing shortage in 1945 was estimated at upwards of 100,000 families. The end of the war has brought no reduction in the need for housing. In a situation such as this, Negro families suffer most. At least 13,700 of these Negro families have had shelter only through doubling up, tripling up or by leading an unhappy existence in abandoned store buildings and in other places never intended for human habitation.

Race Relations in Northern Cities

Only a very general statement can be made here of race relations in the cities of the North. The effects of overcrowding in sections of low-grade housing and inferior public service are similar in practically all of these cities. The Black Belt of Chicago, in an area designed to accommodate 150,000, had an estimated Negro population in 1943 of 350,000. Here, public services are inadequately provided and consistently neglected; the schools are over-crowded, nearly all of the city's double shift schools being in this area; mortality and morbidity rates, as well as juvenile delinquency and crime rates, are disproportionately high; "morale tends to be low and tempers taut;" and rents here are 20 to 50 per cent higher than in other sections of the city. It should be pointed out, however, that an increasingly large number of white people are taking what may be termed an intelligent interest in the extension of democratic rights to the Negro. A considerable number of agencies, public and private, have been making organized progress in bringing about improved interracial conditions.

The story of race relations in other cities of the North is not very different from that in Chicago. Everywhere, we find the great majority of Negroes living in the least attractive areas; subjected to similar discriminations, differing not very greatly in degree; limited in public services of every kind—educational, recreational, transportational, and the rest. In some respects, however, New York City has profited in exceptional degree from State and City legislation in matters pertaining to race relations. On the State level there is the Civil Rights Law, the "Little Wagner Act" and other enactments, decisions and orders prohibiting discrimination against racial and religious minorities. The State Fair Employment Practice Law passed in 1945 still further facilitated progress. At the municipal level, there are several prohibitions relative to discrimination in employment and in services rendered by public, quasi-public, and private welfare agencies which receive grants from public funds. These and other regulations indicate unusual attempts to facilitate equal participation of all persons in the cultural life of the city.

THE KU KLUX KLAN

Three times in the history of our country, the Ku Klux Klan has come into prominence—first, at the close of the Civil War; second, at the end of World War I; and third, immediately following World War II. It is probable that the original Ku Klux Klan began in 1866 as a club of young men in Pulaski, Tennessee. At first, it was just a social circle with the usual trappings of secrecy and costumes. Mere pillow cases and white bed-sheets were the chief paraphernalia. These worn at night by horsemen proved terrifying to superstitious Negroes but soon the Klan grew into an order for "keeping the Negro in his place." Hooded Klansmen would ride up to the cabin of some hapless Negro and threaten him with mysterious punishment if he did not behave himself. By 1867, Klans had formed throughout much of the South, and the Ku Klux Klan soon became an "Invisible Empire."

On the surface, the original Klan looked innocent enough. Its objectives, as announced at a convention of the Klan in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1867, were:

1. "To protect the weak and innocent from the lawless; to succor the suffering, especially widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers.
2. "To defend the constitution of the United States; and to protect the States and people from all invasions of rights and liberties."

Soon, however, moral persuasion in dealing with Negroes gave way to violence, and hoodlums took advantage of the Klan disguise. In reaction to resulting abuses of the Klan, its grand master, General Nathan B. Forrest, ex-Confederate cavalry hero, disbanded the organization in 1869. In a special message to Congress in 1871, President Grant urged legislation to curb violence of secret organizations. The result was a series of "Force Laws" enacted by Congress to enforce the 14th Amendment of the Constitution and to break up secret societies whose activities were irresponsible and violent in the South. It was not, however, until one of the chief purposes of the leaders had been realized; namely, the political subordination of Negroes in the South, that the Klan was really dissolved.

After a long intermission, the Ku Klux Klan again came into official being on Stone Mountain, Georgia, in 1915. This time the organization was incorporated as a fraternal insurance company by William Joseph Simmons, its founder and first "Wizard." For a time the Klan went along quietly without attracting much attention or many members. Its signs, however, posted in many parts of Atlanta read: "1000 Eyes Are Watching You." Then, in the early 1920's, the skillful promoter got complete control of the Klan and organized it nationally on a very definite financial basis. Under this new set up, there were large profits for the organizing and administrative personnel at the top. In addition to the fees, dues, and other contributions of its members, the Klan reaped no inconsiderable income from the "sheet factory" at Buckhead, an Atlanta suburb, which ran day and night turning out paraphernalia. The rake-off on this constantly divided up and down the line from Supreme Wizard to Kludd, fostered enthusiasm and efficiency in the higher ranking Klansmen and accounted, in no small measure, for the extraordinary growth of the organization. At one time in the 1920s, the membership of the Klan was estimated at between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 men.

Political Scandals Of the Ku Klux Klan

The political scandals of the Ku Klux Klan are now a dark chapter in American history. State after State, not only in the South but in the North and West as well, was affected by Klan influence. In Texas, the organization succeeded in electing a United States senator and was an issue in the election of Governor in 1924 and again in 1926. The Klan played an important political role also in Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Oklahoma, Alabama, Georgia, and Oregon. Furthermore, in 1928, the Klan got into national politics and, in the Democratic Convention that year, fought the nomination of Governor Alfred E. Smith, of New York, who happened to be a Catholic. Everywhere the Klan was arrogant, intolerant, and at times violent. Claiming to be a true exponent of "Americanism," the Klan forgot that America is made up of heterogeneous national and racial groups, and is a country which has obligated itself to live according to constitutional and statutory law.

Klan Tactics Were Lawless

The tactics of the Klan at first consisted in meeting under the light of a fiery cross in the open country where its members, masked and hooded in white robes in the traditional Ku Klux manner, listened to fiery addresses of a seemingly high moral or patriotic character. Soon after there appeared the other Klan tactics: anonymous threats and occasional whipping, tarring and feathering; and other acts of violence, including killing. The *New York World* tabulated the violent actions occurring from October, 1920, to October, 1921, as follows: "four killings, one mutilation, one branding with acid, forty-one floggings, twenty-seven tar and feather parties, five kidnappings, forty-three persons warned to leave town or otherwise threatened, fourteen communities threatened by warning posters, and sixteen parades by masked men with warning placards."

Disbandment And Revival of the Klan

During the depression years, the membership rolls fell off to practically nothing and, in 1944, the Klan was disbanded as a national organization. Disbandment, however, did not change the intolerant and persecuting nature of tens of thousands of men awaiting the time when they could become active. In fact, World War II was scarcely ended when the Klansmen were riding again. It soon became evident that the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan hoped to launch a come-back aided by post-war insecurity and race tension. This time, as before, Stone Mountain, just outside the city limits of Atlanta, was the scene of the fiery cross. Klansmen from far and near were summoned to participate in the largest public demonstration of Klan history. About 500 men were initiated by some 700 Klansmen, in the presence of more than a thousand women and children spectators, gathered about the famous shrine on the night of May 9, 1946. Numerous automobiles with license plates from Tennessee, Alabama, and South Carolina were among a much larger number with Georgia designation.

White Supremacy the Cardinal Principle of the Klan

At the Stone Mountain demonstration, Grand Dragon, Dr. Samuel Green, declared that the Klan is vigorously opposed to voting by Negroes in the "white primaries" but has no objection to their voting in the general elections. He declared further:

> "The cardinal principle of the Klan is white supremacy. God made white men and Negroes in two colors. If He'd meant them to be equal, He'd have made them the same color. The supremacy of the white man has been demonstrated through the ages and we believe it is the will of God.
>
> "The hierarchy of the Klan," wrote Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, in the October, 1946, issue of Coronet, "lends itself admirably to the Fuehrer principle. At the top is the Imperial Wizard and Emperor, to whom the individual Klansmen must take an oath of absolute personal obedience. Underneath the Wizard, whose analogy to the Fuehrer is obvious, are the Grand Dragons, heads of States in the same way the Gauleiters were heads of German provinces. Beneath the Dragons are the Titans, overlords of several Klaverns, and the Cyclops, each of whom heads a Klavern, the smallest unit of the Ku Klux Klan. It is a ready-made structure for some native Fascist leader to move into. Already the Klan is equipped with its book of ritual, the Kloran. Already it possesses its scapegoats, the Jews and Catholics and Negroes."

It is said that all the "K" words and titles used by the Klan, except one, came from the fertile imagination of the founder. "Kludd" is a "more recent title and applies to the supreme whipping boss of the Klavern, and is probably derived from the sound made by a lash, six feet long by five inches wide by two inches thick and studded with cleats, as it descends on the bare flesh of a helpless victim."

The general purposes of the Ku Klux Klan are summarized in its application blanks, to be used by prospective members, as follows:

> ***"WHITE SUPREMACY"***
>
> "If you are a Native Born, White, Protestant, Gentile, American Citizen of good character and believe in our principles, an opportunity to join a secret organization that stands primarily for White Supremacy awaits you. Our organization stands for:
>
> Christianity
> America First
> White Supremacy
> Upholding Constitution
> Racial Segregation
> Racial Purity
> Pure White Womanhood
> Opposition to Communism
> America for Americans
> States Rights
> Separation of Church and State
> Freedom of Speech and Press
> No Foreign Immigration,
> Except Pure White
> Law and Order
> American Leadership of
> American Labor Unions
> Closer Relationship between
> American Capital and
> American Labor
>
> "If you truly desire to do your part for Christianity, your Country, and your Race by joining our organization, sign and return this card at once. Every real American should be able to honestly say: I do my part. Tomorrow may be too late. ACT NOW!"

Status of the Ku Klux Klan in Several States

Alabama: During the year 1946, the Ku Klux Klan was revived in the Birmingham area and applied for a State charter. Governor-Elect Jim Folsom said at that time "the Klan is not a factor in State politics." No effort has been made to outlaw the organization. Birmingham police officers reported, in the early part of the year, the burning of six crosses in widely scattered areas on the outskirts of the city. Furthermore, it is known that a drive for Klan memberships has made considerable progress.

California: During the first half of 1946, Southern California became a hot-bed of revived Klan operations. In May of that year, State Attorney General Robert Kenny, charging that the Klan had been operating unlawfully for the past ten years, moved that the organization be declared dead. In Los Angeles, a superior court judge thereupon brought three former Grand Dragons and an ex-Kleagle into court and, after listening to the Dragon's denials of connection with, or interest in the Klan, granted the unopposed Kenny motion. The revocation of the charter by the State rendered unlawful any act of solicitation of members as well as any activities of the Klan in California. Twelve hours after the court order outlawing the Ku Klux Klan in California, however, a fiery cross was burning in front of a Jewish fraternity house on the campus of the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, and white-painted KKK's were scrawled on the Administration Building of that institution. This was the second campus cross-burning within three days. Soon after another fiery cross illumined the house of a Los Angeles Negro.

Florida: Early in 1946, several large roadside signs appeared on highways near the city limits of Miami. These signs called attention to the thoroughly "American" nature of the Ku Klux Klan program and informed interested native-white Protestant males "of good moral character and sober habits" how they could join. Florida Secretary of State, R. A. Gray, reported that his records indicate the revival of the Klan by incorporation on September 7, 1944. The Federal Bureau of Investigation officials have been watching Klan movements but declare their inability to do anything unless the hooded members begin interstate activity. Early in the year, the Miami Klan issued the following statement:

> "We are operating under a legal charter under the name Ku Klux Klan of the State of Florida, Inc. We make income tax returns to the Federal Government. The Klan does not and will not wear a mask. . . . We believe that Protestants should have organizations as well as other religions have theirs. The Klan is a religious organization, and its principles can be found in the 12th chapter of Romans, first and second verses."

About the time this statement was made, a Negro's home in Miami, Florida, was burned to the ground. Klan terrorists are reported to have declared that the home was burned because it was too close to the residences of the whites.

Georgia: A vigorous organizing drive had been in progress for some months in Georgia touched off by the mammoth cross-burning on Stone Mountain. The Klan had been re-chartered in the State as a "fraternal" organization for white gentiles only. Dr. Samuel Green, Grand Dragon of the organization, remarked to newsmen: "The Klan opposes all isms except Americanism. We especially oppose Communism and we fight to prevent its spread."

Soon after the Stone Mountain initiation, the State of Georgia filed suit against the Ku Klux Klan accusing it of "murder, assaults, batteries, and false arrests," and sought to revoke the Klan's national charter. In a condemning twelve-page document filed with Judge Frank A. Hooper, Jr., of the Fulton Superior Court, Assistant Attorney General Dan Duke outlined a number of specific instances of how the Klan "has carried on its business . . . in such a way . . . as to break down the orderly process of legal justice . . . and to create confusion, discord, and discontent among Georgia citizens." In connection with recent Klan activities, the suit claimed that the present Georgia Klan, directed by Grand Dragon Samuel Green, is part and parcel of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., which received its corporate charter in 1916. The suit rehearsed the Klan's activities from 1935 on. It claimed that W. W. Scarborough, Exalted Cyclops of the East Point, Georgia Post from 1937 to 1940, appointed a secret committee, headed by Floyd I. Lee, whose duties were to flog persons "who needed correcting." The death of Ike Gaston in 1940 and the flogging of twenty-three identified persons resulted, it was charged, from the operation of such committees, or "wrecking crews." The status of the Klan was still further involved when the United States Collector of Internal Revenue filed a Federal tax lien in Fulton Superior Court for $685,305 allegedly due the Government in income taxes by the Klan.

Kentucky: The right of the Klan to do business in Kentucky was ordered revoked in September, 1946, by William B. Ardery, Franklin Circuit Judge. In the judgment against the Klan, prepared by Attorney General Eldon S. Dummit, it was charged that in qualifying as a corporation, the Klan's purpose was stated as "benevolent and eleemosynary," but that its actual purpose was very different. The suit by the State's chief legal representative added:

> "Plaintiff further states that the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is not and never has been a benevolent and eleemosynary corporation, but a lawless, seditious organization of Nazi tendencies whose sole purpose is to create dissension and divisions among the citizens of the United States and of the Commonwealth and to work violence on citizens . . . who do not belong to the same religious denomination or racial or national stocks as persons in control of the defendent corporation."

Louisiana: Accounts reveal no concerted effort on the part of Klan leaders in this State to revive the organization. A predominantly Catholic population of Southern Louisiana has discouraged Klan proselyting.

Mississippi: Little open activity on the part of the Klan has been reported; and no effort on the part of the State to ban the organization is in evidence. Senator Bilbo won renomination on a "white supremacy" campaign and openly acknowledged his membership in the Ku Klux Klan. "Once a Ku Kluxer, always a Ku Kluxer" was no surprising remark by the Senator from Mississippi. Crosses were burned in the Negro area of Jackson, the State capital. These were probably to intimidate Negroes for their political activity and to frighten them out of CIO organizations.

New York: In July, 1946, the Ku Klux Klan was dissolved by court order in New York State and Attorney General Nathaniel L. Goldstein promptly announced that henceforth the Klan will be treated as a criminal organization. In a further attempt to smash the hooded order in New York, the Attorney-General forwarded to the Federal Bureau of Investigation a list of 1,000 names of persons listed as members or former members of the Ku Klux Klan in the State. It was announced by investigators that the New York Klan had definite tie-ups with the Georgia Klan. It was still further revealed that fifteen Ku Klux Klan units existed in the greater New York City area and operated in the city until 1944 when they were consolidated into four main groups, one each in Brooklyn, Bronx, Queens, and Staten Island.

New Jersey: State action has for some time been pending to revoke the Klan charter in this State. Attorney General Walter D. Van Ripper, in July 1946, declared: "I have advised Secretary of State, Loyd B. Marsh, to refuse for filing any certificate of incorporation which seeks to amend or supplement in any way the present certificate of incorporation of the Ku Klux Klan, which has been on file in this State since 1923." It was in this State that Klansmen and German Bundsmen allegedly fraternized at Camp Nordland in 1940.

Pennsylvania: Klan activities in several communities of Pennsylvania have led to a State-wide investigation. Orders from State Police Headquarters were issued in September, 1946, to the commanders of the four police squadrons in the Commonwealth to make a thorough check of their respective areas for Klan activities. Howard F. Shaffer, Cyclops of the Franklin County Klan, declared that "the Klan is a victim of prejudice. . . . Our organization has existed for twenty-five years and is 100 per cent American. We are here to stay and there is no law to stop us."

South Carolina: Until 1944, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan maintained official relationship with the Georgia corporation by that name. According to a statement by Secretary of State W. P. Blackwell, the "Klan is not now in good standing." In June, 1946, however, Negroes were anonymously informed that if they sought enrollment on the Democratic party books with a view to taking part in the summer elections or organization of a local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that the "Klan would ride." There is no evidence of efforts on the part of the State Government to interfere with possible Klan activities.

Tennessee: Klan activities are reported to have been frequent in Eastern Tennessee, in and around Chattanooga and Knoxville. Governor McCord denied that the Klan is active in Tennessee; but Stetson Kennedy pointed out in the spring of 1946 that there had already been five cross-burnings in the Chattanooga area; that much progress had been made in enlisting the cooperation of policemen and firemen; and that J. B. Stoner was serving as full-time organizer of the Klan.

Virginia: The Klan is believed to be dormant in Virginia. In 1940, however, the Klan was still operating in that State, although its members had discarded their masks and had confined use of their other regalia to official Klan meetings.

Present Ku Klux Klan Related to the Old

The Klan in its rebirth usually claims that it is an entirely new organization having no relationship to the earlier Klan. The Georgia investigators, however, have disproved this claim. The seven Klaverns, or units, functioning in 1946 in or near Atlanta, employ the same rituals and titles provided for in the Kloran—the volume of Klan lectures and rituals. The contemporary Klan uses the same pass- [illegible]

[illegible]

THE COLUMBIANS, INC.

The Purpose of the Columbians, Inc.

[illegible]

work in gangs. The Columbia objectives are not unlike those of the Klan. The leaders boast openly of their anti-Negro, anti-Jew, anti-Catholic, and anti-Communist intentions. Homer Loomis, Jr., the founder and Secretary-Treasurer of the group, frankly admits that "hate" is an essential motivation behind his organization and that is why they have decided to "start something." The plan of the Columbians evidently was to police the city and keep the Negroes and the Jews in their place. Chief of Police Hornsby, however, did not desire such cooperation, for, he declared, "My department will do the policing of Atlanta and we won't tolerate any interference from the Columbians or any other organization."

The charter of the Columbians, which was legalized by the State of Georgia on August 16, 1946, contained this significant statement:

> "To encourage our people to think in terms of race, nation, faith, and to work for a national moral re-awakening in order to build a progressive white community that is bound together by a deep spiritual consciousness of the past and a determination to share a common future."

This charter, however, was subsequently the object of revocation procedure on the part of the State.

Character of Leadership and Active Membership in the Columbians

In an editorial column of *The Atlanta Constitution,* November 15, 1946, Ralph McGill commented on the leadership and active membership as follows:

> "These are all alike, whether they [illegible]

Continuing, the editorial reads:

[illegible]

community and as long as we do not do a better job in educating them, they will provide material for the promoters of hates and prejudices who make a good thing financially for themselves out of the discontent of others."

ATTITUDES TOWARD KLAN-LIKE ORGANIZATIONS

Attitudes of the Largest and Most Liberal Southern Newspapers

It is important to note that the largest and most liberal newspapers of the South have boldly taken the side of justice in their opposition to the Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations. The two leading newspapers of Atlanta, Ga.,—*The Atlanta Constitution* and *The Atlanta Journal*—have been especially outspoken in their denunciation. *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Ky., *The Montgomery Advertiser* and *The Birmingham News* of Alabama, *The News Sentinel*, Knoxville, Tenn., *The Tribune*, Tampa, Fla., *The News*, Charlotte, N. C., and *The Times-Dispatch*, Richmond, Va., have not hesitated to attack the Klan.

Some Newspapers Encourage The Ku Klux Klan

Occasionally, however, some of the smaller newspapers, especially those in the more backward communities of the South, express opinions more encouraging to Klan-like organizations. In an editorial headed: "The Ku Klux Klan Is Bound to Come Back," *The Covington News* (Alabama) made a suggestion out of line with liberal editorial comment. It said:

> "As much as all of us hate to admit it, the possibility of the Ku Klux Klan being re-hashed and reorganized in the South is more of a probability than a possibility. The people of the South are just not going to take this CIO lying down. Laws hastily passed by a Congress that didn't weigh all the consequences are highly favorable to labor while the public's interest was not protected at the same time. . . . It might take the Ku Klux Klan to straighten them out unless the oncoming elections take care of the matter."

Not only is the Klan anti-Negro but it is anti-anything else that interferes with the traditions and mores of the South.

Southern Churchmen Take Strong Stand Against Ku Klux Klan

The Southern Baptist Convention, representing over 5,000,000 Southerners, adopted a resolution aimed at the Klan, urging member churches to "refrain from association with all groups that exist for the purpose of fomenting strike and division within the nation on the basis of differences of race, religion and culture."

Both the Christian Council of Atlanta and the Atlanta Ministerial Association passed strong resolutions denouncing the Klan. In Georgia, especially, where Klan activity has been most marked, the churches have been outspoken in their condemnation of the Klan. On May 19, 1946, following the rebirth of the Klan at Stone Mountain, more than two-dozen ministers, by organized plan, blasted the Klan as un-Christian, and called upon their congregations to "cry out against it."

Typical of the many declarations was that of the Atlanta Methodist Ministers Association:

> "We deplore any effort on the part of any person or group of persons to stir up racial prejudice for political, or any other purpose, among our people in Georgia. We believe that all human beings regardless of race, creed or color belong to the human family and have equal rights before God and in human society. We therefore call upon all of our people to stand for liberty, justice and freedom for each and every citizen of the state."

Organized Labor Active Against Ku Klux Klan

All branches of organized labor in Georgia also rallied in opposition to the Klan. The Georgia Legislative Council, a joint body including AFL, CIO, and independent unions, called for Federal investigation and action against the Klan. The Textile Workers Union, recognizing the Klan as an anti-labor force, pledged full support of all action against the Klan and declared its readiness to expose the activities of the Klan whenever possible.

Such actions on the part of the various organizations in Georgia are typical of those in other States where the Klan has been revived. It is evident that the Klan will meet with increasing opposition almost everywhere in the South.

SCHOOL STRIKES

School Strike At Gary, Indiana

The opening of the school year, 1945-46, brought a series of demonstrations by white students against the presence of Negroes in several non-segregated schools of the North and West. The longest and most publi-

One of these demonstrations occurred in Gary, Indiana, when the white students of Froebel School began a strike on September 18, which lasted nearly two months. The immediate occasion for the demonstration was a fight involving Negro and white students at a football game. On the Monday morning following this incident, a large number of white students began gathering outside the school at opening time, refusing to come into the building. When Principal Richard Nuzum demanded that they enter and proceed to their classes, the group responded by sending in a committee demanding that the 800 Negro students be transferred from Froebel and that the school be made into an institution for white students only. Not receiving a favorable response from the administration, the white student body began its strike.

Many [illegible] Causes Of the Gary Strike

There were several conditions and causes which contributed to the strike. First, it should be mentioned the slum nature of the surrounding area in which people of many nationalities live. Conditions of vice and crime, overcrowding, lack of recreational facilities, and other abnormal conditions accentuated during the war period were contributing factors. Then, the end of the war, with its emotional readjustments, added to the general confusion of the community.

The second underlying cause was lack of a definite policy on the part of the Board of Education in regard to segregation. The intercultural issue in the schools was not met consistently. At Froebel and two elementary schools there was nonsegregation, while in all the other schools of the city segregation was the practice. [illegible]

status and inferior, therefore, to white children.

Following the Detroit race riot, there was a disposition on the part of the community to abolish some of the discriminations against Negro children at the Froebel School as a means of appeasing the Negro community for its lack of civic privileges. The swimming pool, for instance, was opened to Negro boys in an attempt to satisfy the demand of Negroes for admittance to swimming beaches on the lake front. In the school strike were members of a protest group which was formed following the opening of the swimming pool to the Negro boys.

In commenting on the school strike at Gary, Dr. Marion Edman said:

> "The boys who fomented the strike and were its leaders in its early period were nearly all frustrated, maladjusted children with low IQ's and a long record of bad behavior in school and community, and who seemingly could not find within the school the satisfactions they craved."

Organized Efforts to Prevent Recurrence

Continuing, Dr. Edman wrote:

> "To combat prejudice and misunderstanding among Gary's many groups of citizens a number of organizations have been formed to demonstrate and to foster cooperative effort within the community—a ministerial association embracing all the clergy of the city, Christian and Jewish, Negro and white; a Civil Liberties Committee; a United Council of Negro Organizations including some forty groups; and a number of others. In addition, a program for developing understanding among its members is in process of being set up within the CIO; church groups are devoting time to studying the basic problems of community living; civic organizations like the League of Women Voters are taking the initiative in planning their meetings to focus community attention on key problems; the YWCA has come forward with the opening of a new interracial center in the Froebel area, and the Board of Education has given a vote of confidence to the Bureau for Intercultural Education by asking it to continue its program of work in the schools."

Demonstrations in Chicago Schools

Very soon after the strike in Gary began, there were similar disturbances in several of the schools in Chicago. White students struck against the presence of Negroes at Calumet, Morgan Park, Englewood, and other schools in the city. There were actual outbreaks of several hundred white students at Calumet and at Englewood

While Chicago resembled Gary in the conditions out of which the anti-Negro strikes developed, its machinery for dealing with disturbances was much better. The Mayor's Committee on Race Relations was alert; the police would not permit the striking students at Englewood and Calumet to demonstrate on the school grounds; but offered them alternatives of going to school, being arrested, or returning home. Several of the ringleaders were actually arrested, taken to the police station, and lectured on democracy in the presence of their parents. Anti-strike, pro-democratic mass meetings were held and addressed by such bobby sox heroes as Danny Kaye, Frank Sinatra, Canada Lee, and Bill Robinson. As a result of firm action and mobilization of liberal sentiment, the Chicago demonstrations were relatively short-lived.

Racial Demonstrations in New York City Schools

A highly personal fist-fight in the Benjamin Franklin High School gymnasium between a white and a Negro youth resulted in a series of racial clashes—most of them outside the school. Franklin School is located in East Harlem and has within its student body representatives of approximately forty national and ethnic groups. Despite a liberal Principal and the presence of several outstanding liberal teachers on the faculty, there has at times been very much resentment on the part of non-Negro students against the presence of Negro boys in the school. The immediate outbreak at Franklin School was brought quickly under control.

Threatened Demonstration In San Diego Schools

Here the difficulty was due to the hiring of a Negro teacher. Despite protests made by a group of twenty-five citizens from the Pacific Beach community, William Payne, a Negro, was employed to teach in a San Diego junior high school. Ignoring the argument of this protesting group that the Negro enrollment in the school was too small to warrant the hiring of a Negro teacher, Dr. Will C. Crawford, Superintendent of the San Diego schools, issued the following statement:

> "The appointment of Mr. William Payne to the staff of the San Diego city schools was of no particular significance as far as any change in our employment policy was concerned. By that I mean that Mr. Payne was a regular candidate for a teaching position, who met our requirements of educational training, experience and character. He was, therefore, appointed by the Board of Education and assigned to a position that seemed appropriate to his ability without any reference to the Negro enrollment in that particular school."

METHODS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF RACE RELATIONS

The Inter-racial Clinic

The Inter-racial Clinic has come into prominence as a means for dealing with the mental-social health of communities. Under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Dr. George Edmund Haynes, Director of the Department of Race Relations, prepared a most helpful manual setting forth the organization, purposes, and techniques of the typical Inter-racial Clinic. Modeled after the earlier and much-used clinics having to do with physical, mental, and social abnormalities of individuals, the Inter-racial Clinic emphasizes the function of fact-finding in the solution of inter-racial problems.

> "Treatment for remedy and prevention," states Dr. Haynes in the manual, "call for the orienting of individuals and groups by factual analysis of their situations and consultation with those of widest knowledge and experience. . . . In dealing with individual and group inter-racial tensions and conflicts, we face problems of mental illness and must seek remedies for them as problems of mental health. . . . Besides, where inter-racial relations are wholesome and normal there is a definite need of preventive measures."

Community self-analysis, carried on by carefully selected committees under competent guidance, secures the essential facts for the subsequent consideration and planned action of the clinic. "Specific problems such as employment and housing needs, hospital or recreation facilities and the people involved are the specific case situations that become the subjects of community self-analysis and group discussions by those who are seeking to find means of improving local human relations. Acting upon the basis of their own discoveries through fact-finding and diagnostic analyses they decide on remedial or preventive action." The clinic not only makes use of its own leaders in social work, industry, religion, labor, and the various professions but secures the help of consultants of national reputation from the outside.

Under the leadership of the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, which has affiliated with it 135 city and 35 State Councils of Churches with paid executives, the plan for Interracial Clinics has been carried out in eighteen cities in Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey, Michigan, Ohio; Kansas City, Missouri, Portland, Oregon and Seattle, Washington. Techniques similar to those of the clinic have been used increasingly by other organizations and institutions.

The Springfield Plan

Perhaps the earliest all-school-community plan for inter-cultural education is that usually referred to as the Springfield, Massachusetts, Plan. In 1939, Dr. Charles Granrud, Superintendent of Schools, who had long been concerned about the growing racial, religious, economic, and political tensions in American life, appointed a committee to study the whole program of intergroup and citizen education. The committee itself, representing all levels of the Springfield public schools, was somewhat inter-cultural in nature.

The general plan drawn up by this committee and later, with some modifications, adopted as a guide for the school system was neither new nor sensational but was based on a philosophy of democracy accepted, at least vocally, by true Americans everywhere. The program thus adopted was essentially an organized effort to teach democratic citizenship by the practice of democracy on all levels of school and community life. The principle of the program was expressed in the phrase, "living, learning, working and thinking together." Its three more or less unique characteristics are emphasis, continuity, and integration. Being an integral part of the whole educational scheme, the Springfield Plan cannot be separated as a specialized unit. An examination of the total factual and activity content, however, reveals a general pattern. Beyond the elementary and high school grades of the city system, the plan extends into the evening adult school classes, into the placement of graduates, into public relations, into extra-school activities, and into many spheres of school and city administration.

National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination

In recent years, the Congress of Industrial Organizations has enunciated a sound racial policy and has had significant influence on other labor unions. In order that the stated purpose of the CIO, namely, "to bring about effective organization of the working men and women of America regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality, and to unite them for common action into labor unions for their mutual aid and protection," might be translated into action, the National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination was established in April, 1943. This committee has been functioning largely in an advisory capacity and has sought to effect the organization of local affiliates in each Industrial Union Council, State, county, and municipal. One of the international unions, the United Packing House Workers of America, through its Anti-Discrimination Committee, has adopted a suggestive program which emphasizes education, organization, and leadership training.

Intercultural Education In New York City

During the 1943-44 academic year, a plan "for the development of good human relations" through education was inaugurated in the public schools of New York City. In announcing the 1944-45 expansion of the program, the Superintendent of Schools made the following suggestions to all teachers and supervisors:

> "Each of us should exemplify at all times in word and in deed, complete respect for cultural differences; each should cooperate wholeheartedly with community programs designed to build attitudes of appreciation of the worth of all peoples; each should make the presence of bias a matter of grave concern; and each of us should take advantage of every opportunity to impress respect for others as a prime obligation of all Americans."

The Horace Mann-Lincoln School Neighborhood Center

The Horace Mann-Lincoln School Neighborhood Center, New York City, began on a Saturday afternoon in November, 1944, when parents were invited to send their children, ages eight to sixteen years, to enroll in a program to give them experience in "democratic living." Three hundred children of all backgrounds—Negro, Chinese, Japanese, Irish, Italian, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, English—participate under the supervision of thirteen white and Negro instructors conducting a variety of "classes," all of a hobby nature. A careful representation of all races was planned in choosing the children for the project: one-third from Horace Mann-Lincoln School and two-thirds from the schools, churches, and libraries of the immediate neighborhood.

The "afternoon begins with an assembly at which movies and skits are shown. Celebrated artists of different cultural backgrounds often dance, sing, and enchant their young audiences into participating with them. The rest of the five hours is spent in supervised educational activities." Over a period of time, the activities include the following: (1) arts and crafts; (2) group games in gyms and playgrounds; (3) carpentry; (4) contemporary affairs discussion group; (5) drama group; (6) expressive dancing; (7) group music; (8) painting and drawing; (9) pottery; (10) sculpture; and (11) swimming.

During the year 1944-45, the program was financed by the Neighborhood Committee of the Parent-Teacher Association of the Teachers College Schools and was supervised by Ernest G. Osborne and Goodwin Watson, Professors of Education, Columbia University.

Workshops in Inter-group Education

The first workshop in inter-group education was held at the Colorado State College of Education during the summer of 1941. It was initiated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and was sponsored by the Conference and the Bureau of Cultural Education. In 1942 a similar workshop was conducted at Teachers College, Columbia University, in addition to the repeated workshop at the Colorado State College of Education. During the summer of 1945, at least twelve full-fledged workshops in inter-group education were carried on as follows: University of California, Berkeley, California; University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois; Columbia University, New York City; University of Denver, Denver, Colorado; Eau Claire State Teachers College, Eau Claire, Wisconsin; Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont; Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Milwaukee State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Oregon System of Higher Education, Portland, Oregon; Stanford University, California; Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York; and University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

Most of these workshops are planned for students of graduate standing. In addition to the leader of the workshop group, consultants from various related fields assist from time to time.

TRENDS IN RACE RELATIONS

The following summary of trends in race relations was prepared by Arlene Wolf, Associated Press newsfeatures writer, and appeared in the *Birmingham News-Age-Herald*, November 17, 1946:

General Nature Of Efforts

Although the war-time spur for national unity is absent, the fight for tolerance for minority groups of every description is being carried on with sustained vigor in many parts of the country. Positive efforts for racial tolerance range from state-wide anti-discrimination acts protecting every citizen's right to hold a job to such purely local projects as the work of an Oklahoma City YWCA to accustom Negroes and whites to working together within the organization. These efforts involve not only Negroes, but Jews, Nisei, and other racial and religious groups. They range from nation-wide drives conducted by such organizations as the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to individual community efforts to combat a particular local problem.

The "Detroit Experiment," for example, started as the result of the 1943 race riot and branched out into a city project spearheaded by the city-financed inter-racial committee, working through schools, business groups and other civic organizations. Similar projects around the country are characteristic of what is called "the trend of the times," by Dr. Clyde Miller, Associate Professor at Teachers College in New York and speaker for the League for Fair Play. "There is a growing feeling on the part of just ordinary citizens," he says, "that intergroup (racial and religious) antagonisms violate the principles on which our American democracy is founded, and violate the ethics of all the great religions."

But, although there are hundreds of such projects, public and private, they have not by any means completely stamped out group tensions. Chicago, which has 20 agencies working for tolerance, reports twice as many incidents of violence involving racial conflict as before V-J Day. There are still large areas where nothing worthy of mention on the tolerance fight is reported. There are still reports of mob disorders, lynchings and individual beating of Negroes. And there are still Ku Klux Klans, says Dr. Miller, who points out that with more people fighting intolerance the forces of bigotry are bound to mobilize to fight back —not merely against efforts to further Negro-white relations, but against peace and unity among various religious groups as well.

Most of the tolerance victories so far have been achieved on the State or community level, with nation-wide legislation still very much in the formative stage. Various groups are urging repassage of the national emergency Fair Employment Practices Act which lapsed this year when the committee was voted no more money. It will be brought up again before the new Congress. The anti-lynching bill has been before Congress on and off for ten years, and probably will come up again. So will bills to prohibit discriminatory leasing of housing projects, aided by Federal funds, against segregation of job applicants in the United States Employment Service offices, and to outlaw Jim Crow in inter-state travel. All these bills, however, are very much in the future.

Tolerance Activities At The State Level

On the State level, legislative action has been taken in four States. New York, Massachusetts, and New Jersey have anti-discrimination, or Fair Employment Practices Laws in operation. Minnesota has an equal rights law enacted in 1885 and recently broadened to prevent discriminations arising from national origins or religion. Lobbying for a fair employment law has been going on for several years in Oregon, where such organizations as the League of Women Voters question candidates on their view of FEPC and endorse them accordingly. Chicago has a local ordinance enforced by a civil rights bureau modeled after the United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Bureau.

In the last election, however, California voters heavily defeated an initiative proposition for FEPC which would have prevented racial, religious or nationality discrimination as a condition of employment or membership in a labor union. In Alabama, a constitutional amendment admittedly designed to make it more difficult for Negroes to vote by tightening up voter qualifications was approved by a close margin in a referendum vote.

Community Projects in Mutual Understanding

The fight to mobilize good will has been particularly successful in certain localities. The success of the famous "Springfield Plan" to combat intolerance, for example, has encouraged other cities to start similar projects—among them Newark, New Jersey; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Portland, Oregon; Cleveland, Ohio; New York; Denver, Colo.; Bloomfield, N. J.; Dayton, Ohio; Los Angeles and Santa Barbara, Calif., the League for Fair Play reports. These plans, now in various stages ranging from pure idea to actual operation, seek to unite the entire community in the project, and work particularly through civic organizations and the public school systems to promote understanding of all groups.

In addition, Minneapolis and sixteen other school systems now are engaged in a nation-wide project on intergroup education sponsored by the American Council on Education. Several cities have official or semi-official civic agencies working on the problem. In addition to Chicago's Civil Rights Bureau and its Mayor's Human Relations Committee, there is the Cleveland

Community Relations Board, which the city believes was the first such agency to be made an official part of city government. Created in 1945, the Board promotes educational activities, and does a "fireman's" job in dealing with individual incidents, working with police and other officials, and generally coordinating the work of other groups.

Los Angeles' two-year-old Committee on Human Relations surveys tense areas and attempts to solve inter-group problems with additional places of worship, community enterprises, and help for individual families where needed. New York has its Mayor's Committee on Unity, and so does Seattle, Wash., where positive results have included the employment of the first Negro bus driver hired by the city transit system. Similar committees are in operation in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and on the state level, the Governor's Inter-racial Commission of Minnesota.

Several municipalities have made special efforts to train their police officers to understand and cope with delicate inter-racial situations. In Youngstown, Ohio, for example, twenty-three members of the police force recently were given thorough instruction in dealing with these difficulties in a special program devised by the American Council on Race Relations. Police officers have received similar training in Richmond, Calif.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Detroit and San Francisco, where the Ku Klux Klan charter, incidentally, finally has been revoked.

Some cities like Baltimore have private groups to better inter-racial relations, although a Little Theater producer who recently tried operating on a non-segregation basis there was forced to close because whites generally refused to attend. Louisville's committee recently was disbanded for lack of funds. Des Moines reports a small, but significant victory in the appointment of its first regular Negro teacher. Chicago's Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination is urging colleges and universities to drop quota admissions for Negro and Jewish students, and funds have been appropriated to investigate a similar situation in New York. San Diego, Calif., believes it is the first to have a city-sponsored survey of inter-group relations made by the American Council on Race Relations at the city's request.

All these projects, national, State, and local, combine to produce an attitude which Dr. Miller calls the realization of the need for unity now, even when the war is over. "Even the most conservative people," he says, "see that American influence in the world cannot be effective if we violate our democracy at home."

NATIONAL VOLUNTARY AGENCIES CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS

American Civil Liberties Union (1920); 170 Fifth Ave., New York City.

This organization is a champion of civil liberties in America defending alike the liberties of majorites as well as minorities. Its purpose is to protect freedom of speech, of the press, and of assemblage by combating repressive legislation and the acts of individuals in violation of civil liberties; to aid in defense of cases in courts; and to carry test cases to the higher courts. Over 5,000 cases have been handled in the courts and with public officials. The Union supported the campaign for the FEPC; joined in suits to equalize Negro teachers' salaries; challenged segregated draft quotas and exclusion or segregation by labor unions; fought "white supremacy" cases; fought stage and literature censorship in Boston—and elsewhere—taking "Strange Fruit" to the Massachusetts Supreme Court. The Civil Liberties Union has carried on jointly with over fifty agencies in defense of civil rights and has handled over 500 individual cases. Among its several committees is the Committee Against Race Discrimination. The Union issues mimeographed weekly bulletins, The Civil Liberties Quarterly, and The Yearly Review.

Carnegie Corporation of New York (1911); 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

During the recent years the Corporation program has included grants chiefly in library service, the arts, and educational and scientific research. The agencies through which its work has been carried on are colleges, universities, national organizations, and professional and learned societies. A five-year study sponsored by the Corporation resulted in the most comprehensive report on the Negro in American life, published in two volumes in 1944 under the direction and authorship of Gunnar Myrdal. These volumes are entitled An American Dilemma—The Negro Problem and American Democracy. This encyclopedic study, made possible by the liberal assistance of the Corporation, draws upon a considerable body of intensive studies prepared by American scholars and specialists in the field of race relations.

Common Council for American Unity (1919); Willkie Memorial Building, 20 West 40th Street, New York City.

Purposes and Activities:

To help create among American people the mutual understanding resulting from a common citizenship, a common belief in democracy and the ideals of liberty, the placing of the common good before the interests of the group, and the acceptance, in fact as well as in law, of all citizens, whatever their national or racial origins, as equal partners in American life; to further an appreciation of what each group has contributed to America, to uphold the freedom to be different, and to encourage the growth of an American culture which will be truly representative of all the elements that make up the American people; to overcome intolerance and discrimination because of national origin, race or creed. The Common Ground Quarterly published by the Council contains high class articles bearing on the purposes indicated above.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (1908); 297 Fourth Ave., New York City.

Purpose and Activities:

To secure effective cooperation among the Protestant churches in local, State, and national areas; to develop a spirit of larger unity; and to serve as a center through which the churches can deal unitedly with the social, interracial, and international problems of common concern. Among the Council's departments are the following: the Church and Social Service; Race Relations; and Research and Education. A new Commission on the Church and Minority Peoples seeks to give guidance in the special problems of racial and cultural minorities. The Council issues Information Service, weekly; and the Federal Council Bulletin, monthly.

General Education Board (1902); 49 West 49th St., New York City.

By its generous contributions to Negro education, and, more recently, to programs looking toward the improvement of race relations and the lifting of the general level of life in the Southern States, the General Education Board is an important factor in the field of race relations. The Board is now putting emphasis on the stimulation of programs being carried out by other agencies in the field. As illustration of this may be mentioned the grant to the National Urban League, first, for the development of a Southern area program, and, second, for community relations programs in selected industrial centers. To mention all the types of encouragement to a better understanding of race relations given by the General Education Board would require much more space than is here allowed.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1909); 20 W. 40th Street, New York City.

A major purpose of the Association is to combat the unfavorable discrimination which colored people and other minority groups experience in the United States; to safeguard their civil, legal, economic, and political rights; and to secure for them equality of opportunity with all other citizens. In 1939, there was incorporated into the organization the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., with the following functions: To render legal aid gratuitously to such Negroes as are suffering legal injustices by reason of race or color and are unable to employ and engage legal aid and assistance on account of poverty; to seek and promote the educational facilities for Negroes who are denied the same by reason of race or color; and to conduct research, and collect, compile, and publish information concerning educational facilities and opportunities for Negroes and the inequality in such facilities provided for Negroes out of public funds. The Association publishes, monthly, the magazine, The Crisis, and, also monthly except August, the NAACP Bulletin.

National Urban League (1910); 1133 Broadway, New York City.

Activities of the League are planned:

To promote inter-racial organization and action; to improve economic and social conditions among Negro populations in cities; to conduct social research and planning in behalf of the Negro population; to promote specific social work activities among Negroes until other agencies are found to accept responsibility for such programs; to promote the occupational advancement of Negroes by carrying on programs of industrial relations, vocational guidance, and public education; and to encourage the training of Negro social workers through fellowships in accredited schools of social work. Under grant from the General Education Board, the league has been carrying on a demonstration project aimed at relieving racial tensions and improving welfare services to Negroes in selected industrial communities. Reports of this and other League activities are published in occasional bulletins and pamphlets. The League publishes, quarterly, Opportunity, Journal of Negro Life.

Phelps-Stokes Fund (1911); 101 Park Ave., New York City.

The Fund has devoted its major attention to Negro education and race relations in the United States and Africa, and the improvement of New York City housing conditions. In the field of social work it has sponsored the University Commission on Race Relations; the Commission on Interracial Cooperation; the Committee on Negro American in Defense Industries; the Committee on Africa, the War, and Peace Aims; and various inter-racial institutes, making the problem of relations between the white and Negro groups in this country and Africa one of its major interests. The Fund is now especially concerned with advancing projects in the interest of improving training of Negro ministers, in promoting mutually sympathetic race relations through education, and in the work of advancing education in Liberia.

Rockefeller Foundation (1913); 49 West 49th St., New York City.

An all-inclusive purpose of the Foundation is to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world. The Foundation is concerned specifically with certain problems in the fields of medical science, natural science, the humanities and public health. It contributes toward those activities of institutions which give promise of advancing objectives of its program; and, in addition, in the field of public health, it cooperates with governments in the development of general health activities and control of certain diseases. In a single year, 1945, the Foundation appropriated $11,984,907. Of this amount, $1,942,400 were appropriated in the field of the social sciences. The book value of the principal fund of the Foundation as of December, 1944, was $144,833,347.

Rosenwald Fund (Julius Rosenwald) (1917); 4901 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

The activities of the Fund have evolved from an emphasis on the construction of schools for Negro children in the South to its present emphasis on general efforts to improve race relations throughout the country. Activities of the latter sort include grants to a number of agencies working in this sphere, the preparation of special studies and reports, the distribution of books and pamphlets, and conferences and consultation with interested groups. In addition, the Julius Rosenwald Fund is at present supporting an educational program for teachers for work in the rural schools of the South, both Negro and white; and awards about seventy fellowships annually for exceptionally promising Negroes, white Southerners, and persons of any race or creed who are working or planning to work in the field of race relations.

Russell Sage Foundation (1907); 130 East 22nd St., New York City.

The purpose of the Foundation is to promote the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States. The members of the staff of the Foundation study social conditions and methods of social work; interpret the findings; make available the information by publications, conferences, and other means; and seek to stimulate action for social betterment. The Russell Sage Library, located in the Foundation building, contains more than 200,000 books and pamphlets in the field of social studies—probably the most complete collection relating to social problems and social work in the United States. This library is for the free use of anyone desiring information within its scope. Inquiries by mail may be made by those who cannot visit the library in person. Bibliographical help ranging from two or three titles to a comprehensive bibliography is furnished on request.

National Voluntary Agencies Established Since 1938

American Council On Race Relations (1944); 19th Floor, 32 West Randolph St., Chicago, Illinois.

The Council was organized in the summer of 1944 by a group of prominent leaders in the field of race relations. The Council's efforts are directed toward the achievement of full participation by all citizens in all aspects of American life. More specifically, the organization strives to achieve for all groups and individuals: (1) full opportunity for employment in accordance with ability, training, and experience: (2) free living space, without the bars of restrictive covenants or other segregation devices, and full access to public housing; (3) full access, without segregation, to public schools and to other public services; (4) equality before the law, with fair and impartial treatment by the police; (5) exercise of the full rights of citizens in regard to voting and holding office. Organization of the Council was made possible by initial grants from the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the Marshall Field Foundation. An important activity of the Council is in the matter of developing and disseminating materials for use in public schools and other educational institutions.

American Film Center, Committee on Mass Education in Race Relations (1943); 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 10, New York.

The Committee was formed in 1943 in an effort to find means of reaching the masses of people and helping to educate them through popular media. Films, radio, theater, and pictorial media are employed to disseminate information about the Negro in America—his history and culture, his contributions, his problems, his vision of and plans for adjustment in the contemporary world. The Committee is planning the projection of educational films: for mixed audiences, Negro audiences, and white audiences, all with the basic purpose of influencing attitudes in matters of race relations.

American Friends Race Relations Committee (1944); 20 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The Race Relations Committee's work was begun in 1944 through a number of definite projects planned to bring about better understanding between the races. The establishment of inter-racial work-camps, inter-racial institutes, and community centers has done much to realize the objectives of the Committee. "Whatever concerns human beings in distress, whatever may help to free individuals, groups and nations from fear, hate or narrowness—these are subjects for the Committee's consideration." The Committee cooperates with meetings and conferences in various parts of the country in the field of race relations and in such emergencies as the Philadelphia Transit Strike in August, 1944. It cooperates with other groups to rally public support for the principle of equal opportunity.

***Bureau For Intercultural Education* (1939); 1697 Broadway, New York 19, New York.**

The work of the Bureau was begun by The American Education Fellowship (formerly Progressive Education Association) in 1936. The following types of services are rendered by the Bureau: (1) service of public schools—from 1936 to 1943 in-service courses were given to 1,500 teachers in the New York Public Schools in the techniques of intercultural education; similar services have been rendered in more than eight other cities through institutes for teachers; and the Bureau serves as a workshop and library where educators may come to consult about their problems; (2) development of techniques through experiments in selected schools and the lessons learned made available through the Bureau's publications; and (3) summer workshops in inter-cultural education sponsored and directed at a number of colleges and universities, including Colorado State Teachers College, University of California, Harvard University, and Teachers College of Columbia University.

***Council For Democracy* (1940); 11 West 42nd Street, New York 18, New York.**

The Council was formed in 1940 to aid in attempts to establish a faith in democracy and the democratic process through a non-partisan group of citizens of all backgrounds and outlooks. In the field of race relations it is working to break down discrimination and to promote tolerance between different religious and racial groups. A survey made by the Council of Negro-white attitudes in a considerable number of industrial plants and unions was widely used by the American Management Association, the National Foreman's Club, and as a basis for conferences with management groups throughout the country. In the spring of 1944 the Council surveyed labor-management committees to learn how they were handling plant morale problems. Other important surveys have been carried on by the Council.

***League for National Unity, Inc.*, (1944); Woolworth Building, New York 7, New York.**

The League was founded in the early part of 1944, under the leadership of Dr. E. George Payne, Dean Emeritus of the School of Education of New York University. The League carries on a research program in New York schools with a view to determining the conditions under which racial and religious prejudice, stereotypes, conventional thinking, and attitudes which interfere with American unity originate. This program will be extended and directed from the School of Education of New York University, in cooperation with the Graduate School of Arts and Science. It will be the purpose not only to determine the causes and origins of these prejudices and attitudes, but the educational program and curriculum content necessary to bring about changes in community and pupil attitudes. A professorship dealing with Negro culture and education has been established in the University.

***Race Relations Division*, *American Missionary Association* (1942); Social Science Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.**

In January, 1942, the Association established a Division of Race Relations which offers the services of its staff in several forms of work: (1) Common Ground Workers; staff members available to communities desiring skilled assistance in organizing themselves for constructive solution of local inter-racial problems, such as those arising in connection with housing, restrictive covenants, labor and employment practices, transportation, welfare, recreation, and community planning. (2) Counsel by correspondence on how to develop action programs, institutes, or start courses on race relations, where to turn for speakers, materials, or book lists and the like. (3) An annual national institute of race relations, located in 1944, 1945, and 1946 at Fisk University. (4) Preparation of materials on request for national and state-wide organizations and periodicals.

***Southern Conference for Human Welfare* (1939); 808 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana.**

The interests and the purposes of the Conference are broad, touching many aspects of Southern life—economic, political, educational, interracial. The immediate program of the organization includes the following: (1) resource planning and development; (2) improving living standards; (3) civil rights; (4) political action; (5) world wide citizenship; (6) equalization of educational opportunities; (7) cooperation with other agencies having similar objectives. The Conference takes the position that racial discrimination is not only un-democratic and un-Christian, but a hindrance to the social and economic progress of even the favored race. Factual materials bearing on the objectives of the organization are disseminated through its monthly publication, The Southern Patriot. The 1946 issues of this publication have contained such articles as the following: "The Black and White of It In Education," "Federal Aid for Education in the South," "An Analysis of the FEPC Bill," "The Ku Klux Klan Rides Again," "What's Wrong With Southern Industry," "The Plight of Southern Agriculture," and the "Health Problem of the South."

***Southern Education Foundation, Inc.*, (1937); 726 Jackson Pl., N. W., Washington, D. C.**

This Foundation is composed of four funds as follows: the John F. Slater Fund (1882); the George Peabody Fund (1918); the Anna T. Jeanes Fund (1907); and the Virginia Randolph Fund (1943). The purpose of all these funds is to improve the educational and living conditions of the Negro race. This objective is promoted by grants of money, or through the cooperation of the officers of the Foundation with such officials and others, or in such other ways as may be determined by the board of directors. At present, the chief activity is to aid in the support of some 475 supervisors of Negro rural schools.

Southern Regional Council (1944); Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

The Southern Regional Council was organized in February, 1944, to carry on, with a new orientation, the work of the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, and to implement the ideas and instructions growing out of the conference of Southern Negroes, held in Durham, North Carolina, 1942, the Conference of Southern whites held in Atlanta, Georgia, 1943, and the conference of Negroes and whites held in Richmond, Virginia, 1943. In pursuing its objectives, the Council attempts to encourage the development of action groups at local, state, and regional levels; recruit and develop leadership; develop necessary research through the universities and colleges of the region; seek to remold and articulate public opinion through the radio, press, speakers, and publications; cooperate with and stimulate action in the region from Federal, State, and local governments; conduct special experiments and programs in an effort to effect desirable changes in the South; render such specialized services as may be necessary; hold technical conferences; promote fuller participation in democratic processes in the South, as in registration and voting; and utilize with greater effectiveness the untapped resources of the region. The Council publishes a monthly paper, The New South, and other educational materials from time to time.

DIVISION X

RACE RIOTS IN THE UNITED STATES 1942-1946

By Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.

Fisk University

The race riot is a form of group conflict in which aggregates of persons identifying themselves as members of a race conscious group take on the characteristics of a crowd (mob) and commit acts of violence indiscriminately against members of another race conscious group. This section will review the phenomenon of the race riot as it has recurred in the United States during World War II and the year following the cessation of active warfare. The incidents considered in this review are those which meet the foregoing criteria and which have been of sufficient magnitude to gain widespread notice.

The major outbreaks which have occurred during the period in question were as follows:

1. The Sojourner Truth Housing Riot (Detroit) February, 1942.
2. The Alabama Drydock and Shipbuilding Co. Industrial Riot, Mobile, Alabama—May, 1943.
3. The Beaumont, Texas Riot—June, 1943.
4. The "Zoot Suit" Riots in Los Angeles—June, 1943.
5. The Detroit Riot—June, 1943.
6. The Harlem Riot—July, 1943.
7. The Columbia, Tennessee Riot—February, 1946.
8. The Athens, Alabama Riot—August, 1946.

Each of the above incidents will be related briefly; after which, the similarities and differences among them will be examined.

THE SOJOURNER TRUTH HOUSING RIOT

The Sojourner Truth Housing Riot is significant, not because of the number of persons participating; for the actual violence was relatively localized and only a few persons were involved; it is rather important because of the prophetic shadow which it cast toward the Detroit Riot—still sixteen months away—and as an illustration of how a great metropolis ignored signs which, in retrospect, at least, were gravely portentous.

In 1932, the Detroit City Planning Commission suggested that a site at Nevada and Fenelon be used for a public housing project for Negroes. It was not, however, until ten years later that this suggestion came to fruition in the completion of the $1,000,000 Sojourner Truth Housing Project. Named for an indefatigable Negro woman worker in the abolitionist and woman suffragist movements, this project was intended from the beginning to house Negroes. As soon as the plan for constructing the project became known protests were raised by certain questionable groups. Foremost among these were the Seven-Mile Road Fenelon Improvement Association and the National Workers League. These organizations circulated petitions against the proposed occupancy of the houses and presented these to the Detroit Housing Board and the City Council. They distributed highly inflammatory handbills in nearby neighborhoods, prophesying disorder, violence, rape, and mayhem as the inevitable results of bringing in Negro families. They journeyed to Washington and secured the cooperation of their Congressman in bringing pressure upon the Federal Housing Authority to have the proposed nature of occupancy of the project changed. There was official vacillation. At one point it is reported that assurance was given that the houses would be re-designated and assigned for white workers and their families; but the counter-pressure from Negro organizations, and the courageous stand of a high Washington war housing official, caused the project finally to be awarded to Negroes.

The housing project was declared ready for occupancy in February, 1942; and eligible tenants were notified that they might move in on February 28. Sometime after midnight of February 27, a band of white pickets, recruited as a result of the activities of the

Seven-Mile-Fenelon Improvement Association and the National Workers League, began forming around the project. By the time the first vanload of household goods arrived to be moved into an apartment, an estimated 200 pickets, armed principally with clubs and baseball bats, were on hand. The movers were ordered not to enter the project by the pickets. A large number of police were on hand by this time also; but they were not successful in protecting the families as they attempted to move in.

A few minutes after the first unsuccessful effort to move into the project, a truck carrying about fifteen Negroes, said to have also been armed with clubs, arrived on the scene. These men were quickly set upon by the pickets. During the ensuing melee, it was quite evident that the police had joined in, not as peacemakers, but as partisans of those who were seeking to impede the entrance of duly certified tenants upon United States Government property. It was painfully obvious to observers that, while the police—and back of them, the City Administration—had made no effort to disperse the clearly unpeaceable assembly of 200 white pickets, and while no positive steps had been taken to assist the legitimate tenants in moving in or to restrain their attackers, the first retaliatory move by the tenants and their friends were taken as an occasion for attack.

The Negro families did not move into the apartments on February 28, as scheduled. It was several weeks later before officials felt that the move could safely be made.

By April, following an investigation by the Department of Justice, Parker Sage, President, and Garland L. Ackerman, Secretary-Treasurer, of the National Workers League, were indicted on charges of conspiracy. The men did not come to trial on the charges; however, it was an open secret that the NWL was an incipient fascist organization.

The Sojourner Truth clash demonstrated that there was a pressing need for training of Detroit police in the handling of conflict situations. There was shown an especial need for educating the police with regard to race relations. There was little or no evidence during the major riot sixteen months later that this need had been met in the meantime.

THE ALABAMA DRYDOCK AND SHIPBUILDING COMPANY (ADSCO) INDUSTRIAL RIOT

The spring and summer of 1943 was one of the most critical periods in the battle of production of World War II. There was a severe manpower shortage throughout the country, a shortage rendered more acute by widespread practice of racial discrimination in employment, promotion and upgrading. The shipbuilding industry of the Gulf Coast was especially pressed by the shortage of skilled workers and had been among the industries within which very definite occupational ceilings were placed upon Negro workers. Thousands of white workers had been brought into the Mobile, Alabama area—workers for whom existing and extended facilities for housing, health, recreation and transportation were far from adequate. These thousands of white war workers were imported at a time when a large reservoir of Negro workers was either employed on less urgent jobs or under-utilized as unskilled laborers or service employees in the shipyards.

Under the triple pressure of a stringent labor market, a reconstituted President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices and the Union of Marine Shipbuilders (CIO), the Alabama Drydock and Shipbuilding Company (ADSCO), suddenly promoted a small group of Negroes to posts as welders in late May, 1943. As soon as the news of the upgrading of Negroes became known around the yard there were manifestations of resentment on the part of white workers. At a change of shifts on May 25, mobs of white workers began surrounding Negroes and beating them. The most active phase of the rioting lasted for several hours, during which time Negro workers were beaten indiscriminately and chased from the yard. The rioting was quelled only when all Negro personnel were ordered from the yard pending settlement of the dispute.

The exact number of persons injured in this frenzy of mob action is not known. There were rumors and counter-rumors among Negro and white groups, but most of these remained unsubstantiated. This much is known: The violence had more the nature of an organized mob attack than a race riot. Official reports listed eight

Negroes and one white person as injured.

The ADSCO mob action was a signal for ameliorative activity on the part of government agencies, labor and management. The cooperative efforts of the War Manpower Commission, the Maritime Commission, the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, ADSCO, and the CIO Union resulted in an agreement whereby a segregated shipway was set aside—and subsequently others—in which Negroes were permitted to advance to as highly skilled positions as were available within a given way. White persons would only remain on these ways, according to the agreement, until such time as Negro workers were trained to take their places. This agreement was met by a mixed reaction among Negroes. While some hailed it as assuring Negroes an opportunity to enjoy fuller utilization of their potential skills, others were equally sure that it would result in placing a severe limitation upon the highly skilled jobs available to Negroes in the yard. At least one union spokesman has claimed that the actual result of the segregated arrangement was some break in the pattern of segregation in the yard; for, according to this person, as skilled workers were needed from one way to another, there was little disposition to restrict Negroes to "their" ways.[1]

THE BEAUMONT, TEXAS RIOT

From 1940 to June, 1943, the population of Beaumont, Texas increased by nearly a third—from 59,061 to an estimated 77,000 persons. It possessed the housing, recreational, and other civic problems generally characteristic of war-swollen communities. Its shipbuilding, rubber, and oil industries employed a significant proportion of Negroes, but generally restricted them to unskilled jobs. Beaumont boasted of its "good race relations," having had no major racial incident in over 25 years.

The Cause of the Riot

On June 9, a white woman—mother of three children, claimed that she had been raped by a Negro to whom she had given food and an odd job cutting her lawn. Several suspects were arrested, but the woman could not identify her alleged assailant. Moreover, her story contained numerous contradictions. When the children were questioned by police, for example, it is reported that they said they had seen no man around all day.

Soon after the woman's charge became known and when it was rumored that a Negro suspect had been arrested, a mob of white men appeared at the jail and demanded the man in order that they might lynch him. The officer in charge of the jail stated that he was holding no prisoner in connection with the rape charge and is reported to have invited a committee from the mob to come in and investigate. The committee found no Negroes in the jail. They were already greatly agitated, however and were apparently encouraged by the deferential treatment accorded the group by the jail official.

Not satisfied with finding that no Negro was then under arrest for the alleged crime, the mob left the jail and turned toward the Negro business section. On arriving in this section the mob engaged in an orgy of violence and vandalism that lasted for several hours. Negroes were attacked both in this section and in other parts of the town's business area. Business houses were wrecked and looted. Texas Rangers (State Police) were ordered to the scene and martial law envoked before the rioting was brought under control.

During the course of the rioting most Negro citizens remained in their homes whence they had fled. There were no reports of organized or individual resistance. Indeed, the riot came as a complete surprise to Beaumont's Negroes.

More than seventy-five Negroes were injured—two fatally during the riot. Several hundred thousand dollars worth of property was destroyed by breakage, looting, and fire. War industries were at a virtual standstill for several days.

The Police

The local police were noted largely for their ineffectiveness during the rioting. There were no reports of active participation of uniformed policemen in the rioting as in the Sojourner Truth clash. On the other hand, the jail official's gesture of inviting the mob to investigate whether or not a

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[1] Personal interview with the writer, August, 1945.

Negro was being held is cited as an act of official recognition of the mob and as one which certainly did not serve to dissuade its members from acts of violence and vandalism.

One of the two Negro policemen in town—then on duty in the area—is reported to have called headquarters when he saw the mob coming, asking whether he was going to be sent any assistance. The reply he received was definitely a negative one; and the officer took the only safe alternative open to him and sought cover along with other Negroes in the area.[2]

The arrival of the Texas Rangers, backed by the State Attorney General's strong condemnation of mob violence, changed the nature of law enforcement. One of the first and most decisive acts of the Rangers was that of dispersing a mob by indicating that the officers were prepared to back their order with force if necessary. The Saturday evening following the riot Negroes in Beaumont took hope from the account of a Ranger who "roughed up and locked up" a white man whom he had seen slap a Negro woman. These State police are generally conceded to have brought the rioting under control and to have prevented further bloodshed and damage to property of Negroes.

Who Rioted

The participants in the riot were reported to have been largely adolescents and young adults. There was a general tendency on the part of old residents in Beaumont, Negro and white—to attribute the rioting to newcomers, men who had recently migrated from the surrounding countryside seeking jobs in Beaumont's expanded war industries. It was pointed out that there had been a relatively long history of peaceful race relations in the city. Moreover, there were several old residential areas in which Negroes and whites live side by side; in none of these had there been any rioting.[3] As motivation for the action taken by the white mobs, older residents argued that the newcomers suffered by comparison with the substantial segment of the local Negro population of comfortable economic status and were therefore envious of their relatively prosperous business section and beautiful homes. This argument was extended to include a report that the riot had been planned to come on "Juneteenth" (June 19)—day when Texas Negroes celebrate emancipation from slavery. The alleged rape incident had precipitated it earlier than had been anticipated.[4]

Reaction to the Riot

The prevailing reaction to the rioting among Beaumont's more thoughtful white citizens was one of shame and a desire to do something to compensate for the damage done to property and civic morale. Within a week of the rioting an all-white fact finding committee began an evaluation of property damage done and announced that a financial drive would be made among white persons for restitution funds to compensate partially for the results of vandalism. The City Manager and other officials called a conference with several prominent Negro citizens. The purpose of this conference was reported as having been twofold: On the one hand, there was an effort to re-assure representative Negroes that more substantial white persons did not condone the mob action. On the other hand, there was an effort to discover whether or not Negroes were planning reprisals.

Among Beaumont's Negroes the reaction to the riot was a mixture of surprised confusion, bitterness, resentment, and flight. Apparently the violence had taken them completely by surprise. They knew that relations between whites and Negroes in Beaumont had been getting worse and worse during the war period,[5] but had not anticipated an overt and large-scale violence. A month after the riot there was a report current that Negroes were leaving town in such large numbers that local railroad ticket agents had stopped selling tickets to persons of color.

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[2] Special report by field investigator from Fisk University, Social Science Institute.

[3] This same lack of conflict in mixed residential areas was noted in Detroit.

[4] In Houston there was also a rumor to the effect that there would be a Juneteenth riot.

[5] Two weeks prior to the riot, a Negro had been fatally wounded by police who were arresting him on a rape charge. It later developed that the alleged rapist had been consorting with the purported victim for some time and that the charge came in revenge for a lover's quarrel.

THE LOS ANGELES "ZOOT SUIT" RIOTS

The Cause of the Riot

The rioting of white men of the United States Army and Navy in Los Angeles, California during the week-end of June 3, 1943 was generally described in the press in some such terms as, "the avenging of their buddies by soldiers and sailors." The popular version of the affair was to the effect that teen-age boys, attired in zoot suits—an extreme style current among certain groups of Negro, Latin-American, Italo-American, and other adolescent boys—were formed into gangs and were attacking soldiers and sailors. This version placed the military personnel in the position of striking in self-defense or in retaliation for wrongs done to their comrades-in-arms.

According to Carey McWilliams, the first incident of the riot, on the evening of June 3, happened in the following manner:

> Members of the Alpine Club—made up of youngsters of Mexican descent—held a meeting at a police station . . . at the invitation of an officer. . . . With a police officer present, they met to discuss their problems, foremost of which, at this meeting, was the urgent problem of how best to preserve peace in their locality. At the conclusion of the meeting, they were taken in squad cars to the street corner nearest the neighborhood in which most of the boys lived. The squad cars were scarcely out of sight when the boys were assaulted.[6]

From the first incident, mobs of servicemen ranged freely through predominantly Mexican neighborhoods from June 3 through June 7. At one point, a mob of more than a thousand soldiers and sailors—with some civilians interspersed—set out to find all "zoot suiters" in the downtown area. According to McWilliams:

> The mob pushed its way into every important down-town motion picture theatre, ranged up and down the aisles, and grabbed Mexicans out of their seats. Mexicans and a few Negroes were taken into the streets, beaten, kicked around, their clothing torn. Mobs ranged the length of Main Street in down-town Los Angeles (a distance of some ten or twelve blocks), got as far into the Negro section as Twelfth and Central (just on the edge of the district), and then turned back through the Mexican sections on the east side. Zoot-suiters, so-called, were attacked in the streets, in the theatres, in the bars; streetcars were stopped and searched for Mexicans; and boys as young as twelve or thirteen years of age were beaten. Perhaps not more than half the victims were wearing zoot suits.[7]

The Background

The ground for the assault of June 3 and the series of assaults that followed during the next few days was cultivated most assiduously during the preceding months by a significant segment of the Los Angeles press. The "crime wave" technique, described so clearly by Lincoln Steffens in his *Autobiography* was used repeatedly. Almost every crime, of whatever magnitude, involving adolescents of Mexican or Negro descent, was described and embellished over a period of a year preceding the outbreaks. Stories concerning such crimes usually managed to describe the malefactor as wearing a "zoot suit"; so that the extreme dress of the underprivileged youth of the city became synonymous with criminality in the minds of many Los Angeles readers.

> Immediately responsibility for the outbreak of the riots must be placed upon the Los Angeles press and the Los Angeles police. For more than a year . . . the press (and particularly the Hearst press) [had] been building up anti-Mexican sentiment in Los Angeles. Using the formula of the familiar Harlem "crime wave" technique, the press . . . headlined every case in which a Mexican has been arrested, featured photographs of Mexicans dressed in "zoot suits," checked back over the criminal records to "prove" that there had been an increase in Mexican crime, and constantly needled the police to make more arrests.[8]

Other disinterested students of the Los Angeles scene agree with the analysis of the basic underlying factors in the riot as suggested in the foregoing quotation. From whatever motives, the press of the city had seized upon exploiting the possibilities for sensationalism (and circulation-building) involved in painting a relatively defenseless group as "hoodlums," "young gangsters," "dagger wielders," and homicidal irresponsibles. They had also manipulated the widespread suspicions and superstitions abroad concerning an excluded, "strange and foreign" minority.

At the time of the first incident,

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[6] "Zoot Suit Riots" New Republic, June 21, 1943, pp. 818-820.

[7] Loc. Cit.

[8] McWilliams, Loc. Cit.

there were rumors abroad to the effect that boys' gangs in "zoot suits" had beaten many servicemen and (according to some rumors) raped their girl companions. It is not unlikely that there were isolated instances of youth gangs beating servicemen; but most of the rumors appeared to have been without foundation.

Police Activity

The police in Los Angeles were noted during the riot for their failure to do anything to stop the course of the mobs' actions. In some instances mobs were sighted in which policemen were in the vanguard, making way for the rioters. In other instances, policemen stood quietly by while Mexicans and Negroes were beaten unmercifully.

Reaction

During the course of the rioting in Los Angeles, the predominant sentiment in the city and in the country-at-large seemed to have been against the youth who were generally considered an exaggerated example of the juvenile delinquency which had become such a conscious social problem during the war. The City Council, with consummate misunderstanding of the deeper social issues involved passed an ordinance outlawing the wearing of zoot suits. As the real significance of the riot—and its true nature—became known, there was alarm lest it should weaken our Latin-American good-neighborly relations. The incident provoked protests from the Mexican Consul in California, and aroused sympathy from persons throughout the country.

THE DETROIT RIOT

The largest and most sanguinary riot of the war period occurred in Detroit during the week of June 20, 1943. Thirty-four persons were killed and there were 461 injuries officially recorded.[9] Over a million man hours of war production were lost in the "Arsenal of the Arsenal of Democracy," resulting in a six per cent reduction in factory operations for the week. Looting and vandalism resulted in losses exceeding $2,000,000; and the Federal Government spent at least $100,000 per day during the period of occupation by the Army.[10]

The Detroit riot was the one ideal-type race riot reported in that there were acts of overt violence committed by mobs of whites and mobs of Negroes. Moreover, it was the one instance in which the riot occurred in a city in which such an incident had been seriously predicted. Since the Sojourner Truth housing riot the proverbial "man-in-the-street" had been expecting a large-scale clash. Earl Brown had predicted serious racial trouble in a *Life* article titled "Detroit Is Dynamite" (Aug. 17, 1942). A report prepared by the Office of Facts and Figures for the White House during the spring of 1942 (but not released until June 28, 1943, a week following the riot) had also warned that the Motor City was ripe for a race riot.

The Background

Detroit had experienced an unprecedented growth in population in response to the need for workers in the rapidly expanding defense and war industries. Housing facilities for accommodating the larger population were generally inadequate; and housing available to the expanded Negro population was indescribably overcrowded, congested, and unyielding in its boundaries. Almost every move either to expand the boundaries of existing Negro areas or to build for Negroes in uninhabited sections was met with stern and sometimes violent opposition from realty interests and so-called "improvement associations." The idea of building non-segregated public housing for use by war workers was not even open for serious discussion. Housing in Detroit during 1942 and 1943 was a source of constant race tension.

The drive for the full utilization of human resources in the face of a tight labor market had met with only partial success as it related to minority group workers. The promotion and upgrading of Negro men at such plants as the Hudson Arsenal and Packard Motors had been met with "hate strikes" by white fellow-workers. Negro women were receiving only token employment as production workers in 1943 Detroit. Racial tension was heightened by the conflict between the determination of Negroes to secure employment, on the one hand, and the resistance raised by many employers and a vocal minority of white workers.

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[9] Fact Finding Committee Report (Report of Prosecutor William E. Dowling).

[10] Lee, Alfred M. and Humphrey Norman, Race Riot, (New York, 1943), pp. 86-87.

The Cause of the Riot

The precipitating incidents of the Detroit riot occurred in crowded Belle Isle Recreational Park on a hot June Sunday. Several personal and group encounters between Negroes and whites were reported during the day. The incidents in themselves were of relatively little importance; however, each seemed to have been magnified and distorted by rumor. Among Negroes a rumor circulated to the effect that a white man had thrown a Negro woman and her baby from Belle Isle Bridge into the river. Among whites there was a story, that a Negro man had shot a white woman on the bridge. In the prevailing climate of racial unrest these and other rumors were passed along quickly and accepted eagerly.

The Course of the Riot

The first reported mob violence was committed by white sailors stationed near the park who posted themselves on the bridge leading from the island and began a systematic attack of Negroes returning to the city. These sailors were soon joined by civilians, while policemen stood by casually observing the scene. Rioting in the Negro area is said to have been set off by an announcement of the mother-baby drowning rumor—as a fact—over the public address system in a Negro dance hall.[11]

There were two days of active rioting during which mobs of white men and boys—one estimated at 10,000—roamed Woodward Avenue and other main arteries of Detroit, beating Negroes, stoning them, and upsetting their autos. During this same period mobs of Negroes stalked through Paradise Valley (Detroit's main Negro business area) beating white persons, upsetting their autos, and looting businesses operated by white persons in the "Valley."

The active mobs among Negroes and whites were characterized by the youthfulness of their members. Several newspaper pictures showed gangs of adolescent boys—sometimes drilling in military fashion—closing in on the prey.[12] Figures on arrests of riot participants do not wholly bear out the notion that rioters were mainly young boys; the average age of participants among Negroes and whites was higher than observers of the riot were led to believe. However, Lee and Humphrey[13] point out that the younger men were undoubtedly more fleet of foot and hence were able to escape apprehension by the police.

The looting which occurred in the white operated businesses of Paradise Valley is reported to have been engaged in by Negro persons of both sexes and nearly all ages. This activity appears to have been as much by nature of vengeance for the long-felt wrongs of the white community as an effort to steal food and clothing.

Other Causes Mentioned

At the time of the riot there were many allegations on both sides to the effect that the disturbance was due to the activities of enemy agents. There seems to be little actual evidence that this was true. There were some Negro Nationalists who were believed to have been in the employ of enemy governments; but it appears that their fulminations were taken seriously by no one. The direct action of enemy agents among white participants has not been substantiated.

From the very beginning there was a tendency on the part of Detroit law enforcement officials to place blame for the riot upon Negroes and to attribute the instigation of the affair to the Negro Press and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. At a meeting of Mayor Jeffries' Peace Board Wayne County Prosecutor—Dowling is reported to have said that the NAACP officers "were the biggest instigators of the race riot. If a Grand Jury were called, they would be the first to be indicted[14]." Police Commissioner John Witherspoon said, "when the NAACP forwarded unchecked claims [of improper conduct of police] to the [Police] department, it had a tendency to encourage rather than discourage improper conduct on the part of Negroes."[15] Mr. Witherspoon also suggested, "If you want to do something constructive in this situation you might try to control the Negro Press."

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[11] Dowling Report.

[12] Photographs were taken only in sections where white mobs were dominant. White photographers would have been unsafe in Negro neighborhoods. Several instances were reported of Negro newsmen who had their cameras smashed or films exposed by the police.

[13] Op. Cit.

[14] Lee and Humphrey, Op. Cit., pp. 65-66.

Objective students of the situation realize, of course, that, despite isolated instances of abuse, the Negro Press simply verbalizes the legitimate grievances of Negroes. S. I. Hiyakawa, in a lecture during the Second Institute of Race Relations at Fisk University in 1945, voiced an opinion expressed by many other persons to the effect that minority newspapers often serve as a mass psychological catharsis by "talking out," i. e. verbalizing, sentiments which the masses of minority group members feel. Insofar as they serve this purpose, Negro newspapers help their readers "let off steam," and, hence, act as a deterrent rather than a stimulus to mob action. In any case, there was no accusation either by Dowling or by Witherspoon that Negro newspapers had disseminated malicious rumors or false statements. The complaint was rather that Negro organizations and newspapers had led Negro people to demand "full equality."

There is little doubt that the war and the emphasis of our national leaders upon the dignity of man and the essential evil of fascism, with the latter's doctrine of racial superiority, affected Negro people profoundly, in Detroit and elsewhere. In fact, Detroit Negroes, engaged as many of them were in production of basic war materiel, felt in a real sense that they were building the "World of the Four Freedoms." They, therefore, had a real psychological need for taking war-time slogans and symbols very seriously.

In contrast to the promise of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter stood the "iron ring" of racially restrictive real estate covenants which limited Detroit's rapidly expanded Negro population to virtually unyielding boundaries. The housing situation in Detroit was indescribably bad for the population as a whole; for Negroes an already intolerable situation had been compounded. Some indication of the housing condition may be seen by the following: In June, 1944—eleven months after the riot—the United States Bureau of the Census found that seventeen and six-tenths per cent of all Negroes in Detroit were living in private households but were not relatives of the head of the households in which they were living. Among whites only one and nine-tenths per cent of the people lived in private households in which they were unrelated to the head by blood or marriage.[16] In other words, proportionately about nine times as many Negroes as whites in Detroit found it necessary to "double up" with private families.

Despite this condition every effort of Negroes to secure adequate housing seemed to be frustrated. The Sojourner Truth housing riot of 1942 attested eloquently to the stringency of the housing market for Negroes. At the time of the 1943 riot dwelling units were standing unoccupied in war housing projects in Detroit's suburbs because they were unacceptable to eligible white workers and unavailable to similarly situated Negroes.

A disproportionately poor share in Detroit's inadequate housing is but an example. Employment discrimination in an era of full employment has been mentioned earlier. Lee and Humphrey[17] have noted that many Detroit Negroes felt very strongly concerning the reports of the mistreatment and humiliation of Negro servicemen in Southern States.

Lee and Humphrey summarize the prevailing racial attitudes in Detroit in the following statement:

> "The war inevitably improved the financial lot of the Negro. Not only did his spiritual allegiance become necessary to the total war effort; his labor became an essential part of the manpower pool, and he is being rewarded more adequately than ever before in his experience.
>
> "This sudden gain in status, which violates one of the underlying prejudices of millions of Americans, evokes a powerful reaction. This reaction expresses itself in innumerable small and large actions on the part of sizable backward sections of the white population that resent the violation but find themselves unable to satisfy this resentment through socially acceptable acts. These white elements, therefore, are conditioned to react far more sensibly than before the change in the status of the Negro. . . . The Negro, in turn, conscious of his improved situation, no longer accepts discourtesies, incivilities, and bolder provocations from white elements without fairly ag-

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[15] Ibid, p. 66.

[16] Population, Detroit-Willow Run Congested Production Area, June, 1944, p. 22.

[17] Op. Cit.

> gressive protest or retaliation. . . . He is aware of his improved education and of his increased political power. And the inevitable consequence is an enormous multiplication in surface conflicts (as expressed in racial frictions) as well as a deepening antagonism between backward[18] white elements and the Negroes with whom they come in contact."

The Police and City Officials

The behavior of the Detroit police during the week of June 20, 1943, came in for severe criticism from almost every person who has commented on the situation except Detroit's city officials. As in the Sojourner Truth Riot, the police were clearly acting as if they were quelling a rebellion in the Negro community rather than serving as the disinterested and impartial representatives of law and order. There was general agreement among observers that Negro rioters were handled much more severely by police than were white rioters. *Life* (July 5, 1943) noted, "throughout the riot the Detroit police were tougher on Negroes than whites. They used tear gas and (sometimes) nightsticks on white mobs, tommy guns and pistols on Negroes." Nearly seventy-five per cent of the 1,883 persons arrested in connection with the riot were Negroes. Police are known to have killed fifteen Negroes—twelve for "looting" and three "after they had shot police." They killed no white rioters. Police were strongly criticized for their failure to deal more effectively with the Woodward Avenue mob of white persons, a mob which operated throughout the day. One of the most famous documents of the riot was a newspicture which showed a white man slapping a Negro while the latter was held by two policemen.

There were many reasons for the ineffectiveness and partiality of the Detroit police. First and foremost among these, perhaps, was the fact that they had been given little or no special training either for dealing with an instance of overt racial conflict or for understanding and working with minority groups. Even after the clear demonstration of need of such training during the Sojourner Truth affairs, there is no evidence that anything was actually done about it.

The Police Department was understaffed. According to the Fact Finding Report, the Department was 280 men short of personnel provided for in its Departmental budget. This shortage existed in the face of an unprecedentedly rapid growth in the city's population and rapidly rising racial and industrial tensions. This shortage of police reflected, in part, the fact that civil service salaries for police had not kept pace with factory earnings in the Detroit area. Under such circumstances one would expect that it was not easy to recruit to the force men of the calibre needed to manage a major civil disturbance.

To the lack of special training of law enforcement officers and the depletion of their ranks must also be added the fact that considerable antagonism existed between a large segment of the Negro community and Detroit's police. Negro agencies were hearing reports of increasing instances of police brutality toward Negroes. Commissioner Witherspoon had recently enunciated a "get tough on young Negroes" policy. This served to increase the distrust in which Negroes held the police.

It seems entirely likely that much of the mismanagement of the riot on the part of police can be traced to the failure of higher city officials, i.e., the Mayor, Commissioner of Police, and others, to understand the nature of the riot. From early Monday morning until late Monday evening it appears that the affair was handled as a wholly Negro riot,[19] a Negro rebellion. The police were therefore unprepared to cope with the mobs that gathered on Woodward Avenue.

Even with good training of police, a fully budgetary force, and mutual confidence between the police and the Negro community, it is doubtful that the local law enforcement officials would have been equal to the task of quelling Detroit's riot in a minimum time and with minimum bloodshed. At noon on June 21, the Mayor, along with the Commissioner of Police, met with responsible Negro and white citizens at the Lucy Thurman YWCA. Negro spokesmen urged the Mayor to call in Federal troops; but Mayor Jeffries stated that he felt local authorities could handle the situation and that calling in troops would be "a reflection upon the fair name of the city."[20] (The Mayor later claimed that the delay in calling troops resulted from a misunderstanding of Army procedure.)

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[18] Op. Cit., pp. 9-10.

[19] Lee and Humphrey, Op. cit., p. 77.

[20] Special Report to the Fisk Social Science Institute.

After several false starts, Mayor Jeffries did manage to call Federal troops into the situation through a proclamation from President Roosevelt. This was done on Monday evening; and serious rioting ceased almost immediately with the soldiers' entry into the city. There were no recorded instances of abuse of power by the military. Although many of the youth in battle dress must have had prejudices as strong as those of youth in civilian dress who participated in the worst of the rioting, they were well-disciplined soldiers who carried off their peace-preserving roles with honor and distinction.

The Cost

It would be impossible to estimate the cost of the Detroit riot in terms of human energy, national shame, or loss of international prestige. Even the costs which can be estimated are tremendous:

Thirty-four persons were killed—twenty-five Negroes, nine whites.

Four hundred and sixty-one persons were treated at Receiving Hospital. Of this number, 250 were white and 211 colored. City officials seized upon these figures to show that Negroes were most aggressive. It is known, however, that many if not most injured Negroes did not dare venture out of the immediate Negro community.

War production lagged from 20 to 50 per cent in war plants the day following the riot. By the second day after the riot, war production had climbed to 85 per cent of normal.

Detroit Edison's indices for industrial electricity consumption showed a six per cent drop in factory operations during the week of the riot. The Detroit Street Railway volume of traffic decreased by 17 per cent during the week.

Forty-three automobiles were totally destroyed during the rioting.

More than 400 places of business were seriously damaged by vandalism and looting—mainly white operated businesses in the Negro area.

For a brief period—because of the cessation of cab and delivery service into the Negro area—there was a serious food shortage in the Paradise Valley section.[21]

Who Got Along During the Riot?

The Detroit Riot was not a clear instance of all white persons pitted against all Negroes in a mortal struggle. There were many instances of heroic individuals—Negro and white—who risked their comfort and occasionally their lives in an effort to save a potential riot victim from a mob. White street car passengers are said to have hidden Negroes under the seats to get them away from white mobs. Similar instances were recorded of Negroes who protected white persons, and sometimes white-owned property.

These instances of individual heroism are important; however, they might be dismissed by some persons as "exceptional." Sociologically, it is more important that there were uniformities of group behavior contrary to the general rule. On the whole, there was no rioting where Negro and white persons were accustomed to working together or living together. Some of the instances follow:

1. There were no reports of violence within factories where Negro and white workers labored side-by-side on war contracts.
2. A biracial group of men, all members of Franklin Settlement, formulated and circulated through an eight-block area an appeal for "democracy, reason, and cooperation on the home-front . . . to protect our boys who are now giving their lives for this cause."
3. Negro and white high school students witnessed a baseball game during the height of the riot without incident.[22]
4. No Negroes and whites who lived together as close neighbors showed any tendency to fight.
5. Negro and white students attended classes together at Wayne University throughout Bloody Monday "with no indications whatsoever of conflict."[23]

The Reaction

Detroit itself was apparently dazed and ashamed as a result of the riot. There was much name-calling and blaming back and forth. The City Administration, as has been noted earlier, was much on the defensive and sought to place the total blame for the riot on the Negro community. Many thought that they saw the fine hand of enemy agents. The Mayor organized a Peace Board, bi-racial in character; and various groups proposed ameliorative and long-range steps to be taken in an effort to bind up the wounds of the community. Foremost among the suggestions coming to the Board were those of the United Automobile Workers—CIO, the NAACP, and the Michigan Council of Churches. All of these agencies recommended going to the root of the problem in terms of better housing, better-trained police, intercultural education, and other methods of facilitating communication and understanding among Detroit's citizens.

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[21] Special Report to Fisk Social Science Institute.

[22] Letter from Raymond Hatcher, Group Work Secretary, Detroit Urban League, published in Detroit Free Press, July 5, 1943.

[23] Lee and Humphrey, op. cit., p. 17.

In addition to suggestions for constructive community action and social planning, there was the understandable desire to place the blame for the riot on some person, group, set of conditions, or governmental agency. Negro groups demanded a Grand Jury investigation. In this they were joined by the UAW-CIO. When Prosecutor Dowling presented his "Fact-Finding Report," placing virtually all of the responsibility for the affair upon the shoulders of Negro leaders and the Negro press, these demands were reenforced. The very real opposition of the Commissioner of Police, the Mayor and the County Prosecutor to a Grand Jury hearing was in itself additional evidence to many Negroes and trade unionists that a Grand Jury investigation was needed.

There was one point of unanimity as to proposed investigations. The City Administration on the one hand and the NAACP on the other, were most strong in their opinion that Martin Dies should not bring his Committee on un-American Activities to Detroit to seek out the "subversive" elements in the riot.

Much sustained democratic action in Detroit can be traced to efforts to ameliorate the riot. The Michigan Council of Churches initiated a three-year Fellowship Program which reached Protestant churches throughout the State of Michigan. The United Auto Workers sought actively to implement their policy of non-discrimination through the UAW-CIO Fair Practice Committee. The Board of Education has broadened and intensified its program of intercultural education for teachers and students alike.

At the national level, the reaction to the riot was as varied as in Detroit. Every interest represented in the Motor City had its prototype in the Nation at large. There was the same effort to place blame and to give advice.[24] In addition, there was the urgent necessity of keeping a similar incident from occurring in other towns. The rapid rise of citizens and governmental committees and commissions on race relations during World War II, can be dated from the Detroit Riot. Perhaps the establishment of these committees helped to avert other riots.

THE HARLEM RIOT

The rioting in Harlem on August 1, and 2, 1943, came within six weeks of Detroit's conflagration. Although the Mobile, Beaumont, Los Angeles, and Detroit affairs had made the Nation very conscious of race conflict, the Harlem riot had not been expected or predicted. The failure to predict a riot in New York City's Harlem was not because the factors which characterized Detroit were absent. On the contrary, there were poor housing, residential segregation, employment discrimination, and poor facilities for common living. Yet, there was less overt, primarily racial bitterness of the kind seen in the Sojourner Truth clashes, the inter-minority fights, and the hate strikes of Detroit. On the surface and at first glance, the Harlem rioting did not seem like a *race* riot; but sober reflection seems to validate Harold Orlansky's designation of it as a revelation of "mass frustration."[25]

The Cause of the Riot

On Sunday evening, August 1, 1943, James Collins, a policeman on duty in a fifth-rate Harlem Hotel, attempted to arrest a young Negro woman for disorderly conduct. A Negro Military Policeman, Robert Bandy, is alleged to have interfered with the arrest and to have taken the officer's nightstick and struck the officer; whereupon the officer drew his revolver and fired, wounding Bandy slightly. The officer was also wounded. Both were hospitalized. A curious crowd of twenty or so persons had gathered in the hotel lobby. These followed as the men were taken off to Sydenham Hospital for emergency treatment. Bandy was quoted (in *PM* for August 3, 1943) by Assistant District Attorney Francis Rivers as saying that he protested when the officer "pushed" the girl being arrested, Margie Polite, and that Collins threw his nightstick which was caught by the soldier. Collins then ordered Bandy to return the stick, according to this version, and fired when the M.P. hesitated.

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[24] For an analysis of conflicting editorial opinions regarding the riot, see A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, Vol. 1, Number 1, "One Nation—Divisible."

[25] The Harlem Riot: A Study in Mass Frustration, Social Analysis, New York, 1943.

The Course of the Riot

At the hospital the crowd was greatly augmented by additional curious people; and considerable milling about ensued. The story of the arrest and altercation was greatly magnified with the telling, in this atmosphere. "A cop has shot a Negro soldier," was the first emotion-laden but half-true statement. In a little while the story was changed to: "A white cop just *killed* a Negro soldier." As this story went the rounds, resentment mounted and the crowd began to seek some method of retaliation. As in the usual crowd, there was no disposition to question the truth of the rumor, or yet to inquire into the situation that had led to the shooting. To the crowd, a Negro soldier had been killed by a white policeman. By nine o'clock in the evening, the crowd had swollen to an estimated 3,000 persons.

The incident that is credited with transforming a milling crowd into an active mob was the throwing of a bottle from a roof, an act which was followed by the throwing of other bottles. At this point, the crowd in front of the hospital dispersed, but re-assembled in smaller aggregations. Some of the younger men and boys formed gangs of fifty to a hundred persons and surged up the main arteries of Harlem, smashing shop windows as they went.[26]

At first, the smashing of windows appears to have been an end in itself. Several windows had been broken and a period of time had elapsed before any systematic looting began. One eye-witness referred to the looting as "an afterthought." Once begun, however, the looting continued for hours and with a vengeance. Food stores were entered and all useful food—especially war-scarce sugar, meat and coffee—taken. Liquor stores were completely "cleaned out." Furniture stores, clothing stores, and all manner of shops in the Harlem area were entered and looted. Movable and useful goods were taken. Bulky and undesirable goods were often destroyed or greatly damaged in a wild orgy of vandalism. Although most looting was done by adolescents, the looters included persons of both sexes and all ages.

The vandalism and looting were definitely racial in character. Shops that were known to be Negro-owned were not usually damaged—especially if someone had scrawled a "Colored" sign on the window. Orlansky quotes one Negro reporter as saying:

> "Wherever somebody told the mob this was a Negro place, they left it alone. Sometimes a brick had been thrown into the window before the word got around, but that was as far as it went. Despite the broken window, not a thing was touched, not a box out of place."[27]

There were relatively few attacks on white *persons* during the rioting. Occasionally, a civilian was attacked; but many white persons walked through Harlem's streets unmolested. The major violence against white persons appears to have been directed against policemen, partly because it was they who sought to deter the vandalism and looting of the mob and partly because they were identified with the person who was said to have killed a Negro soldier. Virtually all of the white persons injured in the disorders were policemen. There were fifty-three policemen officially reported as injured.

Background of the Riot

In 1935, E. Franklin Frazier, who had directed the activities of a commission appointed by Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia to inquire into the Harlem riot of that year wrote:

> "The explosion of March 19 could never have been set off by the trifling incident (of the arrest of a boy for shoplifting) had not exciting economic and social forces created a state of emotional tension which sought release upon the slightest provocation. As long as the economic and social forces which were responsible for that condition continue to operate, a state of tension will exist in Harlem and recurrent outbreaks may occur."[28]

The Commission listed many "economic and social forces" among which were the following:

1. Discrimination against Negroes in employment.
2. Overcrowding in housing and excessive rents.
3. Dearth of facilities for schools, playgrounds, and public health.

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[26] Ibid. p. 5.

[27] Op. cit., p. 7.

[28] Report of Commission on Conditions in Harlem. This report was never released by the Mayor's office; but "leaked out" to the New York Amsterdam-News and other papers. The authenticity of the report as published has been vouched for by the author.

4. Discrimination against Negro professional persons in city institutions.
5. Discrimination in such city services as garbage collection and police protection.
6. Police brutality and abridgment of civil rights by the police.

While some of the factors indicated in Dr. Frazier's report had been somewhat ameliorated during the eight year inter-riot period, most of them had become considerably more acute as a result of wartime conditions. A wider range of job opportunities was open to Harlem residents in 1943 than in 1935; but, the sting of discrimination was the more acutely felt because of the large number of jobs open to the public at large and the fact that there was much discrimination in war and non-war industries and business. The housing problem had clearly become more acute in Harlem. The slow expansion of the community and the extremely little new building scarcely kept pace with the rate at which condemned buildings were razed in the area; these certainly did not compensate for the increase in the already overcrowded population. Some new facilities for playgrounds and parks and public health had been established; but these were still woefully inadequate. Police brutality was probably less widespread in 1943 than in 1935; but there was still the problem of unequal policing and Harlem was still regarded as "the policeman's (and the teacher's) Siberia" to which he was exiled for inefficiency or gaining the displeasure of his superiors.

To the old grievances, most of which had been aggravated, were added new ones brought on by the war. Writing in the *New Republic* for August 16, 1943, in an article titled "Behind the Harlem Riot," Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a Harlem resident said:

> "Their acts [of destruction and looting] were criminal and unforgivable. But let him who would criticize pause long enough to put himself in the place of the looters. Still barred from many defense industries in the area because of color, with dark memories of the depression years when 70 per cent of Harlem was on relief because Negroes are hired last and there were not enough jobs to go around for white workers, hemmed in a ghetto where they are forced to pay disproportionately high rents for rat and vermin infested apartments the Bigger Thomases of New York passed like a cloud of locusts over Harlem."

Perhaps the greatest single psychological factor in the making of the Harlem riot was the resentment of the status given Negro members of the armed forces in war time. There was great indignation in Negro Harlem at the segregation of Negro soldiers and sailors and of the restriction of these men and women to certain special phases of the services. There was a smoldering rancor at the treatment meted out to Negro soldiers and sailors in southern communities. Letters from southern training camps and soldiers on furlough brought word of humiliating and degrading incidents. Just a few weeks prior to the Harlem outbreak, William H. Hastie (now Governor of the Virgin Islands) and Thurgood Marshall (Special Counsel, NAACP) had reported to the National Lawyers Guild:

> "Civilian violence against the Negro in uniform is a recurrent phenomenon. It continues unabated. It may well be the greatest factor now operating to make 13,000,000 Negroes bitter and resentful and to undermine the fighting spirit of three-quarters of a million Negroes in arms. Yet, no effective steps are being taken and no vigorous, continuing and comprehensive program of action has been inaugurated by state or federal authorities to stamp out this evil. . . . To address a Negro soldier as "nigger" is such a commonplace in the average Southern community that little is said about it. But the mounting rage of the soldier himself is far from commonplace. He may not express his feelings when he must wait until all the white passengers are accommodated before he can get transportation. He may even hold his tongue when he is forced to get out of the bus in which he is seated in order to make room for white passengers. But it is of such stuff that bitterness and hatred are made. In such a climate resentments grow until they burst forth in violent and unreasoning reprisal."[29]

The rumor that spread through Harlem like wild fire, i.e., "A white cop has killed a Negro soldier," was laden with great meaning to Negro Harlemites. The Negro soldier was personified in Robert Bandy. Patrolman John Collins was transformed from a person to the personification of white suppression, white authority. Orlansky wrote:

> . . . "a Negro soldier has been shot by a white policeman!" To white citizens it means just that, but what a difference in the reaction of a Negro! His

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[29] Quoted in White, Walter, "Behind the Harlem Riot," New Republic, August 16, 1943.

> skin identifies him with the soldier, the news comes as a personal insult, adding to and aggravating a whole chain of previous insults, so that, in effect, his life has been threatened too. For the Negro, insulting, shooting, and killing become virtually synonymous. To suggest, therefore, as did the Times, that the rumor was the result of "lies deliberately spread" is ridiculous. Even in its exaggerated form, rumor represents the psychological truth to those who tell it."[30]

The Police and City Administration

Mayor LaGuardia and his administration came in for much criticism *for failure to head the riot off.* It was felt by many that the catastrophe might well have been avoided had the Frazier report or more recent recommendations of the City-Wide Citizens Committee on Harlem been taken more seriously and acted upon. On the other hand, the actual handling of the riot *once it was underway,* received much-deserved praise from all quarters. Seven thousand policemen were sent into Harlem. They came, not in the spirit of suppressing a rebellion as apparently the Detroit police had descended upon Paradise Valley, but in the best tradition of "New York's Finest."

The New York policemen had been trained in handling emergency situations; and their training revealed itself in Harlem. Despite long hours of duty and many provocations, the policemen remained generally friendly, jovial, and calm. They were reported to have been slow to use violence in enforcing their orders. Perhaps even more significant, many were observed taking personal insults without seeking to retaliate.

The activities of Mayor LaGuardia himself were most re-assuring. The "Little Flower" was well-liked in Harlem as he was in most underprivileged sections of the city; and he sought to capitalize upon this favor. The Mayor came up to Harlem and established headquarters at the 123rd Street Police Station. From here he directed the work of the police, civilian air raid wardens, soldiers and civic leaders in their combined effort to restore order. Twice he spoke over a hook-up of the city's leading radio stations. In these talks, he sought to set the population straight on the false rumor of Bandy's death. At one of these broadcasts he was joined in an appeal for peace by Dr. Max Yergan, President of the National Negro Congress and Ferdinand Smith, Vice-President of the National Maritime Union, two respected and radical Negro leaders. The Mayor also toured Harlem in an automobile equipped with a public address system. Here again he was joined in his appeal for order by prominent Negro civic leaders, clergymen, and other leaders.

The handling of the riot by the police and by the city administration was undoubtedly wise and resulted in considerably less blood-letting than otherwise might have been the case.

The Cost

When the rioting had died down and an inventory could be taken, the following were counted among the costs:

1. Five persons were dead—all Negroes.
2. Between five and six hundred persons were injured; three hospitals had treated 561 persons—most of these were Negroes.
3. Four to five million dollars in property damage had been done.
4. 500 persons were arrested. Almost all of these were Negroes and were charged with suspicion of burglary; some were charged with assault, incitement to riot, disorderly conduct, or receiving stolen goods.

The Reaction

Once the Harlem rioting was over, there was a tendency to minimize the racial nature of the rioting, on the one hand, and to place blame on "hoodlums" on the other. In his radio addresses to the people of New York, Mayor LaGuardia stressed the statement that it was not a race riot. Most New York papers agreed with the Mayor in this evaluation. Insofar as there were no pitched battles between Negroes and whites and no organized counter-activity of white gangs, it was not a race riot. There is no basis, however, save race consciousness for explaining the behavior of looting mobs in attacking white property and leaving known Negro property unharmed. On this point, Orlansky points out:

> ". . . the riot was not exclusively racial, since it was led not just by Negroes, but by poor Negroes, and by young Negroes. Three conflicts were therefore coiled into one—race, poverty, and youth against race, property and authority—and the riot was the product of those conflicts. The mob was after

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[30] Ibid, p. 19.

white property (and it was not hard to find, only 20% of Harlem's stores are owned by Negroes) and after white authority (which was not hard to find, only 132 of 18,200 members of the New York City police department are Negroes)."[31]

Although many commentators—Negro and white—pointed to the underlying social and economic causes of the rioting, almost all of them spoke of "the irresponsible acts of hoodlums" and the necessity for "controlling" this "unthinking" element in the community. Respectable Negroes were ashamed of the acts of lawlessness and wanton vandalism that had characterized the affair; and called upon the police and other city officials to join them in dealing decisively with both the underlying causes and the overt manifestations of juvenile delinquency.

There was also a cry for official city action—in the form of a commission and a program—for fighting intolerance, prejudice, and discrimination. This was not long in forthcoming. Mayor LaGuardia established the Committee on Home Front Unity with Charles Evans Hughes as chairman and a list of distinguished Negro and white citizens as members. Doctor Dan Dodson, formerly a professor of sociology at New York University, was appointed executive director of this group. The Committee has done a workmanlike job of research and propaganda and has probably had a salutary effect upon the community at large.[32] The rioting also gave new impetus to older associations which had been seeking to improve human relations in New York. Despite the almost ritualistic cries of "hoodlumism," there was usually present a recognition that Frazier's "economic and social forces" had to be dealt with before the ghost of Harlem's riot would be allayed.

THE COLUMBIA, TENNESSEE RIOT[33]

The Cause of the Riot

A fight between a white and a Negro World War II veteran, after the former had allegedly assaulted the Negro's mother, precipitated the first major inter-racial violence after V-Day. The woman, Mrs. Gladys Stephenson, went into a shop on the Public Square in Columbia to inquire about a radio which she had left for repair. With her was her nineteen-year-old son, James, recently discharged after three years in the United States Navy.[34] The radio repairman was William Fleming, twenty-eight-year-old veteran and brother of the present Sheriff of Maury County. There was a disagreement between Mrs. Stephenson and Fleming concerning the repair job. Fleming apparently resented the fact that a Negro woman would take issue with him, and according to the most reliable reports available, followed her and her son downstairs and out of the store, finally slapping and kicking her. At this point, young Stephenson intervened, struck Fleming and knocked him back through a plate glass window. According to persons who were standing nearby, three or four other white men, including a town policeman, came to Fleming's aid. The policeman struck at Stephenson with his nightstick, whereupon Mrs. Stephenson is quoted as saying, "You shouldn't hit my boy before you find out." In response, the peace officer struck the woman over the eye. Mrs. Stephenson and her son James were arrested and placed in jail on charges of assault.[35] Fleming was not arrested. He was only slightly injured.

Tension created by the fight and arrest mounted throughout the late afternoon. Crowds of white persons began to mill about the Public Square. There were open and jeering threats of lynching. Negroes began withdrawing to the two-block section of Negro-operated businesses on East Eighth Street.[36] Hearing rumors of an imminent lynching, the more affluent Negroes hastened to supply bond for the Stephensons. Their fears were heightened when the magistrate repeatedly raised the price of bail bond and attempted to persuade the Negro bondsmen to let the Stephensons remain in jail. Finally, however, they were released on a bond of $3,500.

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[31] Op. Cit., p. 26, emphasis in the original.

[32] One of the outstanding jobs of the Committee was that of preparing a report on discrimination in higher education that set in motion a city council investigation, legal action, legislative proposals, and has apparently affected the admission and hiring policies of several of New York's institutions of higher learning.

[33] The account of the incident is adapted from a report which appeared in A Monthly Summary of Events in Race Relations, March, 1946, which in turn was based, in large part, on the personal investigation of the writer.

[34] He had "raised" his age to enlist.

[35] Another version is that Fleming struck Stephenson when the latter objected to the fact that his mother was being sworn at and that the Negro veteran fought back.

Within two hours of James Stephenson's release, approximately seventy-five white men approached the jail and kicked on the door. Sheriff J. J. Underwood reportedly came to the jail door, and leveling a submachine gun at the mob, ordered them to disperse.[37] The men withdrew; but two members were in such a state of inebriation that they could not leave under their own power. They were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct.

Meanwhile, three county police officers had come into the East Eighth Street area. Two of these had reported on sentiment among whites, urging that James Stephenson be sent out of town. This was done. The third officer, Sheriff Underwood, is said to have requested that the Negroes who had gathered in the area disperse. When some of the men made the counter-suggestion that the white crowd be dispersed, the Sheriff is quoted as saying, "I'll see what I can do." But apparently no action was taken to disperse the white mob either by the Sheriff or the City Police.

As darkness fell, business houses in the Eighth Street area closed in an effort to prevent "trouble." All lights were turned off in the area. By this time Negroes in Columbia were completely convinced that there would be an attempted lynching or—in view of Stephenson's having been spirited away—an indiscriminate attack on the Negro community. According to persons in the Eighth Street area, there was no disposition to "take it lying down." Having little faith in the ability or willingness of the city police to avert mob action, the Negroes settled down and prepared to defend themselves. Those living outside, who had to cross "white" territory in order to reach home, were afraid to leave. Other Negroes passing through streets inhabited by whites told of being fired upon and otherwise molested. Furthermore, frequent gun-fire was heard coming from East Ninth and South Main—"white" streets close to the Negro business area. This gun-fire was accompanied by wild yells which were interpreted as signs of drunkenness and frenzied excitement.

Sometime shortly after nightfall (accounts vary as to the exact time)[38] city policemen started into Eighth Street, allegedly to investigate reports of shooting. The street was dark, and it is uncertain that their identity as officers was known. There was shooting. Whether initial shots came from the police or from the people is not clear. Given the state of apprehension among Columbia Negroes at the time—growing out of knowledge of lynching threats, mob activity, and gun-fire in adjacent streets—it is not surprising that the entrance of these white men into the area was interpreted as the beginning of attack. In the exchange of fire, four policemen, including Chief of Police Griffin, were wounded, one seriously.

The Riot

Immediately after this incident Mayor Eldridge Denham called upon Governor Jim McCord for assistance from the State Highway Patrol and State Guard. One hundred patrolmen and four hundred members of the State Guard were ordered into Columbia. They threw a tight cordon around the East Eighth Street business area and set up a close watch of the entire Negro community. At dawn on February 26, members of the Highway Patrol moved into the street in force. At a barber shop Lynn Bomar, State Safety Director, claims there was resistance. This was met with machine gun fire. Elsewhere the citizens came peaceably. About seventy Negroes were arrested in the early morning, most being told that they were being arrested for assault with intent to murder.

It was with these early morning

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[36] Known to whites as "Mink Slide," a name opprobrious to Columbia Negroes.

[37] Sheriff Underwood was respected among Maury County Negroes as a man who "tries to be fair."

[38] At the Lawrenceburg trial the policemen all testified that the hour had been 8:45 p. m.

arrests that police action in a situation of violence involving Negroes and whites became clearly directed toward the suppression of what was apparently construed to be an "uprising" of the Negro community; and this was the real Columbia "riot." The Highway Patrol and State Guard were transformed from preservers of civil law and order into an army of occupation. It is likely that the mobilization of outside police and guards saved bloodshed in a situation that was plainly beyond the power of local city and county police to control. Moreover, Chief Bomar and State Guard Adjutant Butler are quoted as having admonished their men that theirs was the role of impartial protectors of life and property. Yet, there is little in the actual performance of their subordinates to indicate that this was taken seriously.

Evidence of this is seen in the irresponsible vandalism and looting that took place in East Eighth Street. In the search for weapons in this area there was wanton destruction of property. A physician's office was a shambles after small instruments had been stolen, furniture damaged, and decorations mutilated. The office of an insurance company was ransacked; files containing valuable records were overturned and their contents scattered. A mortuary was ransacked by vandals who indicated their loyalty by scrawling the legend "KKK" on a coffin in plaster of paris.

Much was made in the general press of the number of guns, rifles, and pistols taken from Negro homes. This has been cited as "proof" of a conspiracy by Negroes. It should be remembered, however, that game hunting is a favorite sport around Columbia and that most of the weapons—aside from war souvenirs—were hunting guns and such pistols as many, if not most, Americans families in the South keep in their homes.

It should be noted that almost no white persons were disarmed and that the homes of white residents were not searched. A State Guard Colonel, credited with persuading a crowd of whites not to enter the Negro section on Tuesday morning, is quoted as saying to them, "Boys take those guns home. We'll take care of any situation that needs them."[39] Newspaper photographs show white civilians, armed with sawed-off shot guns, walking the streets unmolested. The press has reported only four white persons arrested.

Despite the absence of a proclamation of martial law, there was de facto military government in Columbia during the week of February 25 to March 3. The writ of habeas corpus was virtually suspended. Negroes were arrested without stated charges, held incommunicado, questioned without benefit of counsel, and detained on excessive bail. Telephone wires were tapped and persons required special passes in order to move freely about. The home of virtually every Negro in Columbia and its immediate environs was searched and all firearms taken.[40] These are facts of which public officials have spoken and boasted in conversation and in the press and of which Commissioner Bomar boasted at the Lawrenceburg trial.

Homicide

On Thursday, February 28, while in jail, two of the Negro prisoners were mortally wounded and a third injured. William Gordon and James Johnson were killed by officers who claim that the prisoners shot first. They were being "questioned" in a jail office in which confiscated firearms were stacked. Several officers and a newspaper reporter were present and the jail was surrounded by guardsmen and members of the Highway patrol. Only the official version of the story is known, but the National Lawyers Guild, after a brief investigation, characterized the killings as "murder."

The Background

As an historical and psychological background for the events in Columbia, the following facts should be remembered:

1. There have been two lynchings of Negroes in Maury County within the last two decades. The more recent of these was that of Cordie Cheek, a seventeen-year-old boy, after a grand jury had returned a no bill, on a charge of molesting a white girl. (An old resident spoke of four lynchings within his mem-

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[39] Nashville Tennessean, February 27, 1946, p. 2, Column 5.

[40] See Constitution of the United States of America, Amendments II, III, and IV.

ory.) The magistrate who fixed bond in the Stephenson case was known in the Negro community as the person whose car had transported Cheek from Nashville to the site on which he was lynched.

2. Thanks to some industrial employment and good soil, Negroes in Maury County have relative economic security.
3. Negro employees of the Monsanto and Victor Chemical Companies in nearby Mt. Pleasant, along with white workers, are members of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union (CIO) and had been working for abolition of a wage differential based on race.
4. Politically, Negroes had been active and an important factor in Maury County.
5. A measure of economic security and political importance had produced a Negro citizenry not disposed to be "pushed around." The presence of more than 150 Negro veterans had served to strengthen this attitude.
6. The lack of real communication between Negroes and whites in Columbia has resulted in much latent mutual suspicion. There were many otherwise rational white persons in Columbia, including some public officials, who said that Columbia Negroes had been "conspiring for an uprising." The fact that persons from Nashville, Chicago, and Chattanooga telephoned Negroes in Columbia when news of the trouble became known was construed by one official as proof that Negroes all over the country had instigated the violence. Apparently these people were unimpressed by the facts that all shootings, except those in the jail, took place in the Negro area and that Negroes did not go out of this area to attack.

The Police

Part of the difficulty in Columbia can be attributed to the fact of an apparent conflict between town police on the one hand and Sheriff Underwood and his staff on the other. The town police were not trusted. Prior to the affair in question, Negroes had placed a certain amount of confidence in Sheriff Underwood, although they considered him somewhat "weak." Negroes had supported Underwood's unsuccessful contest for the Democratic nomination to succeed himself the fall before when he had been defeated by a State Highway Patrolman who is the brother of William Fleming, one of the participants in the precipitating incident. There were many residents of Columbia who felt that the town police had gone into the East Eighth Street section on the night of the anticipated lynching in order to "show up" the County Sheriff and his staff.

The action of the town police in coming into the Negro area which was virtually in a state of siege—and certainly in a state of grave apprehension and fear—was unwise. It was certain to be interpreted as unfair; inasmuch as there was a crowd of white men and boys milling about in the Public Square at the very moment that the policemen entered "Mink Slide."

The State Highway Patrol has been harshly criticized for its role in the affair. Presumably the theory behind calling in a State or Nation law-enforcement agency in a time of great local tension is two-fold: (1) the outside group has more resources and more power and therefore can act more effectively, and (2) being divorced from local tensions, it is supposed that the State or National arm of the law can view the situation in a disinterested manner and, therefore, act with impartiality. It was on the second of these counts that the Highway Patrol defaulted. As has been noted earlier, Chief Bomar and his men entered the East Eighth Street section, not as officers coming to restore peace, but as an army which had come to crush a rebellion. Once the immediate situation had been "brought under control," they continued the military rather than the peace-officer tradition by conducting themselves like a poorly disciplined army of occupation.

While newspapers had carried stories of white persons seeking to storm the jail and of armed white men milling about the city on the day of the shooting of the town police, it was only the Negro homes of Columbia that were searched—and virtually *all of them were searched.* As has been stated earlier, civil liberties were violated—or ignored—with gay abandon.

The official explanation does not adequately account for the shooting of William Gordon and James Johnson in terms of good police work. Even if full credence is given to the official version of the story—i.e., Gordon managed to reach into a pile of several assorted guns, find the proper one to fit bullets which he had smuggled into jail, and fire upon a deputy before he could be restrained—it must be remembered that, according to this same version, he had dropped the gun and was crawling underneath a bed when his body was filled with machine gun bullets. The official version shows even less reason for firing upon Johnson than for firing upon Gordon. During the Lawrenceburg trial, Chief Bomar boasted that he had knocked Napoleon Stewart, the third prisoner present in the room, to the floor. (The prisoner had raised both hands above his head.) The chief law-enforcement officer of the State of Tennessee then quoted himself as saying, as he placed his former All-American foot on Stewart's neck and pointed a revolver at his head, "If you move, I'll kill you!"

Even if one agrees with the Federal Grand Jury's finding that the jail-office shooting was justified, he must question the fact that no medical aid was given to the wounded prisoners in Columbia, not even first-aid by a layman; but they were brought to Nashville, more than forty miles away—and this after a significant delay!

The Reaction

A visit to Columbia within a week of the outbreak of violence and three days following the killing of Gordon and Johnson, revealed some interesting local reactions. Among Negroes there was a general feeling of being stunned at the homicides and at the wholesale destruction of their small but relatively prosperous business area. One young man told of how he had come home to live with his ailing widowed mother and had managed to initiate a thriving small service establishment:

> "After this, though," he said, waving to the East Eighth Street section where members of the State Guard were doing sentry duty, "I don't think I'll stay here. They cleaned me out the other morning and I just don't have the heart to start over."

An elderly and well-educated male school teacher said:

> "I hope they don't just have a whitewash investigation. There're a lot of things wrong with Maury County. . . . There've been four mobbings here in my lifetime."

The Presbyterian minister who conducted the funeral of one of the jail-killing victims gave no eulogy but simply read from Isaiah 40:

> "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people. . ."

There was a very different spirit, often mingled in the speech of the very people who were shocked and hurt. Over and over persons were heard to take great pride in the fact that "the colored folks stood together." "We wasn't gonna have no social lynching," was the way that several people phrased the feeling of the people on the night of the shooting of the police.

A white investigator from the Southern Regional Council found mingled feelings among Columbia's white population also. As has been noted before, there was a disposition to say that Negroes had "risen up against the white folks." This was expressed by persons who reported as fact the rumor that Negroes in Columbia had been "arming and conspiring for defense" for more than six months. On the other hand, there was much resentment against the Highway Patrol, declarations that Columbia would have been better off without the "outsiders" from Nashville.

At the national level, the Columbia violence was immediately recognized as a national problem whose solution or disposition was likely to affect gravely the course of race relations throughout the South and the Nation. Within a matter of days, representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, the Southern Regional Council, the Civil Liberties Federation, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the American Missionary Association were among those who appeared in Columbia to find out how their organizations could help out. Several statements were circulated, relating the incidents of the rioting. The best known of these were issued by the NAACP, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the Southern Regional Council. *The Truth About Columbia*, a pamphlet prepared by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was distributed widely over the country and is reported to have resulted in a large number of letters and telegrams to Governor James McCord protesting the actions of his Highway Patrol and advocating State compensation for property damaged.

Attorneys for the NAACP were on the scene in Columbia within a few hours of the first reports of the dawn raid. Maurice Weaver, a youthful Chattanooga white attorney, recently returned to civilian life from the navy, sought to speak with men who had been arrested without success. Z. A.

Looby, Nashville Negro attorney who later served as chief defense counsel in the case, joined Weaver in preparing *habeas corpus* proceedings; and although the writ was denied, most of the prisoners were released or informed of the amount of bail bond needed while the hearings were being held. Within a few weeks the Maury County Grand Jury met and returned indictments against twenty-five Negroes out of the more than 100 arrested in the original raid. These men were charged with assault with intent to murder. Two white men were also indicted; but the nature of the charge against them was not made clear. (Other indictments were returned against Negroes and included such charges as accessory after the fact, accessory with knowledge of the fact, and carrying weapons. Mrs. Stephenson and James were indicted for assault with intent to kill.)

While Negro, progressive, and civil liberties organizations accepted the Columbia violence as a definite threat to civil rights of persons throughout the South and throughout the Nation, the more conservative elements in the community interpreted the shooting of the Columbia police and the defense of these arrested in this connection as a definite threat to the *status quo*. There were many instances in which the Nashville *Banner*, by implication and sometime explicitly, viewed the whole incident—from the radio shop fight to appeals to public opinion—as a vast "CIO-PAC-Communist" conspiracy against the "American way of life."[41]

The Committee for Justice in Columbia, Tennessee, the fund-raising subsidiary of the NAACP, distributed a pamphlet titled, *Terror in Tennessee*, written by Oliver W. Harrington, director of public relations for the National Association. It was a factual statement, the most controversial section of which was based almost exclusively upon a deposition given to an NAACP attorney by Sheriff Underwood. It was, however, an attempt to stir people's emotions as well as their intellects; and, therefore, was written in a spirited manner and was illustrated with several photographs clearly showing police brutality and the results of vandalism in the East Eighth Street area. A group of Nashville persons, headed by Dr. Donald Davidson, acknowledged Negrophobe and professor of English at Vanderbilt University, attacked the Committee for Justice as purveyors of incendiary propaganda, stating that they had impugned the good name of Tennessee and its courts.

People from throughout the country demanded that the President or the Attorney-General call a special Federal Grand Jury to inquire into the alleged violations of civil liberties by local and State officers. After considerable pressure had been brought to bear, Attorney-General Tom Clark ordered an investigation held. (The FBI is reported to have been on the scene very early in the affair; and, therefore, is presumed to have had at least as much evidence as was gained by photographers from newspapers.) Judge Elmer D. Davies convened the Jury on April 9, 1946 and charged it to make an inquiry under the Federal code which provides that persons "acting under the color of law" who willfully deprive other persons of their civil rights are subject to fine and imprisonment. He gave the Grand Jury the following interpretation of the statute:

> "Whoever, under the color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects or causes to be subjected," . . . necessarily applies to persons acting in their official capacity. A private individual not attempting to act under the authorization of any law, but merely on his own initiative, might commit acts which would deprive citizens of some of their constitutional rights but would not necessarily be an infringement of the statute in question. . . .
>
> The word "willfully" is used in the act in the sense that it imports something more than mere knowledge of the act performed or failed to be performed, and implies an evil design, not merely voluntary, but with a bad purpose, coupled with a deliberate and intentional design to do wrong . . . before you return an indictment against any person or officer for violation of this statute, "you should first find that it was a willful violation done with a bad

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[41] This interpretation was frequently made during the Democratic primary campaign in which the Banner supported the Crump-sponsored ticket, consisting of incumbents, Governor McCord and Senator K. D. McKellar. The line of attack was that of labeling E. W. Carmack, McKellar's opponent, who had considerable labor endorsement, as a "Communist-front supported candidate." In this context, the Columbia rioting was attributed to "outside, Communist-front interference" and hence the sort of thing for which Carmack was alleged to represent.

> purpose and intent and coupled with the intent to deprive a citizen of any right guaranteed him under the Constitution of the United States."

Judge Davies called attention to the pamphlet, "The Truth About Columbia," and instructed the jury:

> "If the facts alleged in this pamphlet are true, then officials have been guilty of very serious offenses against the Constitution and laws of the United States and, if they are true, it is your duty to return indictments regardless of whom the officials might be. Yet, gentlemen of the jury, if they are not true then someone for particular reasons of their own apparently has been agitating these matters for some particular purpose.
>
> "Now, gentlemen of the jury, I suggest that you subpoena before you the officials of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and question them as to the facts contained in this pamphlet and, if they are true, you should act accordingly and return indictments against the persons responsible for those acts. If they are not true, then the circulators of this pamphlet should be exposed for deliberately agitating matters of this kind to cause difficulties between races which are trying to live together in peace and harmony."[42]

The findings of the Grand Jury were such as one would expect to follow Judge Davies' charge. After two months of hearing FBI agents and 390 other persons, the Grand Jury issued a 4,200 word report the main features of which are given below:

(1) **Vandalism:** Contending that some of the damage to Negro business houses was done during the night of February 25, while Negroes held siege, the report admitted that "much of the damage was wantonly committed after the arrest of the Negroes (sic), and while the area was under the control of the Highway Patrol and members of the State Guard." It was further admitted that "an adequate guard was not maintained" for several hours after the raid on the area. The report offered no suggestion of indemnity for injured property owners.

(2) **Indiscriminate Arrests:** The report found that no indiscriminate arrests of Negroes were made.

(3) **Force Used in Arrests:** "Considering the basis of the arrests and the tense and dangerous atmosphere under which the arrests were accomplished, it is the considered judgment of this body that the force shown to have been used was not unreasonable."

(4) **Concerning the Killing of William Gordon and James Johnson in Jail:** "We consider the killing of the Negroes (sic) Johnson and Gordon justifiable homicide. The testimony of eye witnesses, including Napoleon Stewart (Negro fellow-prisoner), admits of no other interpretation."

(5) **Treatment of Prisoners:** Prisoners were not subjected to brutality, were apprised of their rights not to incriminate themselves before questioning, and were not denied right of counsel.

(6) **Search Without Warrant:** Searches of homes "adjacent to 'Mink Slide' area" were made at the direction of the Governor, "and were not, in our opinion, unreasonable." [NB: The implication is that the Governor may set aside the Bill of Rights at will. Homes as far as two and three miles from "Mink Slide" are known to have been searched.]

The report claimed that "the events transpiring at Columbia have been the subject of nation-wide misrepresentation. Falsehoods and half-truths have been widely publicized by letter and pamphlet under the sponsorship of various organizations." The "Communist Press" was particularly singled out for censure as trying to "foster racial hatred and to array class against class."

The Grand Jury report summed up its findings with the following admonition:

> "We wish to sound a warning that the good citizens of both races be on their guard against insidious and false propaganda. In the opinion of this grand jury nothing is so likely to erode and ultimately destroy peaceful and friendly relations between the races as the dissemination of half-truths and falsehoods such as have been so freely circulated in relation to the events occurring at Columbia."[43]

Repeated efforts to secure another Grand Jury investigation of the matter, especially in light of very damaging admissions made during the Lawrenceburg trial, have been without success.

The Aftermath

Columbia remained in the news and in the public eye for nearly a year following the rioting. The indictment of twenty-five Columbia Negroes on charges of assault with intent to commit murder—specifically assault with intent to murder Police Officer Will Wilsford—has been referred to earlier. Under the leadership of Attorneys

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[42] Quoted from A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, April, 1946, p. 266.

[43] Quoted from A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, July, 1946, p. 364.

Looby, Weaver, and Leon Ransom, the following events took place:

1. A motion for change of venue was granted. But the presiding judge, Joe Ingram, instead of moving the proceedings to Nashville as the defense counsel had requested, ordered the trial moved to Lawrenceburg, Tennessee.
2. A jury was completed only after about eight hundred venire men had been called. (Very seldom did Judge Ingram grant defense motions to excuse a person for cause, even, as in one case, when membership in the Ku Klux Klan was admitted by a prospective juror. Judge Ingram reserved for himself the prerogative of asking all questions concerning race prejudice, and Klan membership.)
3. The trial was kept before the public through the writings of such well-known journalists as Vincent Sheean, of the New York Herald-Tribune, Harry Raymond of the New York Daily Worker, and Henry Moscow of the New York Post. (One of the major sensations of the trial occurred when Commissioner Lynn Bomar of the State Highway Patrol approached Sheean in the court room and threatened to do him bodily harm, because of an article that had appeared under Mr. Sheean's bi-line.) Several other papers had special correspondents present for the proceedings.
4. An all-white, all-male jury, made up principally of Lawrence County, Tennessee farmers, found twenty-three of the twenty-five defendants not guilty. Two were found guilty.
5. A motion for new trial of the convicted men went uncontested by the State (on the advice of the State Attorney General), and these were subsequently freed.
6. One year after the rioting of February 26, Mrs. Stephenson and her son had not come to trial and several other Negroes still had relatively minor charges pending against them.

THE ATHENS, ALABAMA RIOT

Athens, Alabama is located in Limestone County, nineteen miles south of the Alabama-Tennessee boundary. The town proper has a population of 4,342 persons (3,425 white and 917 Negro).[44] It is a trading center for Limestone County which has a population of 35,642 (26,810 white and 8,822 Negro).[45] Although this is a county given principally to the cultivation of cotton, it differs significantly from the cotton counties of Alabama's Black Belt (the old plantation region) in that it has a relatively small Negro population and about a third of the Negro farm-operators in the county are owners. Athens' four and one-half thousand souls are greatly augmented every Saturday by the farmers who come into town for recreation, gossiping, and making the major purchases for the week.

The Cause of the Riot[46]

It was on such a Saturday afternoon, August 10, 1946, that the Athens riot took place. The precipitating incident occurred about one o'clock in the afternoon. Two young white men accosted a Negro youth as the latter emerged from the Ritz Theatre and apparently attacked him without provocation. The Negro, a veteran of three years in the European Theatre, knocked one of his attackers down with his fist and ran around the corner toward the Negro entrance to the theatre. The two aggressors, Ben and Roy Massey, twenty-three and nineteen years old respectively, the former an Army veteran and the latter home on furlough, were arrested on charges of drunkenness.

Word spread rapidly that two white boys had been arrested following a fight with a Negro and that the latter had gotten away. A crowd of several hundred white men and boys is reported to have gathered and to have gone into the theatre in search of the Negro. When the youth was not found in the theatre the crowd went toward the jail two blocks away in the city hall. As the men moved toward the jail, numerous persons joined in. By the time the building was reached, the crowd is reported to have reached two thousand. The leaders of what had by now become a genuine mob tore down the door to city hall and demanded that the Massey brothers be released. The officials, clearly outnumbered, arranged a release without removing the charges against the men.

One of the leaders of the mob is then reported to have jumped to the top of a bread truck and to have harangued the crowd on the general theme that the police were showing partiality to Negroes and that the latter were demonstrating a disposition to get "out of their places." The larger crowd then broke up into smaller mobs and began a systematic program of rioting. Every Negro who came within view of one of these mobs was chased out of town, often after he had been beaten with a club or strap. County Attorney Rosenau estimated that 50 to 100 Negroes were painfully injured during the course of the afternoon, and that this number included several women, children, and old men.

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[44] Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population, Vol. II.

[45] Loc. cit.

[46] This account of the Riot and most of the material that follows on the Athens riot is taken from a report of John Hope, II and L. Maynard Catchings, two members of the staff of the Fisk Social Science Institute who investigated this affair immediately after it happened.

One of the activities of the mob consisted in going into shops and stores that employed Negroes and demanding that the Negroes' jobs be given to white veterans. Some of the merchants agreed to fire their Negro porters or firemen or delivery boys and hire white men in their places. Many, it is reported, refused to do this either out of (1) loyalty to their employees, (2) jealousy of their hiring prerogatives, (3) disinclination to pay wages acceptable to white men, or (4) contempt for the methods being used. One shop keeper is reported to have hidden his Negro porter in the boiler room and to have threatened to shoot any member of the mob who sought to harm him. On the other hand, another merchant came quickly to terms with the mob; and gave his Negro employee a week's terminal vacation on the spot, after agreeing to pay the veteran offered by the mob as a replacement ten dollars per week more than the Negro was receiving. The middle-aged former twenty-one dollar per week porter told an investigator, "I had been working there about three years. I was disappointed at the manager's not taking a firm stand to protect me on the job."

As soon as the mob began its activity, Mayor R. H. Richardson telephoned Governor Chauncey Sparks in Montgomery. The Governor was on a fishing trip, but the State finance director, Hayes Tucker, and Adjutant-General George C. Clear ordered the State Guard and Highway Patrol to the scene. The first contingent of Guardsmen arrived around four o'clock Saturday afternoon. About the same time, fifty members of the North Alabama division of the Highway Patrol put in their appearance. The crowds began to disperse almost immediately; and, by midnight, a semblance of order had been restored. Nine white men and boys, accused of leading the rioting, were placed under arrest. No Negroes were arrested.

The Background

Most observers agree that the leaders of the mob and many of its most active participants were returned soldiers and sailors. Very clearly involved in the situation are economic insecurity and political rivalries. Athens has practically no industry and, therefore, a very limited number of decent jobs. An inordinately large number of white veterans was reported as being among the unemployed. Not only were immediate prospects of employment dim but there was no prospect of a local economy that could absorb the veterans at living wages. The economic situation appears to have been a factor in the general unrest out of which a riot could be easily stimulated. This was certainly apparent in the turn that much of the mob action took, i.e., demanding that jobs then held by Negroes be given to white GI's—at increased compensation.

During the May Alabama Democratic primaries, veterans in Athens, Alabama, like their buddies in Athens, Tennessee, had sought to unseat the incumbent city and county office-holders. The Alabamans had not been successful. It was widely believed that the arrest of the Massey brothers offered an opportunity to the unsuccessful GI politicians to recoup their losses by discrediting the incumbents as "nigger-lovers." The relatively firm manner in which city and county officials dealt with the situation would indicate that they felt it was, as one Negro citizen put it, "an attack on constituted law and order." In any case, the factors underlying the rioting seem other than "racial." They are economic, political, and, to some extent, youth against age. Race served as an *occasion* for venting resentment which had been growing for sometime against a situation for which no immediate answer was forthcoming.

Police and City Officials

The first act of the police in the situation was unusual, to say the least. It is not expected in the Deep South that white parties to an interracial fight shall be arrested and no apparent effort made to apprehend their Negro adversary—even if, as in this case, the whites were drunk and had provoked the conflict. Whether or not the city officials could have held the jail against an attack by the mob—whether or not they could have dispersed the mob without giving up their prisoners, is problematical. It was certainly not comparable to giving up a likely lynch victim. Once the situation was under control, the accused men could be re-committed to jail.

Judging from the time that the State re-enforcements arrived, the Mayor immediately realized the inadequacy of his staff to deal with the situation and acted upon his opinion.[47]

The Mayor sent the following note to eight of the town's most prominent Negro citizens the day after the riot:

> "Will each of you please meet a small committee of white citizens in the assembly hall of the courthouse (next to the county agent's office) tonight at 8 o'clock. I am calling this little meeting for the purpose of talking over the unfortunate situation of yesterday and to make plans to see that the thinking people of our community maintain law and order. Please do not publicly discuss this conference prior to the meeting.
>
> Very truly yours,
> /s/ R. H. Richardson
> Mayor."

At the meeting, the Mayor is said to have expressed his regret over the affair and to have assured the Negroes that they would have the protection of law enforcement officers at their homes and work and that the guilty persons would be brought speedily to trial. One white man at the meeting is quoted as having said, "We don't want any of those outside Negroes coming down here." One of the prime purposes of reassuring Negroes was apparently that of warding off the influence of "agitators." One of the advantages present in the Athens situation was that the lines of communication between whites and Negroes were kept open. It also appears that upon whatever basis, an attitude of mutual trust between white and Negro leaders was present.

RIOTING INVOLVING NEGRO SOLDIERS

A frequent source of conflict during the war period was that of clashes between Negro and white soldiers or Negro soldiers and white civilians, especially in the South. There was a fertile ground for such conflict. Negro soldiers were told by their army orientation speakers, by the newspapers, and by our Nation's leaders that they were fighting against an enemy who numbered among his most repulsive notions a belief in the superiority of certain "races" over certain other "races." Many northern Negro men had been sent to the South for training; and southern Negro men had often become very restive. On the other hand, many southern white communities near Army camps were redoubling their efforts to remind Negroes of "their place." Off-post recreational facilities for Negro soldiers in the South were inadequate to non-existent. Transportation facilities were over-taxed and a constant source of race tension.[48] Given this situation, it is not surprising that there were more than forty instances of clashes, some of which took on the nature of a race riot.

A report contained in *A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations*,[49] identified as "a condensation of a confidential memorandum prepared by two very reputable social scientists who have made a thorough study of the matter," contains an important analysis which has implications for race riots in general. Three criteria had been set up for including soldier riots in this study. They were "(1) the actual or attempted use of arms and ammunition (2) by a group of Negro soldiers (3) against a group of white persons." The authors found eight cases that met the criteria for selection; and these incidents had occurred in the following places:

1. Fort Dix, New Jersey, April, 1942
2. Tuskegee, Alabama, April, 1942
3. Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Early 1943
4. Camp Van Dorn, Mississippi, May, 1943
5. Camp Stewart, Georgia, June, 1943
6. Fort Bliss, Texas, June, 1943

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[47] Cf. with action of Mayor Jeffries in Detroit, above.

[48] Transportation tension was complicated by the gentle southern custom that demands that white persons board buses and street cars first and Negroes later; and the law that usually requires that Negroes load the vehicle from the back forward and white persons sit from the front seats toward the back. This meant that the bus was crowded with white persons by the time Negroes boarded it; and that a Negro would have to push through a crowd of white persons to get a seat.

[49] August-September, 1944, pp. 15-18.

7. Shenango Personnel Replacement Depot, Pennsylvania, July, 1943
8. Unspecified Town in Cornwall, England, October, 1943.

After examining each of these cases carefully, the authors conclude that given certain factors, conflict is inevitable:

(1) Negro troops who conceive of themselves as American citizens entitled to impartial non-discriminative treatment regardless of color.

(2) White troops and/or civilians who conceive of themselves as inherently superior, by virtue of their race, to all and any persons identifiable as Negroes, and hence not required to treat, nor justified in treating, Negroes as social equals under any circumstances.

(3) Military indoctrination in the virile traits of the professional fighting men—pride, fearlessness and ultimate reliance on force of arms.

(4) Circumstances throwing groups of Negro soldiers and white soldiers and/or civilians into close proximity for some time—a period of several days, a week or longer.

(5) Actual or potential access to arms and ammunition by Negro soldiers.

(6) A general socio-psychological attitude of mutual racial fear, suspicion, and hate leading to increasing tension by a circular process of interaction.

(7) One or more individual Negro soldier leaders whose threshold for action is relatively low—sufficiently low at least, that one more incident, real or rumored, thrusts him or them into the role of active leadership.

(8) A dramatic or catalytic precipitating incident.

RIOTS THAT DID NOT HAPPEN

It is quite as instructive to know instances in which riots seemed imminent but did not occur as to know of those which materialized. There were many such instances during the period under consideration. Some of these came to notice. Obviously, others would not be known of, or if known about would not be publicized because of certain factors involved. Brief accounts of some that have been reported will be given.

Charleston, South Carolina (June, 1943)

Crowds began to mill about after a false rumor of Negro preparations for rioting was inspired by persons who misinterpreted the nature of a crowd of Negroes who had gathered to watch an intra-racial fight. Police closed all beer parlors and liquor stores and dispersed all crowds. No riot occurred.[50]

Houston, Texas (June, 1943)

Rumors were rife in Houston during June, 1943 to the effect that Negroes were planning a riot for "Juneteenth" (June 19). An inter-racial committee put on an active campaign to combat the rumor. This included inserting a full-page advertisement in a leading Houston paper.[51]

Washington, D. C. (May, 1943)

At the height of the campaign by Negroes to secure employment as operators on the Capital Transit Company's vehicles, a parade and mass meeting were planned as a demonstration sponsored by the Washington Committee on Jobs for Negroes in public utilities. A rumor was spread among white persons in the Capital that Negroes had been rioting and/or were about to begin rioting. This was an instance of the systematic spread of a riot rumor; for it was passed along primarily by bus and street car operators (whose union opposed the upgrading of Negroes to platform jobs) and through anonymous telephone calls to schools, government offices, and women's dormitories. Chief Edward J. Kelly, Superintendent of the Washington Police Force, alerted his men. Radio stations and newspapers met the rumor directly by bringing it into the open and denying it. The parade went off with Chief Kelly leading the police escort.[52]

CONCLUSIONS

The dominant theme in all of the racial clashes reported in this section is that the deep-seated and underlying causes are most often not racial. The war period itself—with people made irritable through personal worries, overwork, anxiety over military success of the country, and, perhaps, guilt at their direct and indirect participation in the mass blood-letting, rendered people insecure and often frustrated. This frustration must be released. One way of releasing the frustration would be to strike back at the person or persons who are causing one to be frustrated. But, in this instance, frustration is born of great impersonal forces, many of which are recognized only dimly, if at all—and, when recognized, appear to be out of reach. A highly visible minority offers a convenient and culturally permissive object on which one may release his pent-up aggression.[53] The precipitating incident is but *an occasion* for violence. In another social setting, or at another time in the same setting, it would be simply a personal fight, an idle rumor, or the normal course of the law. Insofar as this is true, our war-born race riots grew from the same soil that supported our nationwide rise in rates of juvenile delinquency, our increase in family disorganization, and our apparent relaxation in sex morality.

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[50] Special report to Fisk Social Science Institute.

[51] Special Report.

[52] Weckley, J. E., and Hall, Theo E.—The Police and Minority Groups, International City Managers Assn., Chicago, 1944, p. 2.

[53] Cf. Dollard, John, Doob, Leonard, et al., Frustration and Aggression (1939).

Over and above the conditions which made for the general rise in instances of inter-racial violence, particularly race riots, are the special factors that cause riots to occur in one place and not to take place in another. From an examination of the riots and rioting reported in this section, certain conditions stand out. They include:

1. The failure on the part of local police to understand the special skills needed for working in minority group communities or for dealing with situations involving overt inter-group conflict.
2. The assumption on the part of police that Negroes or other minorities are outside the law in the sense that they are the natural enemies of the police.
3. The distrust of the police and other officials by members of ethnic minorities.
4. Severe and conscious competition between racial or ethnic groups for housing, jobs, and political preferment.
5. The absence of a responsible and skillful inter-racial committee and other means of keeping the lines of communication open between groups.
6. The absence of machinery for dealing positively and promptly with rumors—idle or malicious.

While born of psycho-social and economic forces nearly as deep-seated as our culture itself, the foregoing factors indicate that race riots can be minimized while men of good will work for a social order in which even the threat of riots will be non-existent.

DIVISION XI

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS

By Vera Chandler Foster and Robert D. Reid
Tuskegee Institute

POLITICAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

The Southern Political Scene

The Constitution lays the framework of the American tradition of political democracy. Civil rights and suffrage were given the Negro by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, but the doctrine of equality of human rights has been so influenced by sectional mores that the Negro has a political status different in the South than in the North. In the North the Negro participates freely in elections and his suffrage is taken as a matter of course; he may vote as well as hold office. Generally, in the North the Negro has not constituted a political issue of lasting importance, except as constituting an issue in national politics. Occasionally, in a local election, as in the Detroit mayoralty contest after the June riot, 1943, the matter of race becomes an issue, and the Negro vote takes on especial significance.

It is *suffrage*—the right of unrestricted voting of the Negro in the North, and the denial of the vote to the Negro in the South—which accentuates the Negro's political status in the two sections. In America a disfranchised people is a disadvantaged people. Myrdal characterizes the situation aptly in his *An American Dilemma*: ". . . it has become customary to distribute jobs, protection, and public service in some relation to the voting strength of the various regional, national and religious groups in the community. . . . The effect will be accentuated if, in addition to disfranchisement, the group is segregated. The unpaved streets in the Negro sections of Southern cities, the lack of facilities for sewage disposal, the lack of street lighting, the dilapidated school houses, the scarcity of hospital facilities, and indeed, all other discrimination in education, health, housing, breadwinning, and justice, give evidence of this important relation in America between the vote and a share in the public services. Since Negroes do not participate in the election of the representative bodies either, these bodies cannot be expected to give them redress against the officials. No representative will see any immediate reason to please a disfranchised group, and laws and regulations will be drawn up without their interests being represented. If the system becomes corrupted, the odds are placed even more definitely against a poor group without political voice."[1] In the fight for the ballot the Negro thus seeks to improve his status, generally.

Certain problems have given a peculiar cast to politics in the South, and at the same time reflect the lack of democracy there. Bunche lists these as: "the low standard of living of the mass population of the South, both black and white; land tenancy; lower wage standards; the poll tax as a heavy burden on voting; the Negro as a social, political and economic 'untouchable,' a below-average standard of education; the one-party system; an inferior quality of political representation and crude demagoguery; loose, inefficient and often corrupt state and political administration."[2] Severe class distinctions which have operated since slavery days still characterize the South. A sharp hostility has always existed between the white upper and lower classes, but through manipulation of the threat of black dominance they have gained political solidarity on the issue of "white supremacy." Bunche describes the three most salient features of southern politics as: "The looseness and casual corruption in Southern politics; the disfranchisement of virtually all black and large numbers of 'poor white' citizens; and the employment of the Negro issue as a political red herring."[3]

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[1] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, Harper, 1944, pp. 435, 436.

[2] Ralph J. Bunche, The Negro in the Political Life of the United States, The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. X, No. 3, July, 1941, p. 569.

This section seeks to reveal what the obstacles are towards the Negro's voting in the South and to give especial consideration to recent developments affecting his political status there.

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[3] Ibid, p. 569.

Table 1 *(Continued)*

Essential Registration and Voting Requirements in the Southern States 1946

State	Residence Requirements	Literacy, Education and Character Tests	Property Qualifications	Poll Tax Requirements	Features Relating to the Primary
MISSISSIPPI	Two yrs. in the State and 1 yr. in the district or city or town.	Read any section of the Constitution or give a reasonable interpretation when it is read.	None	$2.00 annual poll tax, to be paid for 2 yrs. preceding election yr. Veterans exempt during period of service.	Must not be excluded by any regulation of party expressed through State Executive Committee or other authorized party agency.
NORTH CAROLINA	One yr. in the State and 4 mos. in the precinct.	Read and write any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar.	None	None (Repealed in 1921).	
OKLAHOMA	One yr. in the State, 6 mos. in the county and 30 days in the precinct.	Read, write and understand any section of the Constitution of Oklahoma.	None	None	
SOUTH CAROLINA	Two yrs. in the State, 1 yr. in the county and 4 mos. in the precinct for general elections.	Read and write any section of the State Constitution. (Alternative for property test).	Payment of taxes on property assessed at $300. or more, during preceding year. (Alternative for literacy test.)	$1.00 annual non-cumulative poll tax for general elections. Veterans exempt during period of service.	(Primary removed from State control, by special legislative action 1944). (Three separate ballots—one for federal officers, one for state officers, and one for constitutional amendments and special elections.)
TENNESSEE	One yr. in the State and 6 mos. in the county.	None	None	$1.00 annual, non-cumulative poll tax. Counties may levy an additional poll tax up to $1.00. Veterans' tax for 1 yr. paid by 3 mos. service, for 2 yrs. by 6 mos. service.	Primaries mandatory for U. S. Senator, Governor and State offices, not for county offices, State legislators or representatives, utility commissioners. Must be qualified elector and member of party.
TEXAS	One yr. in the State and 6 mos. in the County or district.	None	None. (In municipal elections concerning expenditures of money or assumption of debt, only city property taxpayers may vote.)	$1.50 annual, non-cumulative poll tax. Counties may levy additional .25. City poll tax may be made prerequisite to voting in city elections only. Veterans not exempt.	Party given power to "in its own way determine who shall be qualified to vote."
VIRGINIA	One yr. in the State, 6 mos. in the county, and 30 days in the precinct.	Registration blank must be filled out by person in presence of registration official, unless applicant is physically unable to do so.	None. (General Assembly may prescribe property qualifications not exceeding $250. for county and municipal elections.)	$1.50 per yr., cumulative for 3 yrs. General Assembly may authorize cities and counties to levy additional $1.00.	Elector must be member of party. Democratic party rule under #227 prescribes that voter must be white.

Table 1.

Essential Registration and Voting Requirements in the Southern States

1946

State	Residence Requirements	Literacy, Education and Character Tests	Property Qualifications	Poll Tax Requirements	Features Relating to the Primary See "The White Primary" pp. 268-73
ALABAMA..........	Two yrs. in the State, 1 yr. in the county and 3 mos. in the precinct. Qualified electors having changed residence after Jan. 1, 1903 must not be disqualified by literacy and character requirements. (See Boswell Amendment, 1946).	Read, write, understand and explain any section of the U. S. Constitution, to satisfaction of county board of registrars. Be of good character and "understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government." Have lawful employment for greater part of 12 mos. before registration.	None (Repealed in 1946 by the Boswell Amendment).	$1.50 annual cumulative poll tax. Period of liability, 21 to 45 yrs. of age. Veterans granted exemption.	State Executive Committee of political party concerned, permitted to "fix and prescribe . . . political or other qualifications . . . and declare and determine who shall be entitled to vote in primary elections or to be candidate."
ARKANSAS.........	One yr. in the State, 6 mos. in the county, and 1 mo. in the precinct.	None	None	$1.00 annual non-cumulative poll tax. Veterans granted permanent exemption.	Political parties granted right to prescribe qualifications for membership and for voting in primaries. Separate primaries for election of federal and of state officials.
FLORIDA...........	One yr. in the State, 6 mos. in the county.	None	None	None (Repealed in 1937).	Democratic primary rule permits white persons only to participate. Separate registration for primaries.
GEORGIA...........	One yr. in the State, 6 mos. in the county.	Applicant must be "of good character and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government," or correctly read and write (or if physically unable, give a "reasonable interpretation") any paragraph of the Constitutions of the U. S. or Georgia when read by one of the registrars.	None	None (Repealed in 1945).	(1945 Constitution omits reference to the primary).
KENTUCKY.........	One yr. in the State, 6 mos. in the county and 60 days in the precinct.	None	None	None	
LOUISIANA.........	Two yrs. in the State, 1 yr. in the parish and 3 mos. in the precinct.	Read and write any clause of the Constitution of U. S. or State; or be a person of good character and reputation who can give a reasonable interpretation of either Constitution when read. Be of good character and understand duties of citizenship.	None	None (Repealed in 1934).	Must be registered voter with additional qualifications imposed by party. Democratic Party prescribes only white persons may vote. "May not be associated with or an adherent to any organization, association or party opposed to the Democratic Party, or which teaches any doctrine inconsistent with those of the party or to Constitution of State or the U. S."

Voting Requirements In the Southern States

In all of the Southern States except Georgia and South Carolina, persons are eligible for registration after becoming twenty-one years of age. Georgia and South Carolina allow persons eighteen years of age or older to register as voters. As in other States of the Union, residents of the Southern States must be citizens of the United States and of the State in which they register before they can become qualified voters; the period of residence varies, as does the interval between registration and actual voting. Generally, persons adjudged insane or idiotic or who have been convicted of specified crimes are denied the privilege of voting, although a pardon may restore citizenship and the right to vote to those who have been convicted for crime. Literacy and/or character requirements are set up in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Virginia. Property requirements are not general at present; South Carolina has one set up as an alternative for literacy.

Of the thirteen Southern States, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia require the payment of a poll tax as a pre-requisite for voting. Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina and Oklahoma do not have this requirement. Alabama, Mississippi and Virginia have cumulative poll taxes; the period of liability for Alabama covers the period between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five. Mississippi requires a $2.00 annual poll tax which must be paid for two years preceding the year in which an election is to be held, while Virginia has an annual poll tax of $1.50 which is payable for three years prior to the time that an individual registers unless he has just become twenty-one years of age. Veterans usually are not required to pay poll taxes for the privilege of voting.

Specification of eligibility of white persons only to participate in the primary, or delegation of power to the political party to prescribe party membership and eligibility to vote in the primary obtains in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. All reference to the primary has recently been removed from State regulations of South Carolina.

THE POLL TAX

Purpose of the Poll Tax

The poll tax, now operative in seven Southern States, is described as the "head tax method of limiting the vote." Originally a revenue-raising instrument, the poll tax as a vote limiting provision to keep Negroes and "poor whites" from voting dates back to the 1890's.[4] Basically, the tax disfranchises. Although the tax is a small amount ($1.00 to $2.00 per year) among the masses, the low income group of the South, the marginal utility of each dollar is too great to permit such an expenditure.

Cumulative Feature of the Poll Tax

In Alabama the cumulative feature of the tax brings an especial hardship. The press throughout the State, white and Negro, gave wide publicity during the 1946 elections when several people paid back poll-taxes amounting to $36.00 each in order to qualify to vote. Reprinted in the columns of the widely circulated *Birmingham News*, February 26, 1946, was the following editorial from the *Anniston Star*:

"Last year citizens of Calhoun paid more in poll taxes than ever before in the history of the county.

"It is splendid that so many showed that much interest in qualifying to exercise the right of the ballot; it reveals that persons who have been reluctant to vote want to avail themselves of the privilege of voicing their opinion.

"However, there is a painful experience. Twenty-eight of those meeting the poll tax requirement paid the maximum of $36.00 under the cumulative system, for the privilege of exercising the right of the ballot.

"That means 28 citizens of Calhoun County are paying $36.00 for the privilege of voting in one election. Where else in the country would a person of average means pay such tribute to express a choice?"

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[4] Cf. W. M. Brewer, "The Poll Tax and the Poll Taxers," The Journal of Negro History, XXIX, No. 3, July, 1944, pp. 260-299; also, Herbert Aptheker, "South Carolina Poll Tax, 1737-1895," The Journal of Negro History, XXXI, No. 2, April, 1946, pp. 131-139.

It is estimated that 10,000,000 potential voters—7,000,000 whites and 3,000,000 Negroes—are disfranchised by the poll tax.

Voting in the Poll Tax States

The percentage of eligibles voting in the South is smaller than in other sections of the United States. In the 1942 Congressional elections in the eight poll tax States 5 per cent of the adult population participated, as against 39 per cent in the non-poll tax States. The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax indicates that 56 of the 69 Representatives from States having poll taxes had no opposition in the general election that year. The disparity was further marked in the 1944 Presidential election when out of an estimated 14,500,000 potential voters in the poll tax States, only 2,700,000 or 19 per cent of the adult population voted, as against 57 per cent in the non-poll tax States. Although the poll tax is most frequently assailed as responsible for the relative smallness of southern voting lists, it is well to remember that while it is a major obstacle to fuller political expression, other factors must likewise be taken into account—residence requirements, education and character tests, intimidation of persons who desire to register, arbitrary purging of voters' lists, etc.

Arguments for the Poll Tax Invalid

The most frequent arguments against repeal of the poll tax in Southern States are: (1) loss of revenue; (2) adverse effect on public schools; (3) assumption of political control in certain areas by Negroes and/or "poor whites." Actually the poll tax has but little value as a fiscal measure. The highest percentage of a poll tax State's revenue netted Virginia in 1937 only 1.8 per cent. Alabama usually derives approximately .6 per cent of its revenue from the poll tax. It has been asserted that the amount of poll taxes collected in the Southern States in 1940 would have operated the public schools for two days. The Birmingham, Alabama, Teachers Association resolved in 1945: "Although the revenue received from the poll tax goes to education in Alabama, the oligarchic practice should no longer be allowed to stifle the achievement for which education exists —freedom to act wisely. It will mean more to education in Alabama to have the citizens we have trained take part in the settling of political questions than to receive the pittance from the tax and then see the vital matters of the State decided by only 10 to 30 per cent of the people, many of whom have been prodded by political leaders to dig up the price of the tax." To refute the claim that abolition of the poll tax would lead to control by Negroes, it has been pointed out that in States which have abolished it (Louisiana in 1934, North Carolina in 1921, and Florida in 1937) there has been no very great increase in the Negro vote. The threat of invasion of "white supremacy" seems to constitute the real hurdle in the move to abolish the poll tax.

Wide Interest in Poll Tax Abolition

Since the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in 1938 began to explore ways and means to abolish the poll tax, the effort has been waged vigorously, both locally and nationally. Especially significant was a meeting of more than fifty outstanding editors and writers of the South, in Atlanta, Georgia, on December 21, 1944, devoted to a better understanding of the limitations to voting in the South. This Committee of Editors and Writers of the South, a completely independent group, with Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville *Courier Journal* as chairman, was in general agreement that much could be done by the members as individuals to effect an extension of democracy in the South.

Interest was stimulated in non-poll tax States when it was pointed out that disfranchisement of the majority of the people in poll tax States undermined the principle of proportional representation in Congress. For instance, fifty poll tax Congressmen had gone to the House of Representatives on the same number of votes as had one Illinois Congressman. Actually, six out of seven votes in non-poll tax States were nullified as far as an effective voice in Congress was concerned. Pointing out still further the bearing that this disfranchisement has on the rest of the country, the

Detroit Free Press, on July 15, 1946, commented: . . . "two years ago in 11 of our 48 States, less than half of the eligible voters cast ballots. All of these States are in the South. All but three of them had poll taxes. The percentage of eligible voters who went to the polls ranged from 41 per cent in North Carolina and Florida down to 15 per cent in Mississippi and 10 per cent in South Carolina. The combined population of Mississippi and Georgia in 1940 was 5,307,000 and that of Michigan, 5,256,000. The two Southern States have the same number of seats in the House as Michigan has, two more Senators, and two more votes in the Electoral College. Yet in 1944 they polled a combined vote of 498,191 votes to Michigan's 2,205,217 votes. A vote in Georgia and Mississippi was worth more in our National affairs than four votes in the Wolverine State. As a result of this disbalance, the South wields a power in Washington out of all proportion to its voting strength. The States where less than half the eligible population votes hold the chairmanships of 19 of the Senate's 42 committees and of 31 of the House's 54 committees . . . Southern members attain seniority largely because of the ease of manipulating a handful of voters, all that are admitted to the polls under their minority, one-party system."

State Measures to Abolish the Poll Tax

In 1945, Georgia abolished its poll tax statute by vote of 141 to 51 in the House, and 31 to 19 in the Senate. Formidable obstacles stand in the way of repeal in the remaining seven poll tax States. The legislature of Tennessee repealed its poll tax statute in 1943, only to have the State Supreme Court in a three-to-two decision declare the repeal invalid on grounds that "this constitutional mandate has been so 'welded into intimate and permanent union' with the statute that the two have become indivisible, and the statute may not now be divorced or destroyed." An amendment was passed in the State's 1945 legislature abolishing the constitutional reference to poll tax; the amendment, however, must yet be approved by popular referendum. South Carolina's Senate in 1945 had a single dissenting vote against poll tax repeal, but the measure was unsuccessful in the House. A 70 to 27 vote against abolishing the cumulative feature of the poll tax was recorded in the Alabama House in 1945, although several political leaders advocated total abolition of the tax.

Federal Anti-Poll Tax Bills

While State repeal is the ideal and ultimate solution, Stetson Kennedy says that since the people of the poll-tax States have been denied a free vote for almost half a century, they are now entitled to Federal aid.[5] Thus far, however, efforts in Congress to make it unlawful to require the payment of a poll tax as a pre-requisite for voting or registering to vote at elections for Federal officials have been unsuccessful.

The first bill to abolish the poll tax by Federal act (HR 7534) was introduced August 5, 1939, by Representative Lee Geyer of California who, in 1940, formed the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax. (This organization seeks to coordinate the fight against the poll tax and to supply interested groups with information. It regularly sponsors an "Abolish the Poll Tax Week.") After the House Judiciary Committee dropped the bill (1940), the Geyer-Pepper Bill was introduced in Congress in 1941. It passed the House by vote of 252 to 84, but was killed in the Senate (1942) after a ten-day filibuster by southern Senators. In the 78th Congress (1943) 5 Congressmen introduced anti-poll tax bills. These five authors and two other Congressmen formed a bi-partisan coalition and jointly backed New York's Representative Vito Marcantonio's bill, H. R. 7 "making unlawful the requirement for the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in a primary or other election for national officers." Senator James M. Mead, also of New York, led the fight for its passage, but the measure, after having passed the House by vote of 265-110 in 1943, was blocked in the Senate after a five-day filibuster (May, 1944). The bill was reintroduced on January 3, 1945, by Representative Marcantonio. After the

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[5] Stetson Kennedy, "Is the South's Twenty Per Cent Democracy Enough," The Southern Frontier VI, No. 10, October, 1945, pp. 1-4.

House Judiciary Committee took no action and the Rules Committee failed to bring it to the floor, a coalition committee steered it to final vote on June 12, 1945, when it was passed by vote of 251 to 105. Since, no action has been taken in the Senate. After the Republican landslide in the 1946 elections, the southern Democrats expressed concern that the 80th Congress might revive and pass the bill.

REGISTRATION

Registration Practices

Registration rarely presents a problem in the South to whites who wish to vote, despite eligibility requirements, for the registrars generally are free to exercise their own interpretation of the law. A liberal interpretation is usually given the prospective white registrant so that, as Bunche says, "there would seem to be no good reason, barring the poll tax, why any white adult in the South, whether illiterate, feeble-minded or criminal, cannot vote, if he so desires."[6] On the other hand, a rigid interpretation of the law is usually exercised in the case of the Negro registrant. It is not so much the letter of the law as its interpretation which works a hardship upon the Negro.

Prevailing community attitude toward Negroes' voting influence registration practices. Where an atmosphere of hostility governs, Negroes are apt to be threatened with physical violence when they attempt to register, and occasionally the threats are carried out; or again they may be told that they will lose their jobs if they attempt to register. In States which have cumulative poll taxes there may be a severe application of this feature to Negroes only.

The author, Harnett T. Kane, attending the Atlanta meeting of the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South, reported that Negroes in Louisiana were kept away from the polls by special arrangements. "You have got to go there and sign a registration application in which you are asked . . . trick questions. . . . You must state your age in years, months and days. I know I had to sit and figure it out, my age in years, months and days. There is another trick question: "Who is the householder?" Perhaps you may know, it does not mean the landlord. . . . Some of our polling places are located in bar rooms, pool rooms, slot machine joints and houses of prostitution; and when it happens that a policeman owns the pool room, house of prostitution or other places, that makes it a little more difficult, not only for a man, white or colored, but for a woman to go in and vote."

Col. Harry M. Ayers, publisher of *The Anniston Star* (Alabama), at the same conference told of a Negro friend who had tried for several years to vote but had been debarred each year because he couldn't, according to the Board of Registrars, interpret the Constitution. The next time he appeared before the Board he had memorized the entire document and knew more about the Constitution than the Board itself. Yet he was barred from voting by the Board's exercise of legal rights under Section 53 of the State code: "The Board of Registrars may make such rules and regulations as it deems proper for the receipt of applications for registration and the accomplishing in as expedient a manner as possible the registration of those entitled to register, but no person shall be registered until the majority of the Board of Registrars has passed favorably upon the personal qualifications."

Another method was reported by George S. Mitchell, Southern Director of the C.I.O.-Political Action Committee. "Here were the circumstances: the place of registration was a home in a small white workingmen's neighborhood. It would be an odd and unusual sight for a Negro to be coming down that street. Secondly, the registrar was a lady. Thirdly, the place of registration was her front parlor. Fourth, she kept a very large dog. Fifth, her husband sat attentively by while the registration was going on. Now that was within three hundred yards of the Potomac River, which is supposed to be the more enlightened part of Virginia."

Devices Designed to Exclude Negroes from Registration

A number of techniques are employed by Boards of Registrars to prevent Negroes from becoming qualified voters. Among them are the following:

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[6] Ralph J. Bunche, loc. cit., p. 570.

1. Refusal to accept application blanks from Negroes.

2. Prompt disposal of application blanks accepted from Negroes.

3. Refusal to furnish certificates of registration to Negroes.

4. Establishment of quotas of Negro voters.

5 Refusal to register Negroes who are unable to fill out application blanks without assistance.

6. Requiring the Negro applicant to furnish the names of white persons whom he believes will vouch for his character.

7. Asking the Negro applicants questions which he does not answer to the satisfaction of the Board of Registrars.

8. Applying literacy and property requirements in an arbitrary and discriminatory way.

9. Requiring Negroes to produce property receipts.

10. Informing Negroes that there are no more registration blanks, or that it is "closing time," or that they will be notified in "due time."

11. Requiring Negro applicants to fill out their own registration blanks while assisting whites in filling out the blanks.

12. Having Negro applicants wait until all white applicants are registered.

13. Having only one of the registrars on duty in order that prospective Negro applicants will have to wait for hours before being interviewed.

14. Insults to Negro applicants by officials and hangers-on.

15. Refusal to furnish application blanks to Negroes who have been convicted of misdemeanors.

Attitude Toward Registration Practices Varies

The prevailing system of registration does not enjoy complete support throughout the South. A letter from a Negro journalist to a large southern daily commented on the experiences of Negro applicants for registration in Jefferson County, Alabama, wherein approximately 171 of some 250 Negroes were rejected upon the basis of questions such as, "What would be the proper place for a candidate for the governorship to make his first speech?" In reply, *The Birmingham News* editorialized on August 29, 1945: "If it be true, as this letter states, that 68 per cent of Negroes who applied during the August registration were turned down, though many of them 'do and can meet the legal requirements to register as electors under Alabama laws,' a disturbing picture is thereby presented to the thoughtful white community. If it be true that Negroes are not allowed to become voters merely because they are Negroes, and not because they cannot qualify under the law, something should be done to improve our system of registration as well as the conduct of our registrars.

"It is understandable, in the light of this disclosure, why there have been efforts to make registrars more arbitrary than ever in carrying out an unwritten purpose to keep Negroes from becoming voters. Instead of setting up qualifications which are relevant and democratic, and instead of insisting that these qualifications be enforced without fear or favor, there seems to be a movement on foot to make matters worse by doctoring requirements to enable registrars to defy the Federal Constitution.

"The 'white supremacy' which depends on such methods is leaning on a weak reed. It is a 'supremacy' which is afraid to stand on its own feet. The time has indeed come for white Alabamians to be concerned if the best they can do to preserve political control is to rely on subversion of the law."

The County Democratic Committee of Raleigh, N. C., in 1941 appointed two Negro registrars and two judges of elections for precincts populated largely by colored people. Anent the appointments, the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* stated, March 22, 1941: "The highest significance lies in the fact that instead of resorting to other means at hand for cancelling out the Negro voter, such as certain kinds of ward and precinct gerrymandering, the party authorities set up two Negro precincts and put the responsibility for eliminating fraud and corruption squarely up to the colored people, by putting the machinery of registration and elections in their hands. . . . It is their responsibility (the registrars' and judges') to see that the election laws are not violated; to see that clean and honest elections are held as far as their precincts are concerned."

In other sections of the South, especially in Alabama, Georgia, Florida and Louisiana, the period, 1940-46, was marked by court actions, suits filed by Negroes against boards of registrars on the grounds of refusal to register qualified voters. As many of these suits, particularly in Alabama, asked damage payments, resignations of registrars became frequent throughout the State.

The Boswell Amendment

In Alabama at the November, 1946, election there was passed the Boswell Amendment. This act, by requiring prospective voters to "understand and explain" the Constitution, granted registrars arbitrary power to determine persons eligible to vote. The measure was ratified by 89,163 votes to 76,843, a margin of 12,320. The proposal carried in 41 counties and failed in 26.

This constitutional amendment requires the prospective voter to read, write, understand and explain any section of the United States Constitution to the satisfaction of the County Board of Registrars; to have had lawful employment for the twelve months prior; to be of "good character and . . . understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government." (Exception is granted those unable to qualify due solely to physical disability). Previously the requirement asked that the prospective voter be able to read and write the Constitution, meet employment eligibility and have at least a $300. property assessment. The Amendment eliminated the property ownership clause. The State Constitution guarantees life registration to those persons only who registered prior to January 1, 1903. The Boswell Amendment has as its effective date January 1, 1903, so that voters now on the list are exposed to re-registration should the registrars decide that new qualifications have not been met. (It should be pointed out that the registrars are not elected but appointed by the Governor, the Commissioner of Agriculture and the State Auditor).

The Boswell Amendment brought forth a sharp political campaign in the State. Col. R. T. Rives, former President of the Alabama Bar Association, urged defeat of the act for the following reasons: (1) unlimited powers granted the board of registrars; (2) obvious intent to keep Negroes unfranchised and thereby leading to bad feelings between the races; (3) opening the way for "certain-to-come" court actions directly to the Federal Courts because of the Amendment's discriminatory intent: (4) certainty of court actions with damage suits against registrars, and difficulty of getting responsible citizens to serve as registrars; (5) possibility of the measure's becoming a weapon in the hands of unscrupulous registrars to further their own political purposes. Supporting the stand of Atty. Rives against the amendment were Governor-elect James E. Folsom, Senator Lister Hill, and a citizens' committee composed of newspaper editors, educators, political, labor and religious leaders. A majority of the newspapers of the State which expressed themselves on the subject were opposed to the Amendment.

Advocates of ratification, led by Gov. Chauncey Sparks, included big industrial interests and planters, the State Democratic Committee as a group, and such men as former Gov. Frank Dixon, former U. S. Senator J. Thomas Heflin, and Agriculture Commissioner Joe Poole. Speaking for the Amendment, Gessner T. McCorvey, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, in Mobile on October 18, 1946, expressed concern over resignations of registrars in Jefferson and Macon counties. He declared that under the then existing law in effect anyone could register who could read and write and had a $300. tax assessment, so that registrars had no choice but to register "practically every Negro who presents himself. With the Negroes outnumbering the white people approximately five to one in Macon County, a moron can see what is going to happen in that county if the Board of Registrars registers every Negro over 21 years of age who can read and write, regardless of his fitness to vote intelligently on important public issues. Macon County is not alone. There are something like 17 or 18 other counties in Alabama's Black Belt where the same situation exists."[7] He stated that the Boswell

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[7] In 1940, according to the Census, there were 18 counties in Alabama in which Negroes constituted 50 per cent or more of the population.

Amendment requiring voters to understand and explain the Federal Constitution would remedy all of this. "It gives the registrars some discretion, and the registrars are not required to register practically everything that walks on two legs. I cannot understand how any Southerner with the traditions of our people can think of wishing to continue a situation such as exists in Macon County today, which can only result in trouble for the future." He added that since the resignation of the Macon County registrars (due to the filing of a damage suit by a Negro) Governor Sparks had appointed some eight or ten registrars who had all declined the appointment, and that Negroes of the county were demanding the appointment of three Negroes.

THE "WHITE PRIMARY"

Historical Background

Political administration of white supremacy in the South is made secure by the Democratic or "white primary." Prior to the Civil War the South had a two-party system, but the parties coalesced against the North because of the belief that the institution of slavery was jeopardized. One party, Democratic-rule has dominated the "Solid South" since then, except for a brief period between the 'seventies and the 'nineties when the Populist movement drew the agrarian middle and lower classes from the Democratic Party. Tracing the background of the undemocratic white primary, Stetson Kennedy[8] writes that during the depression of 1891-1892 the white plutocrats, fearing the Populist-wrought political unity between Southern whites and Negroes, workers and farmers, "bought off the whites with the lily-white Democratic primary, in return for which the whites acceded to the imposition of the poll tax," a device to reduce the electorate to a controllable minority. Fraud and corruption in primaries were such that eventually through popular demand regulatory laws were adopted by States. "Most states provide that in order to vote in a primary, one must first be qualified to vote in the general election, and also meet whatever qualifications might be imposed by the party. Some states adopted laws limiting the Democratic primary to whites, while others—one eye on the 15th Amendment—delegated to the parties the power to make such limitations."

The 1944 elections found the white primary limiting participation in party nominations to whites, strictly inviolate in eight States of the Deep South: Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas. North Carolina, a two-party State, allows the Negro to vote in the primaries. The Negro may participate in the primaries in Kentucky, West Virginia, Missouri, and in parts of Tennessee and Virginia. In the white primary States the general elections are mere gestures, the "nominations" of the Democratic party ("to all intents and purposes, the *only* political party insofar as State and local politics are concerned")[9] being tantamount to elections. Thus it is that so much importance attaches to eligibility to vote in the primary. A Negro having met all other requirements for voting—as payment of poll tax, character and literacy requirements and registration—would still be barred from exercising political rights. Bunche refers to the white primary as "the most effective device for the exclusion of Negroes from the polls in the South and, therefore, the most effective political instrument for the preservation of white supremacy."[10]

Court Decisions Affecting The White Primary

In recent years legal battles have been waged over the constitutionality of the white primary. The U. S. Supreme Court in *Nixon v. Herndon* (1927) declared unconstitutional a Texas statute limiting the Democratic primary to whites. The Texas legislature countered by delegating discriminatory power to the State Democratic Party's executive committee, but these tactics were declared unconstitutional in 1932 in *Nixon v. Condon*. Thereupon, instead of by executive committee action, a race discriminatory clause was passed by resolution at the State convention of the Texas Democratic party. In unanimous opinion the Supreme Court in *Grovey v. Townsend* in 1935 declared that the Texas Democratic convention had not "become a mere instrumentality or agency for expressing the will of the State" and upheld the party's right to establish its rules governing membership and participation in its primary.

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[8] Stetson Kennedy, "The White Primary vs. Democracy," The Southern Frontier, X., No. 11, November, 1945, pp. 1-4.

[9] Bunche, op. cit., p. 573.

[10] Ibid, p. 573.

The white primary could claim this cloak of legality only briefly. Since, in a series of notable decisions, the courts have declared that the exclusion of Negroes from the Democratic primary was an unconstitutional exercise of power. The stage was set for these decisions by the Supreme Court in *United States v. Classic.* 313 U. S. 299 (May 26, 1941) in which *Grovy v. Townsend* was over-ruled. This case concerned alleged fraudulent practices in a Louisiana primary election and involved the applicability of Constitutional guarantees to state-regulated primaries. The Court declared that in Louisiana the primary marked the only phase of an election in which the voice of the voter was of significance. In the *Classic* majority opinion Mr. Justice Stone said: "Interference with the right to vote in the Congressional primary in the Second Congressional District for the choice of Democratic Candidate for Congress is thus a matter of law and in fact an interference with the effective choice of the voters at the only stage of the election procedure when their choice is of significance, since it is at the only stage when such interference could have any practical effect on the ultimate result, the choice of the Congressman to represent the district. The primary in Louisiana is an integral part of the procedure for the popular choice of Congressman. The right of qualified voters to vote at the Congressional primary in Louisiana and to have their ballots counted is thus the right to participate in that choice."

Far more important than the *Classic* case as far as Negro voting is concerned is the Texas case, *Smith v. Allwright, Election Judge, et al.*, 321 U. S. 649, which was decided on April 3, 1944. Suit was filed against an election official by a Negro dentist, Dr. Lonnie E. Smith, charging that he had been prevented from voting in the Texas Democratic primary of 1940. In an 8 to 1 decision the Supreme Court asserted that under existing arrangements in Texas the Democratic Party was an agency of the State and therefore the action of the party was the action of the State. The Court further declared that the right to vote in the Texas Democratic primary was secured by the Federal Constitution. Negroes, according to the Court, could not be denied the right to participate in the Democratic primary as long as it was governed by State laws. In the decision written by Justice Stanley Reed of Kentucky, the Court said: "It may now be taken as a postulate that the right to vote in such a primary for the nomination of candidates without discrimination by the State, like the right to vote in a general election, is a right secured by the Constitution. By the terms of the 15th Amendment that right may not be abridged by the state on account of race. Under our Constitution the great privilege of the ballot may not be denied a man by the state because of his color. The United States is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by any state because of race.

"This grant to the people of opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election. Constitutional rights would be of little value if they could thus be indirectly denied."

Two cases involving the Democratic primary have been decided since the Texas case in which the courts have used it as a precedent. On July 27, 1945, the Florida Supreme Court upheld the right of Negroes to vote in the Florida Democratic primary in two companion cases: *Davis v. State ex rel., Cromwell* and *Davis v. State ex rel. Chavis.* The United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth District declared that under existing laws Negroes could not be barred from the Democratic primary in the State of Georgia. This decision was given in the case *Joseph E. Chapman, Jr., et al. v. Primus E. King*, decided on March 6, 1946, which declared: . . . "We think . . . that the State . . . puts its power behind the rules of the party. It adopts the primary as a part of the public election machinery. The exclusions of voters made by the party by the primary rules become exclusions enforced by the State and when these exclusions are prohibited by the Fifteenth Amendment because based on race, or color, the persons making them effective violate under color of State law a right secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States . . ."

Participation of Negroes In White Primaries

A real political revival was stimulated in the South in 1946 because of these court decisions. For the first time since Reconstruction, Negroes participated in large numbers in primary elections in Georgia, Alabama, Florida and Texas. Many organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Southern Negro Youth Congress have been active instrumentalities in encouraging Negroes to qualify for voting and to cast ballots. A National Progressive Voter's League was organized at Hot Springs, Arkansas, on May 24 and 25, 1944, to "provide guidance and orientation to newly enfranchised southern voters in the use of the ballot." Delegates from Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, South Carolina, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri and Illinois attended the sessions of the League.

In the Spring of 1946, in Atlanta, the Negro press, churches and schools cooperated in a nearly successful drive for 25,000 registered voters. According to the Associated Press, the largest Negro vote in these primaries was in Georgia where an estimated 100,000 Negroes cast ballots; the Governor's estimate of the Negro vote in Texas was 75,000. While the size of the Negro vote is increasing, its numerical strength in the South is frequently over-rated. (For the potential voting strength of Negroes, see Tables 2, 3 and 4 of this section.) Most of the colored citizens living in the South still do not vote. However, there has been genuine alarm expressed in many quarters of the South, not so much over present voting strength of Negroes, as over possible implications if this strength is augmented. Defeated Roy Harris, Speaker of Georgia's House Assembly, declared that he had lost because of the Negro vote. Precinct B in Atlanta's Third Ward, predominantly Negro, was credited with the small edge of votes which elected Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin to Congress. Mrs. Mankin had the endorsement of the C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee which demands full economic, political and civil equality for every American. (The Georgia Democrats later took steps to read Mrs. Mankin out of the party and to drop her name from the ballot in the next election. As a "write-in" candidate, she was defeated.)

In Mississippi as the Negro Progressive Voters League expressed its intention to vote, the *Jackson Daily News* editorialized on May 22, 1946: "In spite of all this big talk our first-best piece of advice to Negroes, given in the friendliest spirit, is this: Don't attempt to participate in the Democratic primary anywhere in Mississippi on July 2nd. Staying away from the polls on that date will be the best way to prevent unhealthy and unhappy results." Few Negroes were qualified and even fewer voted[11] in Mississippi's election where less than 200,000 of her 2,183,276 population decided to return to Congress Senator Theodore G. Bilbo and Representative John Rankin, both elected on a white supremacy platform.

Congressional Investigation of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo

The 1946 primary election in Mississippi elicited national interest and became a matter of Congressional investigation. The issue of Negro voting came to the fore in advance of the Democratic primary. Developments occurred rapidly:[12]

(1) A Negro veteran, Etoy Fletcher of Pucket, Mississippi filed an affidavit that he was flogged and threatened with death when he attempted to register at Brandon, Rankin County, on June 2.

(2) T. B. Wilson, President of the (Negro) Progressive Voters' League, declared "many reports have come in that circuit clerks by ruse and in-

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[11] Estimate of the Negro Vote was between 1,000-3,000 (Times-Picayune), New Orleans, Louisiana, July 6, 1946.

[12] Birmingham News, (Alabama), June 23, 1946.

timidation are keeping Negroes from registering."

(3) In a prepared campaign speech, Senator Bilbo, seeking renomination, called upon "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to resort to any means" to keep Negroes from voting.

(4) Representative John Rankin, also seeking renomination, joined Senator Bilbo in urging "law-abiding" Negroes to refrain from voting in the State primaries.

Following the Democratic primary on June 4, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, acting in behalf of 80 Mississippi local veterans of World War II who were denied the right to vote in the primary, filed formal charges with United States Attorney-General Tom C. Clark.

Fearing trouble at the polls during the State primary on July 2, Negro leaders appealed for Federal protection. Charges of "wholesale" intimidation, "threats and assaults" to keep Negroes from participating in the Mississippi primary were made by Emanuel H. Bloch, counsel for the Civil Rights Congress,[13] on July 1, just before Attorney-General Clark promised that the Federal Government would protect their rights. The Senate Campaign Investigating Committee declined a request made by Senator Glen H. Taylor (Democrat, Idaho) and Edgar G. Brown,[14] Director of the National Negro Council, to send a representative to the election, stating that it would not consider action "unless and until there are complaints from Mississippi sources."

As the result of their investigation which indicated campaign violence and intimidation against Negroes, the Civil Rights Congress, on July 16, filed a petition with the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures, seeking to deny Senator Bilbo a seat in the 80th Congress. The Congressional sub-committee named to investigate his election received a petition signed by more than 50 qualified voters (Negro and white) alleging that Senator Bilbo had "incited the white population of Mississippi to commit acts of violence and intimidation against the Negro population" during his campaign for re-election. It charged, further, that Senator Bilbo had "violated his oath of office," and therefore could not "reasonably be relied upon in the future to honor the oath of office required to be made by the United States senators." The Committee held a four-day hearing of 96 witnesses. Most of these witnesses told of violence, jailing, bribery or "friendly advice" from white people. The one piece of evidence connecting Bilbo with the fact that only 1,500 of more than 500,000 potential Negro voters had participated in the election was a phrase from a Bilbo campaign address in June: "The best way to keep a nigger away from a white primary in Mississippi is to see him the night before." The majority report of the Campaign Expenditure Committee[15] found no bases for the charges, while the minority favored ousting of Senator Bilbo. The latter scored him for "vile, contemptible" language used in the campaign and charged violation of the Constitution, the Criminal Code and the Hatch Act (making it unlawful to intimidate or coerce any person in the exercise of his right to vote).

However, the Senate War Investigating Committee reported documented evidence of Bilbo's acceptance of substantial gratuities from Mississippi war contractors. Testimony given during a seven-day inquiry revealed that substantial "gifts" and "loans" had been made toward the construction of Senator Bilbo's 27-room brick mansion, and Edward P. Terry, his former secretary, declared that the Senator had, in 1941, accepted $1,500.00 for getting a drug addict a special morphine prescription. The Committee's report claimed: "The evidence presented . . . clearly indicates that Senator Bilbo improperly used his high office as United States Senator for his personal gain in his dealings with war contractors," and added that "the donation or . . . solicitation of political contributions from Government contractors . . . is prohibited by a federal criminal statute."

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[13] This permanent national organization, with headquarters at 205 West Forty-second Street, New York City, was set up at Detroit, Michigan on April 28, 1946 by 373 delegates from 23 States.

[14] Mr. Brown urged President Harry S. Truman to send troops into Mississippi for the election, to insure Negroes the right to vote.

[15] The Committee included: Senators Allen J. Ellender (Louisiana); Elmer Thomas (Oklahoma); Burnet R. Maybank (South Carolina); Styles Bridges (New Hampshire) and Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa). The Republican Senators (Bridges and Hickenlooper) gave the minority report.

Republican Senators decided unanimously to deny Senator Bilbo the oath of office at the 80th Congress, convening January 3, 1947, pending full debate of the case against him, while Southern Democrats charged that to unseat the Senator would constitute an invasion of State's rights. An all-day debate over the issue ensued on January 3, and Republican majority leaders threatened closure (limitation of debate, abolishing the Senate's tradition of "unrestricted debate" which may be broken only by two-thirds vote. The Senate conflict over the seating of Senator Bilbo seemed apparently irreconcilable. Shortly after the session began on January 4, however, a compromise was effected, credited to the intervention of Senator Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky, Democratic floor leader, who stated that it was necessary for Senator Bilbo to have an immediate operation on his jaw for cancer. The Senate agreed to table his election credentials until such time as the solon was physically able to reappear, or when the Senate should desire to take up the matter anew. Senator Bilbo then left for Mississippi.

White Supremacy Challenged In the South

In the second place, the Court decisions have led to a re-emphasis of the issue of white supremacy in southern politics. The demarcation lines are being more sharply drawn between liberals and reactionaries. Sentiment of the growing liberal element in the South is similar to that expressed in a resolution of the Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in Atlanta: "The Court has simply recognized the fact that . . . the exclusion of the Negro voters from Democratic primaries . . . is equivalent to denying them the right to vote on account of race. This decision has far-reaching consequences, and we appeal to the people of the South to make these consequences positive and constructive rather than negative and destructive. We deplore the statements of political leaders and others indicating a determination to disregard or nullify the decision of the Supreme Court, and we call on all fair-minded citizens of the South to respect the letter and the spirit of the Court's decision."

On the other hand, the "die-hards" have been more determined than ever to keep white supremacy firmly entrenched. Typical of these is State Representative John D. Long of South Carolina who stated: "As for the Negro voting in my primary, we'll fight him at the precinct meeting, we'll fight him at the county convention, we'll fight him at the enrollment books, and, by God, we'll fight him at the polls if I have to bite the dust as did my ancestors."

States Seek to Retain The White Primary

As another consequence, definite steps are being taken by States of the Deep South—streamlined constitutions omitting reference to primaries—to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision in the Texas case. South Carolina, in 1944, took the lead. By special session of the legislature, 147 bills were passed eliminating from the statutes all laws affecting the Democratic party. Every reference to primaries was eliminated, and the party, in effect, became a "private club" which could make its own rules and regulations, with possible dictatorial power to decide who (whites as well as Negroes) might vote in the primaries. Not to be completely outdone, a group of Negroes met at Columbia, South Carolina, on May 24, 1944 and organized the South Carolina Colored Democratic Party, later known as the Progressive Democratic Party. The movement was spearheaded by John H. McCray, militant editor of *The Lighthouse and Informer*, a Negro newspaper. The party was organized "for the purpose of forcing the issue of Negro admission into the Democratic Party by pressure from the national party and by a threat from the Negro voters in the counties and districts where they outnumbered the whites." The party, open to persons of all races, had 172 delegates from 39 of the 40 counties of the State as its first convention. Eighteen full-vote delegates were chosen for the National Democratic Convention, but they were not seated. A statewide registration drive was launched, and in three months the party claimed a membership of 44,774. Osceola McKaine was named as the party's candidate for the United States Senate. The first series of affidavits filed with the United States Department of Justice on refusal of the Democratic Party to enroll Negroes for the primaries came in this State after the summer primary, 1946.

In Arkansas after the 1944 primaries in which an estimated 5,000 Negroes participated, the legislature passed an act in 1945 which separated Democratic primaries for State offices and those for Federal offices. Legislators frankly admitted that the act (upheld by the State Supreme Court in 1946) was planned to prevent Negroes from voting in elections for State offices. At the same time the State Democratic convention reformulated its party principles, including preservation of the poll tax and laws governing segregation and prohibiting inter-racial marriage.

The Florida State Democratic Executive Committee in June, 1946 adopted a resolution calling on the State Legislature to repeal in 1947 all laws preventing the party from remaining "an exclusively white party." At the same time, in Mississippi, a special committee was appointed from the legislature to revise the State's primary election laws "in the best interest of the people of the state." In January, 1946 the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee removed a seventy-five-year-old specification that only white persons might vote in the party's primaries, but recommended a measure making voting qualifications more stringent and considered "essential to white supremacy" which was passed by the State as the Boswell Amendment at the November election.

Georgia's new Constitution, adopted August 7, 1945, omitted all reference to primaries although statutory references remain. Out-going Governor Ellis Arnall, a liberal, stated, however, that the white Democratic primary in Georgia was gone and that any man not willing to uphold the law was unworthy of democratic citizenship. Governor-Elect Eugene Talmadge retaliated by calling a special State party convention in 1946 which adopted resolutions urging the legislature to enact laws shifting control of primaries from State statutes to party books and to pass laws securing "the inalienable right" of Georgia Democrats to exclude from party primaries "persons, who in time-honored customs and traditions . . . are not entitled to participate therein." This action would be similar to that of South Carolina in making the party a "private club." Talmadge (elected by Georgia's county unit system though his opponent, liberal James V. Carmichael, supported by the leading urban dailies, won the popular majority) declared: "The radicals and the lunatic fringe of the East and other sections of our country must be content and realize that Georgia will handle its own affairs." He pledged further that Negroes would never again go to the polls in a Georgia Democratic primary.[16]

Far-sighted elements, like Georgia's League of Women Voters, have grave concern over the consequences of withdrawal of State control of primaries: "Unregulated primaries may easily become a tool in the hands of the professional politicians and result in the disgrace of our State. . . . If we follow the line of freeing our primaries from all regulations, we are jeopardizing our elections, the foundation upon which our government rests."

EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE POLITICAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO

Efforts to improve the political status of the Negro have not been limited to the South nor to activity by Negroes alone. There are many national organizations working to improve civic conditions generally, and at the same time to secure the passage of such legislation as the anti-poll tax bill which would expand opportunities for full citizenship. A number of groups active in the field of race relations seek also to extend democracy.

Perhaps the most vigorous effort is waged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with its more than 1,000 branches and total membership (Negro and white) exceeding 500,000. The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax fights the battle of an estimated 7,000,000 whites and 3,000,000 Negroes barred from voting by poll tax requirements. The Civil Rights Congress investigated the 1946 primary in Mississippi in connection with a petition seeking to deny the seating of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo. The National Negro Congress (membership not limited to Negroes), founded in 1936, is dedicated to securing full citizenship rights for Negroes. The Southern Negro Youth Congress is a recent organization (established February 14, 1937) with activities conducted by local councils composed of federated clubs, individual members, or both, in cities, counties and on school campuses. This Congress seeks to "strengthen American democracy through the improvement of conditions and opportunities of Negro youth," and among other aims to stimulate youth's interest in important issues of the day. The National Progressive Voters League was formed by Negroes in 1944 specifically to instruct newly enfranchised Southern voters in the use of the ballot. Since 1941 the March on Washington Movement, a national organization for mass pressure, has worked to lead Negroes to utilize their constitutional rights, en masse and without violence, to secure complete liberation from Jim Crow laws and discriminatory practices. Other national organizations, to list a few are: The Congress of Industrial Organization, the Common Council for American Unity, the Institute for American Democracy, the International Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, and the Internal Workers Order (a fraternal benefit group, organized in 1930, with 1,700 lodges and membership of nearly 175,000). In the South the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and the Southern Regional Council, liberal biracial organizations, are outstanding.

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[16] Governor-Elect Talmadge died December 21, 1946, 23 days before his inauguration, and a political contest over his successor followed, as the new constitution made no provision for such contingency. Chief contenders were Herman Talmadge, son of the deceased, a "write-in" candidate, who had been his father's campaign manager, and Lieutenant-Governor-Elect M. E. Thompson. The latter, in pressing his claims for the governorship, promised to carry out Talmadge's white supremacy program "without changing the single dotting of an 'I' or the crossing of a 'T'."

The Negro press is foremost champion of the Negro in the struggle for political equality. Use of the courts is increasingly being resorted to in the Negro's fight for the ballot. (The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has usually provided funds and legal counsel for court action to remove legal barriers adversely affecting the Negro's political status). There is hardly a fraternal, religious, labor, civic or educational group among Negroes which does not seek to improve his political status. Attracting wide interest in 1946 was the united effort of the press, Church and school in Atlanta to secure 25,000 registered Negro voters. Common activities include the sponsoring of voters' clinics, public programs, drives to secure registered voters and to promote actual voting, and the raising of funds to help particular efforts, as for example, an N.A.A.C.P. legal case. Some of the groups have unique features. For example, in Norfolk, Virginia the Eureka Lodge requires all applicants for membership to pay State poll tax and also requires all old members to keep up the payment of their poll taxes. The Civic Educational Department of the Virginia State Teachers Association has made available to Negro teachers an instruction handbook on voting. The Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority maintains a Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs.

In many cities there are political leagues active among Negroes, as the Atlanta Civic Political League, the Tuskegee (Alabama) Civic Association, and the People's Defense League of New Orleans. In Mobile, Alabama, on November 18, 1946 a charter for incorporation was granted an organization known as the Negro Voters and Veterans Association of Mobile, over protest of a Ku Klux Klan official "in the interest of continued white supremacy and common sense." This newly formed group under the leadership of J. J. Thomas, building contractor, has among its objectives the encouragement and assistance of its members in voting.

In various communities throughout the country there are Negroes who have individually spearheaded the work of stimulating and organizing the local group to political action. Their techniques have been varied. For example, in Miami, Florida in recent years Sam B. Solomon, Negro business man, has been given credit for influencing large numbers of Negroes to go to the polls. In Virginia, Dr. Luther P. Jackson, educator and historian, has stimulated political activity by his newspaper articles and widely disseminated reports on the voting status of

Negroes. Atty. A. T. Walden and John Wesley Dobbs, in Georgia, have attracted large followings in the Georgia Association of Citizen's Democratic Clubs and the Georgia Civic-Political League, respectively. Prominent in organization and activities of the Progressive Democratic Party (South Carolina Colored Democratic organization) are John H. McCray, editor, and Osceola McKaine, one-time Senate candidate. In Mississippi, Percy Greene, editor of the *Jackson Advocate*, has been threatened for the militant role he has taken in Negro affairs. He testified, recently, before the Civil Rights Congress on specific cases in the 1946 election where qualified Negro voters in Mississippi were denied the right to vote through intimidation.

POPULATION OF VOTING AGE†‡

Voting Age And Citizenship of Negroes

In 1940, Negroes constituted 8.8 per cent of the total population of voting age in the United States, and 9.2 per cent of the citizens of voting age. (See table 2). "Between 1930 and 1940 the proportion of Negroes in the total population of voting age declined 0.1 per cent, but the total number of Negroes of voting age increased from 6,531,939 to 7,427,938 or 13.7 per cent. The decline in the proportion of Negroes among persons of voting age is accounted for by the fact that Negroes 21 years old and over increased less rapidly than the white population of corresponding ages."

Table 2.

Population of Voting Age and Citizenship, For Negroes and Total Population For the United States: 1940

Population	Negro	All Classes	Per Cent Negro
All ages	12,865,518*	131,669,275	9.8
21 years and over	7,427,938	83,996,629	8.8
Citizens, 21 years and over	7,375,609	79,863,451	9.2
Alien	52,329	3,335,392	1.6

*Includes persons for whom citizenship was not reported.

According to the Census, "there were 52,329 aliens and persons for whom citizenship was not reported in the Negro population of voting age in 1940 and 68,109 persons in the same categories in 1930. Neither of these figures represents more than 1.0 per cent of the respective totals for the Negro population 21 years old and over." In both 1930 and 1940, New York, Florida, and Massachusetts had relatively large numbers of Negro aliens. In 1940 there were 27,061 Negro aliens in New York; 5,545, in Florida; and 4,227 in Massachusetts.

States and Cities

As we should expect, Negroes in the South constituted, in 1940, a larger percentage of all citizens of voting age than they did in any other region of the country. As table 3 shows, there were ten States in which Negro citizens of voting age constituted over 20 per cent of the total population of this class, Mississippi being highest with 47.2 per cent.

In the large cities, with over 50,000 Negro inhabitants, Negro citizens of voting age constituted, in 1940, 11.9 per cent of the total population of this class. In eight of these cities, Negro citizens of voting age made up more than 20 per cent of the total. (See table 4.)

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†From section on Population by Dr. Oliver C. Cox.

‡Georgia and South Carolina have lowered their voting age.

Table 3.

Citizens of Voting Age For the Total Population and Negroes by States, 1940

State	Citizen		
	Total	Negro	Per Cent Negro
United States:	79,863,451	7,375,609	9.2
New England:			
Maine	493,506	755	0.2
New Hampshire	295,859	271	0.1
Vermont	214,248	240	0.1
Massachusetts	2,575,477	30,661	1.2
Rhode Island	424,876	5,830	1.4
Connecticut	1,011,658	19,977	2.0
Middle Atlantic:			
New York	8,327,563	361,555	4.3
New Jersey	2,592,978	142,156	5.5
Pennsylvania	6,031,192	298,756	5.0
East North Central:			
Ohio	4,404,423	219,672	5.0
Indiana	2,198,935	80,360	3.7
Illinois	5,119,854	262,856	5.1
Michigan	3,131,722	137,138	4.4
Wisconsin	1,941,603	8,101	0.4
West North Central:			
Minnesota	1,730,547	7,150	0.4
Iowa	1,608,926	11,044	0.7
Missouri	2,463,726	164,494	6.7
North Dakota	358,090	157	0.1
South Dakota	378,405	320	0.1
Nebraska	817,280	9,636	1.2
Kansas	1,144,823	42,960	3.8
South Atlantic:			
Delaware	171,856	22,863	13.3
Maryland	1,153,510	183,320	15.9
District of Columbia	474,793	126,850	26.7
Virginia	1,567,517	364,224	23.2
West Virginia	1,046,107	70,048	6.7
North Carolina	1,925,483	493,108	25.6
South Carolina	989,841	383,660	38.8
Georgia	1,768,969	580,687	32.8
Florida	1,187,827	310,228	26.1
East South Central:			
Kentucky	1,630,772	137,961	8.5
Tennessee	1,703,391	309,400	18.2
Alabama	1,555,369	520,981	33.5
Mississippi	1,195,079	563,715	47.2
West South Central:			
Arkansas	1,098,986	270,973	24.7
Louisiana	1,364,933	473,332	34.7
Oklahoma	1,362,438	97,089	7.1
Texas	3,710,374	540,565	14.6
Mountain:			
Montana	343,180	831	0.2
Idaho	305,311	460	0.2
Wyoming	150,031	691	0.5
Colorado	688,410	8,766	1.3
New Mexico	275,227	3,152	1.2
Arizona	263,346	10,042	3.8
Utah	298,160	904	0.3
Nevada	70,327	538	0.8
Pacific:			
Washington	1,123,725	5,645	5.0
Oregon	717,121	1,903	0.3
California	4,455,677	89,584	2.0

Table 4.

Citizens of Voting Age For Total Population and Negroes For Cities With 50,000 Or More Negro Inhabitants, 1940

City	Total Population	Negro	Per Cent Negro
Total	14,689,254	1,751,148	11.9
New York, N. Y.	4,474,689	287,528	6.43
Chicago, Ill.	2,212,128	191,242	8.65
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,240,469	162,574	13.1
Washington, D. C.	474,793	126,850	26.7
Baltimore, Md	560,251	106,472	19.0
Detroit, Mich.	971,301	99,212	10.7
New Orleans, La.	326,837	94,397	28.9
Memphis, Tenn.	200,352	83,070	41.5
Birmingham, Ala.	173,358	68,349	39.4
St. Louis, Mo.	564,257	75,085	13.3
Atlanta, Ga.	202,762	67,917	33.5
Houston, Tex.	257,238	59,352	23.1
Cleveland, Ohio	544,241	55,742	10.2
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,025,708	46,835	4.57
Pittsburgh, Pa.	429,146	40,570	9.45
Jacksonville, Fla.	114,936	40,432	35.2
Richmond, Va.	132,359	39,467	29.8
Cincinnati, Ohio	317,258	37,227	11.7
Indianapolis, Ind.	266,347	34,387	12.9
Dallas, Tex.	200,824	34,440	17.2

THE NEGRO AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Strength of the Negro Vote

That the Negro is becoming more articulate in politics is evidenced by (1) the number of Negroes who are becoming registered voters; (2) the extended activity of organizations with civic and political function; and (3) the increase in office-holding by Negroes. It was estimated that around 3,000,000 Negro voters were eligible to vote in the presidential election of 1944 and that almost 1,500,000 of these voters resided in pivotal northern States. Estimates placed the number of Negro voters in New York State as high as 350,000, at 275,000 in Pennsylvania, 180,000 in Ohio, 200,000 in Illinois, and 125,000 in Michigan. There has been no comprehensive study of the extent of non-voting among Negroes in the North. The Myrdal study, *An American Dilemma*, states that on the whole Negroes have come to be rather like whites in their political behavior in the North, voting in about the same proportion as whites. It estimates that there are about as many Negroes voting today in the United States as there are whites voting in the entire Deep South, excepting Texas and Oklahoma.

The Negro vote has frequently constituted the balance of power in several States; namely, New York, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey and Ohio. It has sometimes proved to be decisive in West Virginia and Kentucky and has been an important factor in elections held in Maryland, California and Tennessee. Walter White, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a statement published in The New York *Herald-Tribune*, October 18, 1946, gives a greater influence to the Negro vote by claiming that "the Negro vote holds the potential balance of power in any reasonably close election in seventeen States with 281 electoral votes." In the South there is considerable fear of the strength of the Negro vote should the right to vote be generally extended.

According to a news release, September 7, 1946 by the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, the Negro electorate in the November (1946) elections had potential strength to defeat 23 non-southern Congressmen who fought legislation establishing the Fair Employment Practice Committee. A Committee study indicated that there were 58 non-southern districts in which the potential Negro vote approximated or exceeded the margin by which the incumbent was elected in 1944. The report asserted that "the Negro's political potential is greater today than at any time since he became a positive factor in American politics. The area of his political influence, once largely confined to the great industrial cities in the East and North, has been expanded and extended by wartime migration into the Pacific States and into many of the smaller Midwest cities."

On occasion, the Negro vote has been the deciding factor in municipal and State elections. It has been asserted that Negroes were responsible for the Republican victory in the St. Louis city election of 1941; that they were the deciding factor in the recent Republican successes in the gubernatorial and senatorial races in the State of Missouri. Furthermore, it is claimed that Negro voters in Kentucky supported the Democratic ticket by a margin of two to one in the elections of 1936 and 1940, but have been largely responsible for the Republican victories in that State beginning in 1943. Harlem, so it is said, voted four to one for the Democrats in the gubernatorial election of 1938, but supported Thomas E. Dewey in his successful race for Governor by more than three to one in the campaign of 1942, and helped return him to office in 1946.

Party Promises

All of the political parties have offered inducements of one sort or another in seeking to obtain the support of Negro voters. In recent years party promises have become more profuse. The Communist Party has traditionally advocated the abolition of class lines. In June, 1941 the National Committee of the Communist Party drew up a manifesto at New York City which declared in part: "There must be an end to Jim Crowism, lynching, and all forms of discrimination against the Negro people." The two major parties, Democratic and Republican, had planks in their 1940 and 1944 party platforms specifically designed to capture the Negro vote, as follows:

Democratic Platform, 1940

. . . "Our Negro citizens have participated actively in the economic and social advances launched by this administration, including farm labor standards, social security benefits, health protection, work relief projects, decent housing, aid to education, and the rehabilitation of low income farm families.

"We have aided more than a half million Negro youths in vocational training, education and employment.

"We shall continue to strive for complete legislative safeguards against discrimination in government service and benefits and in the national defense forces.

"We pledge to uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen, regardless of race, creed or color. . . ."

Republican Platform, 1940

. . . "We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of the nation.

"Discrimination in the Civil Service, the Army, Navy, and all other branches of Government must cease.

"To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, universal suffrage must be effective for the Negro citizen.

"Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil must be enacted."

Democratic Platform, 1944

. . . "We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

Republican Platform, 1944

. . . "We pledge an immediate Congressional inquiry to ascertain the extent to which mistreatment, segregation and discrimination against Negroes in our armed forces are impairing morale and efficiency and the adoption of corrective legislation.

"We pledge the establishment by Federal Legislation of a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission.

"The payment of any poll tax should not be a condition of voting in Federal elections and we favor immediate submission of a Constitutional amendment for its abolishment.

"We favor legislation against lynching and pledge our sincere efforts in behalf of its early enactment."

Party Activities and Appointments Designed to Attract Negro Vote

Party appointments to positions of varying importance have steadily increased. Accomplishments of the respective political parties which have aided Negroes, directly or indirectly, are constantly brought to the attention of the Negro voter.

Organizations designed to capture the Negro vote have improved their techniques and enlarged their activities in local, State and national elections. Outstanding Negroes have been appointed to supervise the activities of such agencies as the National Colored Democratic Association, the Negro Division of the Democratic Committee, the Colored Division of the Republican National Committee, the Negro Women's Division of the National Democratic Party, and the Negro Women's Division of the National Republican Party. In addition, the Republican National Committee has named a Negro as Consultant on Negro Affairs, and Negroes have been appointed as members of its Campaign Advisory Committee. State organizations, reaching into the wards and precincts of pivotal States, have been established by the two major parties in order to increase their effectiveness among Negro voters.

In 1942, William L. Houston was appointed director of the Negro Division of the Democratic National Committee. For the first time it was provided that the activities of this group would function on a year round basis instead of confining its efforts to presidential elections. Two years later William L. Dawson, Congressman from Illinois, was appointed to direct the Democratic party's campaign among Negro voters. There were 6 Negro delegates and 17 alternates chosen to the Democratic National Convention of 1940; in 1944 there were 15 Negro delegates and 3 alternates selected.

At a meeting of the Republican National Committee held in March, 1941, Chairman Joseph W. Martin, Jr. called upon members of the party engaged in industry and politics to give increased employment to Negroes without discrimination and to provide for them greater opportunities in public service. The Republican National Committee appointed Dr. C. B. Powell, publisher of the New York *Amsterdam News*, Assistant Director of Publicity early in July, 1944. When the Republican National Convention met at that time Bishop David H. Sims delivered a formal address before the body. This was the first time in almost forty years that a Negro had been accorded such a privilege. Judge Patrick Prescott of Chicago seconded the nomination of Thomas E. Dewey as presidential nominee, while two Negroes were made assistant secretaries of the Convention, and a number served as sergeant-at-arms. The final session of the Convention was closed with prayer by a Negro minister. At the 1940 Republican National Convention there were 32 Negro delegates and 37 alternates; for the 1944 Convention, 18 Negro delegates with 27 alternates. Republican party leaders and staunch Negro Republicans have increased their efforts to attract additional Negro voters to the Republican fold. Over three hundred Negro Republicans from 36 States and the District of Columbia met at the Pershing Hotel in Chicago on February 11 and 12, 1944 to plan their strategy for the campaign of that year. The National Council of Negro Republicans was formed in New York City late in 1945 "to counsel the various branches of the party concerning its relations with Negroes throughout the United States." In March, 1946 Valores Washington was appointed a member of the headquarters staff of the Republican National Committee to co-ordinate political activities, especially among Negroes.

Party Preferences and Attitudes Toward Parties

Since 1932 a majority of the Negro voters have identified themselves with the Democratic Party. In the election of 1940, however, and in subsequent elections there has been some defection from the ranks of this party. The Republican Party has gained most by the switch in party allegiance. A Gallup Poll indicated that 76 per cent of the Negroes interviewed who voted in the Presidential election of 1936 cast their ballots for Mr. Roosevelt and 24 per cent voted for Alf M. Landon. In 1940, 66 per cent of the Negro voters interviewed declared that they favored the Democratic Party while 54 per cent of all voters were inclined to that party.

A poll conducted by the *Negro Digest* in 1944 indicated that 77 per cent of the Negroes contacted in the North favored Roosevelt over the Republican nominee, Thomas E. Dewey, and 12 per cent were undecided. The results of a Gallup Poll released on February 15, 1946 showed that 60 per cent of the Negro voters with opinions favored the Democratic Party and 58 per cent of the white voters with opinions were in favor of that party. Three out of every ten Negroes and about two out of every ten whites had no opinion. According to George Gallup: "The fact that Negro voters continue to prefer the Democratic to the Republican Party can be explained in large part by economic factors." He believes that "until present economic cleavages give way, or until the Republican Party can convince voters in the middle and lower economic groups that it represents their best interest, little headway in winning the Negro vote is likely to be made." Anent party preference of Negroes, Walter White of the N.A.A.C.P. commented in The New York *Herald-Tribune*, October 18, 1946: "Alarmed and disgusted as they are with the increasing control of the Democratic Party by the reactionary Southern wing, there is, however, little enthusiasm among Negro voters for the GOP. . . . The Negro press and Negro organizations incessantly remind their readers and members that their reactionary Southern Democrats and equally reactionary Republicans have become inseparable bedfellows in the Congress. The result is that the overwhelming majority of Negroes prefer an out-and-out enemy like Bilbo or Talmadge to other politicians who make florid promises with no notion of keeping those pledges. . . ."

A number of writers have attempted to explain the defection of some Negro voters from the Democratic Party in recent elections. They have pointed out that even before the death of Mr. Roosevelt there was a tendency on the part of many Negroes to support the Republican candidates for office during off years when Mr. Roosevelt was not a presidential candidate. Leo Egan, writing in *The New York Times* on March 3, 1944, listed the following reasons as causes for the shift from the Democratic ranks: Dissatisfaction over treatment of Negroes in the armed services; segregation of troops; refusal of some of the women's auxiliary services to accept Negro recruits; civilian attitude towards northern Negro soldiers quartered in camps in the Southern States; failure of military authorities to use more Negro troops in combat; alleged failure of the Fair Employment Practice Committee to enforce its injunctions against discrimination; refusal of certain railroads to accept a directive to afford equal opportunities for advancement for Negro employees; the growing rebellion of Negroes against "second class" citizenship; increased freedom of Negroes from dependence on relief funds, and various local factors. Coupled with these factors should be mentioned the disappointment of Negro citizens because of the failure of Congress to enact a Federal anti-lynch bill, to outlaw the payment of a poll tax for participation in Federal elections, and to put "teeth" in the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

The Socialist, Socialist Labor, Communist and other minor parties have attracted little support from the Negro voter. Despite the fact that James W. Ford, a Negro, has been the perennial Vice-Presidential candidate on the Communist ticket, there are relatively few Negro Communists. Among those to desert the Communist Party in the last few years are A. Philip Randolph, organizer and head of the sleeping-car porters, Angelo Herndon, accused by the State of Georgia of inciting insurrection in the widely publicized Herndon case of 1932, Langston Hughes and Richard Wright, eminent writers. Recently an intensive drive has been started by the party to increase its membership.

With A. Philip Randolph, President of the A. F. L. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, acting as temporary chairman, a group of seventy-five delegates, "progressives" representing farm and union groups from sixteen States, met at Chicago in April, 1946 to lay the foundation for another political party to participate in the 1948 national elections.

GROWING INDEPENDENCE OF THE NEGRO VOTE

A significant development politically is the fact that Negroes are showing a greater tendency to support candidates on the basis of principles and issues rather than because they bear particular party labels. Highlighting this trend was the political action resolution passed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at its 37th annual conference in Cincinnati, 1946. The new N. A. A. C. P. policy recommended the "necessity and desirability of political action by the association and its branches, including the rating of candidates for office and to study ways and means to effectuate this under proper safeguards." As Walter White, N. A. A. C. P. Secretary, expressed it: . . . "The present temper of Negro voters is to ignore party labels completely and to vote independently on the records of the candidates. There is every indication that this determination will increase."

Negro voters have shown also a disposition to support candidates of their race for office, regardless of the party affiliation of the candidate. Many members of the Republican and other parties in New York City supported Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., a Democrat, in his election first as city councilman and later to the U. S. House of Representatives. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., a Communist, has repeatedly been elected city councilman in New York City with the support of Negro members of other parties. Charles W. Anderson, Jr., a Republican, was elected a member of the State Legislature of Kentucky through the efforts of Negro Republicans and Democrats. This type of cooperation is not unusual throughout the country.

Non-partisan committees of Negro voters have been established in many sections of the United States. It was a national non-partisan political conference which met at Chicago on June 25 and 26, 1944 and drew up plans for a "March on Washington" movement. The National Citizens Political Action Committee, an affiliate of the C. I. O., included such outstanding Negro members as Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Robert C. Weaver, Paul Robeson, William H. Hastie and Canada Lee at the time of its formation in 1944.

Further indication of the increasing independence of the Negro voter is reflected in a statement, "A Declaration by Negro Voters,"[17] issued to both Republican and Democratic national conventions by representatives of twenty-five national Negro organizations with total membership of more than 6,500,000 which met in New York on June 17, 1944. This Declaration is significant, too, in that it indicates certain measures which the Negro advocates because of their bearing on his improved citizenship status.

Represented in this group of fraternal, religious, labor, civic and educational organizations were the following: Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity; African Methodist Episcopal Church; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen, and International Association of Railway Employees; the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Council on African Affairs; Delta Sigma Theta Sorority; Elks (I. B. P. O. E. W.); International Longshoremen's Association; Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity and the Methodist Church. Also included were the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses; the N A. A. C. P.; the National Bar Association; the National Council of Negro Women; National Maritime Union; Negro Labor Committee (C. I. O.-A. F. L.); Omega Psi Phi Fraternity; People's Movement; Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity; Progressive Voters League; Social Action Committee, Colored Methodist Episcopal Church; United Automobile Workers (C. I. O.).

The Declaration stated that the Negro "will vote for men and measures. The Negro voter will judge political parties, as well as candidates, by their words and deeds as to whether they show a determination to work for full citizenship status for thirteen million American Negroes and to better the lot of all disadvantaged peoples." Six issues were cited as uppermost in the minds of Negro voters: (1) the wholehearted prosecution of the war to total victory; (2) the elimination of the poll tax by Act of Congress; (3) the passage of anti-lynching legislation; (4) the unsegregated integration of Negroes into the Armed Forces; (5) the establishment of a permanent Federal committee on fair employment practices; and (6) a foreign policy of international cooperation that promotes economic and political security for all peoples. Further, it declared that price control, extension of social security, full post-war employment, an enlarged and unsegregated program of government-financed housing, and friendship for organized labor would be important considerations in judging candidates and parties. It insisted upon "the right to vote in every state, unrestricted by poll taxes, white primaries, or lily-white party conventions, the gerrymandering of districts, or any other device designed to disfranchise Negroes and other voters."

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[17] Louise McDonald, Max Yergan, Roy Wilkins (Editing Committee for the 25 Organizations), "A Declaration by Negro Voters." Issued at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City, 1944.

Expressing an interest in the end of imperialism and colonial exploitation, the Declaration called for displacement of exploitation by the extension of political and economic democracy to all parts of the world, and the inclusion of Negroes as representatives at peace conferences and among the nation's diplomatic, technical, and professional experts engaged in international post-war reconstruction.

OFFICE-HOLDING BY NEGROES

Elective Offices—City, County and State

An increasing number of Negroes is being elected to municipal and State offices, especially in the North, but the total number is not nearly in proportion to their percentage of the population. Rarely do Negroes hold office in the South. Louisville, Kentucky, in 1945 elected its first Negro councilman. Occasionally small southern communities, as Watonga, Oklahoma, in 1945, Oak Ridge and Sewanee, Tennessee, in 1946, have Negro officials. Not to be overlooked, however, is the fact that increasingly many large southern cities find Negro aspirants seeking offices at the polls.

Several of the large northern cities having a significant Negro population have elected Negro aldermen or councilmen. In 1941, nine Negro judges (four elected and five appointed) were to be found in New York (4), Philadelphia (2), Washington, D. C. (1), St. Louis (1), and Los Angeles (1). Cleveland and Chicago have since been added to the list. A few Negroes have been elected to judgeships and memberships on such bodies as Tax Boards and Boards of Education. Dr. J. B. Martin made political history in Chicago in the November, 1946 election when he polled more than 1,000,000 votes to become the first Negro member of the Sanitary District Trustee Board. He was elected to a six-year term at annual salary of $10,000. Dr. Martin unseated James M. Whalen, former President of the Sanitary District, who had been a member of the Board for 24 years.

As reasons why more Negroes do not attain elective office, Myrdal in *An American Dilemma* states that most whites do not wish to be represented by Negroes, and frequently Negroes do not show enough political interest or acumen. Often, too, Negroes do not constitute large enough proportions to control wards or districts. Another difficulty is found in the practice of gerrymandering whereby districts are so laid out as to advance particular interests. For example, the St. Louis Board of Election Commissioners in 1946 announced a redistricting of State senatorial districts. The new districts were so laid out that creating a predominantly Negro senatorial district was avoided. The redistricting was done in secret, without public hearings, and the district lines were so drawn through the small but compact Negro area as to divide it among five districts. (In this instance, Negro Republican and Democratic leaders joined in the charge of gerrymandering and filed an enjoining suit against the Board of Commissioners in the State Supreme Court).

Chicago and New York, where the Negro vote is well organized and quite flexible, are more favored than other cities with reference to office-holding by Negroes, with Chicago taking the lead. In 1939 in that city, Negroes held the following major elective positions: 1 U. S. Congressman, 1 State Senator, 4 State Representatives, 1 County Commissioner, 2 City Aldermen. A comparison of important elective and appointive political positions held by Negroes in the two cities in 1945 follows:

Important Political Positions Held By Negroes In Chicago and New York City, 1945

Chicago	Position	New York
William L. Dawson	Congressman	A. Clayton Powell, Jr.
Irvin C. Mollison	Federal Judge	
Herman E. Moore		
C. C. Wimbish	State Senator	
Wendell E. Green	Judge (City Court)	Francis E. Rivers
		James S. Watson
		Charles E. Tony
		Jane Bolin
		Hubert T. Delany
		Myles A. Paige
Fred J. Smith	State Representative	William T. Andrews
Corneal A. Davis		Hulen Jack
Charles J. Jenkins		William Prince
E. A. Welters		
Charles M. Sykes		
Oscar DePriest	City Councilman	Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.
William H. Harvey		
James B. Cashin	Civil Service Commissioner	Ferdinand Q. Morton
Edward M. Sneed	County Commissioner	
Sydney P. Brown	Member, Education Board	
Harry B. Deas	Acting Police Captain	
	Police Lieutenant	Emanuel Kline
		George Redding
	Acting Police Lieutenant	Lewis Chisolm
(Fifteen)	Police Sergeant	
Walter L. McCoy	Assistant State's Attorney	James Yeargin
Edward E. Wilson		Allen Early
Clifford Pemberton		
Richard E. Harewood	Asst. Corporation Counsel	Richard L. Baltimore
Fred (Duke) Slater		Eardlie John
Georgia Jones Ellis		
Adam E. Patterson		
Roy Washington	Asst. City Prosecutor	
William Chaney	Captain, Fire Department	
	Battalion Chief	Wesley Williams
Robert R. Taylor	Chairman Housing Authority	Frank R. Crosswaith

In 1940 more than twenty Negroes were elected to serve in the legislatures of several States: New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, West Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Kansas, Nebraska and California. The year 1942 found Negroes having been placed in the legislatures of other States: Kentucky, Ohio and Wisconsin. Vermont was added to the list in 1943, and Massachusetts in 1946.

Federal Elective Offices

Two Negroes, William L. Dawson, Illinois, and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., New York, both Democrats, served in the 79th Congress and have been reelected for the 80th Congress, 1947-1949. There has been a total of 26 Negro Congressmen[13], 24 of them serving in the House of Representatives. The only two Negro Senators, Blanche K. Bruce and Hiram R. Revels, held office in Reconstruction days. With the exception of Congressmen Mitchell, Dawson and Powell, all of the Negro Congressmen have been Republicans. There follows a list of these Congressmen.

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[13] J. H. Menard, Louisiana, (elected for the 40th Congress) was not recognized. Cf. Carter G. Woodson, The Negro in Our History, 1945 ed., pp. 405. M. N. Work (The Negro Year Book, 1931-1932, p. 83) credits Menard with serving in Congress for one year, 1868-1869.

Negro Congressmen

Name	State	Congress	Years
James H. Rainey	South Carolina	41st-45th	1869-1879
Jefferson F. Long	Georgia	41st	1869-1871
Hiram R. Revels	Mississippi	41st	1869-1871
Josiah T. Walls	Florida	42nd-44th	1871-1877
Benjamin S. Turner	Alabama	42nd	1871-1873
Robert C. DeLarge	South Carolina	42nd	1871-1873
Robert B. Elliott	South Carolina	42nd, 43rd	1871-1875
Richard H. Cain	South Carolina	43rd and 45th	1873-1875 1877-1879
Alonzo J. Ransier	South Carolina	43rd	1873-1875
James T. Rapier	Alabama	43rd	1873-1875
John R. Lynch	Mississippi	43rd, 44th	1873-1877
Blanche K. Bruce	Mississippi	44th, 46th	1875-1881
Jeremiah Haralson	Alabama	44th	1875-1877
John A. Hyman	North Carolina	44th	1875-1877
Charles E. Nash	Louisiana	44th	1875-1877
Robert Smalls	South Carolina	44th, 45th, 47th, 48th, 49th	1875-1879 1883-1887
James E. O'Hara	North Carolina	48th, 49th	1883-1887
Henry P. Cheatham	North Carolina	51st, 52nd	1889-1893
Thomas E. Miller	South Carolina	51st	1889-1891
John M. Langston	Virginia	51st	1889-1891
George W. Murray	South Carolina	53rd, 54th	1893-1897
George H. White	North Carolina	55th, 56th	1897-1901
Oscar DePriest	Illinois	72nd, 73rd	1931-1935
Arthur W. Mitchell	Illinois	74th-77th	1935-1943
William L. Dawson	Illinois	78th-80th	1943-1949
Adam C. Powell, Jr.	New York	79th, 80th	1945-1949

Appointive Offices—City, County, State, Federal

The Negro fares better in his share of appointive offices than in the elective offices, but in neither regard does he share in numbers proportionate to the size of the Negro vote. In the larger northern cities Negroes are allowed a considerable number of "Civil Service" jobs. Political debts are frequently repaid by the appointment of Negroes to minor administrative or menial jobs. Where there are large numbers of Negroes it is not unusual to find them appointed as assistants in various capacities. Exceptions do occur, however. In California, in 1945, Governor Earl Warren named Atty. Walter Gordon Chairman of the California Adult Authority Board, at a salary of $10,000 per year. This board has supervisory power over all male adult inmates of State prisons.

As to Federal appointments, until the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration there was a steady decline in the number of Negro Presidential appointees. President Roosevelt appointed 163 Negroes to supervisory or administrative jobs, 1933-1941. Kiplinger in his *Washington is Like That* (1942) listed twenty-four men and women Federal officials and five advisers as the most prominent colored leaders in the capital. Heading his list was William H. Hastie, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War (first Negro ever to hold a Federal judgeship). Among others included were: Lorimer Milton, banker from Atlanta, then the only Negro "dollar-a-year" man in government service; Dr. William H. Dean, Jr., Consultant on locations of industry for the National Resources Planning Board, Dr. Ralph Bunche, expert on Native Problems in the British Empire Section of the Library of Congress, Milton P. Webster, member of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, and International Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, in charge of racial relations, Office of Civilian Defense; Walter White, Executive Secretary, the N.A.A.C.P., a powerful force in all Negro affairs. Outstanding among Presidential appointees also was the prominent educator and President of the National Council of Negro Women, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, as Director of Negro activities for the National Youth Administration.

Of the appointive list, the poorest showing is made in diplomatic and consular service. According to L. J. W. Hayes' study of the Negro Federal Government worker, in 1941 there were but three Negroes in such service, as against a total of eleven in 1908. Judge William H. Hastie made history when in 1946 he became the first Negro to be named Governor of the Virgin Islands. In the same year Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier succeeded Lester A. Walton as Minister Envoy, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Liberia.

New posts of adviser on Negro affairs were created in many of the government bureaus and departments during Roosevelt's Presidency. Prominent among these during the War was the post of Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, held by William H. Hastie, 1940, until his resignation in 1943 when Truman K. Gibson, Jr., was named. In addition to full-time appointments, other official part-time advisory posts were set up, as in 1942 when Dr. F. D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute and Claude A. Barnett, Director of the Associated Negro Press, were named special assistants to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Under the leadership of Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune of the National Youth Administration, Negro advisers were organized into the Federal Council of Negro Advisers, known as the "Black Cabinet." The group met monthly to discuss ways and means of profitably representing the cause of the Negro. The "Black Cabinet" was criticized by the Negro press as being purely advisory and not policy forming. The resignation in early 1944 of Dr. Robert C. Weaver, the Cabinet's first member, from the War Man Power Commission (following resignations of Atty. Theodore Berry from the Office of War Information and Judge William H. Hastie as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War) marked the end of the "Black Cabinet." Membership of the Federal Council of Negro Advisers included: Emmer Martin Lancaster, Joseph Houchins of the Department of Commerce; Judge William H. Hastie, Truman K. Gibson, Jr., War Department; Constance E. H. Daniel, Jerome Robinson and Giles Hubert, Department of Agriculture; William H. Houston, Louis Mehlinger, Louis Lautier of the Department of Justice; Dr. William J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds; Ralph E. Mizelle, Post Office Department; Cornelius King, Farm Credit Administration; Major Campbell C. Johnson, Selective Service; Robert C. Weaver, Frances H. Williams, Robert R. Taylor, Theodore R. Poston, Defense; William Trent, Public Works; Frank S. Horne, Charles Johnson, Henry Lee Moon, Edward Lovett, Charles S. Duke, of the Housing Authority; Alfred E. Smith, Dutton R. Ferguson, Works Progress Administration; Howard D. Woodson, Treasury Department; Lawrence Oxley, Dr. Charles E. Franklin, Ira DeA. Reid and Roy Ellis, Social Security Board; Dr. Ambrose Caliver, Department of Education; Joseph H. B. Evans, T. Arnold Hill, Pauline Redmond, Ora B. Stokes, Nell Hunter and Reginald Johnson, National Youth Administration; Vinita Lewis of the Children's Bureau and Edgar G. Brown of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

President Truman's appointment in 1945 of Atty. Irvin C. Mollison as Associate Judge of the United States Customs Court marked the first time a Negro served in continental United States as Federal Judge. Ralph J. Bunche was appointed, the same year, to the Caribbean Commission. Several outstanding appointments were given to Negroes during 1946. There was the aforementioned naming of Judge William H. Hastie as Governor of the Virgin Islands. Charles S. Johnson, sociologist, was named first to a small educational commission, by the State and War Departments, to go to Japan at the request of General Douglas MacArthur, and later as one of 40 members of the National Commission advising the State Department on United States participation in UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization). The President's Committee on Civil Rights, composed of some of the nation's outstanding crusaders for justice and equality, included Dr. Channing H. Tobias, New York City, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, formerly Senior Secretary of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, and Mrs. Sadie M. Alexander, lawyer, Philadelphia. Truman K. Gibson, Jr., Chicago attorney, and former Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, was one of nine persons selected to serve on the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training.

Negroes Holding Civil Service Appointments

Brief mention should be made of the growing number of Negroes holding Civil Service appointments. In 1938 about 82,000 or approximately 9.8 per cent of the total number of Federal employees were Negroes, according to Civil Service reports. Most of these were to be found in postal service and sub-clerical levels of messenger and custodial service, with a very few in the higher paid brackets. The picture changed considerably during the war and the operation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee when a large number of Negroes was taken into the ranks of Federal workers, many employed on clerical, technical and professional levels. Davis and Golightly in their study of Negro Federal workers report that 57 governmental agencies and departments, as of March 31, 1944, had 273,981 Negro employees. These represented 11.9 per cent of the total.

It is probable that the Negro worker will play a much less significant role, numerically and professionally, in Federal employment after the declaration of the end of the emergency.

List of Negroes Elected to Offices, 1940-1946[19]

Elected in 1940

- Representative, U. S. House of Representatives
  - Illinois: Arthur W. Mitchell (D)
- State Senator
  - Illinois: William A. Wallace
  - Indiana: Robert Brokenburr (R)
  - Michigan: Charles C. Diggs (D)
  - Nebraska: John Adams, Jr. (R) (To Nebraska Unicameral.)
- State Representative
  - California: Augustus Hawkins (D)
  - Illinois: Ernest Greene (R); Charles J. Jenkins (R); Dudley S. Martin (R); William J. Warfield (R)
  - Indiana: James S. Hunter (D)
  - Kansas: William H. Towers (R)
  - Michigan: Horace White (D)
  - New Jersey: Frank Hargraves (R)
  - New York: William T. Andrews (D); Daniel Burrows (D); Hulan E. Jack (D)
  - Pennsylvania: William A. Allmond (D); Homer S. Brown (D); Ralph T. Jefferson (D); Marshall L. Shepard (D); Edwin F. Thompson (D); Edwin C. Young (D)
  - West Virginia: Fleming A. Jones (D)
- Judge
  - Atlantic City, N. J.: William F. Roberts, magistrates' court
  - New York City: Charles E. Tony (D); James S. Watson (D), municipal court

Elected in 1941

- State Representative
  - Kentucky: Charles W. Anderson, Jr. (R)
- City Councilman
  - Cincinnati, Ohio: Jesse D. Locker
  - Cleveland, Ohio: Harold T. Gassaway (R); Augustus C. Parker (R); William O. Walker (R)
  - New York City: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (D)

Elected in 1942

- Representative, U. S. House of Representatives
  - Illinois: William L. Dawson (D)
- State Senator
  - Illinois: C. C. Wimbish (D)
  - Michigan: Charles C. Diggs (D)
- State Representative
  - Illinois: Corneal Davis (D); Ernest A. Greene (R); Charles J. Jenkins (R); Fred J. Smith (D); William Warfield (R)
  - Indiana: Jesse L. Dickinson (D); Wilbur H. Grant (R); James Hunter (D)
  - Kansas: William H. Towers (R)
  - Missouri: Edwin Kenswil (D)
  - New Jersey: J. Otto Hill (R)
  - Ohio: Chester K. Gillespie (R); Sandy R. Ray (R); David Turpeau (R)
  - Pennsylvania: John W. Brigerman (D); Homer S. Brown (D); D. W. Hoggard (D); Lewis W. Mintess (R); Edwin F. Thompson (D); Thomas P. Trent (D)
  - Wisconsin: Cleveland M. Colbert (R)
- City Councilman
  - Indianapolis, Ind.: Lucian B. Meriweather (R)
- County Commissioner
  - Cook County, Ill.: Edward Sneed
  - Wyandotte County, Kans.: Fred White
- Judge
  - Chicago, Ill.: Wendell E. Greene, municipal court
- Justice of the Peace
  - Missouri: G. J. Dixon, fourth district; Crittenden Clark, fifth district
  - Knoxville, Tenn.: Boyd B. Browder
- Constable
  - St. Louis, Mo.: Langston Harrison; Ellis Jones; William A. Morant

Elected in 1943

- State Representative
  - Kentucky: Charles W. Anderson, Jr. (R)
- City Councilman
  - Chicago, Ill.: William H. Harvey (D); Oscar S. DePriest (D)
  - Cleveland, Ohio: Harold T. Gassaway (R); Augustus C. Parker (R); William O. Walker (R)
  - St. Louis, Mo.: Jasper C. Caston
  - New Haven, Conn.: Richard A. G. Foster (R)
  - New York City: Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. (C)
  - Philadelphia, Pa.: Robert N. Nix (D); James H. Irvin (R)
  - Urbana, Ohio: Norman K. Adams
- Judge
  - New York City: Francis E. Rivers, justice, the city court
  - Philadelphia, Pa.: Joseph H. Rainey; Hobson R. Reynolds, members, minor judiciary

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[19] (R)—Republican
(D)—Democrat
(C)—Communist

- Member Board of Education
  - Cleveland, Ohio: John F. Morning
- Coroner
  - Union City, N. J.: Joseph R. Judkins
- Constable
  - Swanton, Ohio: Elijah Holley

Elected in 1944

- Representative, U. S. House of Representatives
  - Illinois: William L. Dawson (D)
  - New York: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (D)
- State Senator
  - Illinois: C. C. Wimbish (D)
  - Indiana: Robert Brokenburr (R)
- State Representative
  - California: Augustus Hawkins (D)
  - Illinois: Corneal Davis (D); Charles J. Jenkins (R); Charles Sykes (D); Fred J. Smith (D); Edward A. Welters (R)
  - Indiana: Jesse Dickinson (D); Wilbur Grant (R); James S. Hunter (D)
  - Kansas: William H. Towers (R)
  - New Jersey: J. Otto Hill (R)
  - New York: William T. Andrews (D); Hulan E. Jack (D); William Prince (D)
  - Ohio: Jacob Ashburn (R); David Turpeau (R)
  - Pennsylvania: Homer S. Brown (D); D. W. Hoggard (D); Lee P. Myhan (D); J. Thompson Pettigrew (D); Thomas P. Trent (D)
  - Vermont: William J. Anderson (R)
  - Wisconsin: Leroy J. Simmons (D)
  - West Virginia: Fleming A. Jones, Jr. (D)
- Justice of the Peace
  - Lawrence, Kans.: Leroy Harris
- Coroner
  - Monmouth County, N. J.: F. Leon Harris

Elected in 1945

- State Representative
  - Kentucky: Charles W. Anderson, Jr. (R)
- City Councilman
  - Cincinnati, Ohio: Jesse O. Locker
  - Cleveland, Ohio: Charles V. Carr (D); Harold T. Gassaway (R); Augustus C. Parker (R)
  - Louisville, Ky.: Eugene S. Clayton (R)
  - Malden, Mass.: Herbert L. Jackson
  - New York City: Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. (C)
  - Watonga, Okla.: A. W. Russworm
- Judge
  - Cleveland, Ohio: Perry B. Jackson, municipal court
  - Philadelphia, Pa.: William A. Byrd, Sr., member, minor judiciary

Elected in 1946

- Representative, U. S. House of Representatives
  - Illinois: William L. Dawson (D)
  - New York: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (D)
- State Senator
  - Illinois: C. C. Wimbish (D)
  - Indiana: Zilford Carter (R)
  - Michigan: Joseph Brown (D)
  - Ohio: Harry E. Davis (R)
- State Representative
  - Colorado: Earl Mann (R); O. C. Abernathy (D)
  - Illinois: Corneal A. Davis (D); Fred J. Smith (D); Charles M. Sykes (D); Charles J. Jenkins (R); Edward A. Welters (R)
  - Indiana: Wilbur Grant (R)
  - Kansas: William H. Towers (R)
  - Massachusetts: Lawrence H. Banks (R)
  - Missouri: James M. Neal (D); J. C. Bush (R); William Massingale (D); J. C. Thomas (R)
  - New Jersey: J. Otto Hill (R)
  - New York: William T. Andrews (D); Hulan Jack (D); William Prince (D); Harold A. Stevens (D)
  - Ohio: William B. Saunders (R); Francis E. Young (R); David D. Turpeau (R)
  - Pennsylvania: Homer S. Brown (D); Howard M. Henry (R); Lewis W. Mintess (R); Clarence M. Smith (R); Edwin F. Thompson (R); William A. Upshur (R)
  - Vermont: William J. Anderson (R)
  - West Virginia: Fleming A. Jones, Jr. (D)
- City Councilman
  - Malden, Mass.: Herbert L. Jackson
  - New York City: Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., (C)
  - Oak Ridge, Tenn.: Robert Judkins
  - Sewanee, Tenn.: Rayford L. Bailey
- County Commissioner
  - Cook County, Ill.: Edward M. Sneed (D)
  - Wyandotte County, Kans.: Fred White (R)
- Member, Sanitary District Trustee Board
  - Cook County, Ill.: J. B. Martin (R)
- Magistrate
  - St. Louis, Mo.: J. G. Dixon (R), Third District
- Constable
  - St. Louis, Mo.: William A. Morant (R), Third District

List of Negroes Receiving Outstanding Appointive Positions (City and State) 1940-1946

Appointed in 1940

- William Bailey, Jr., Asst. State Chemist, Dept. of Agriculture, Iowa
- S. J. Battle, Member Parole Commission, New York City
- Charles C. Hawkins, Research Associate, Natl. Center for Safety Education, New York City
- Freddie L. Hawkins, Member, State Tax Commission, Iowa
- Charles H. Mahoney, Commissioner, Dept. of Labor and Industry, Mich.
- Henry J. McGuinn, Member, Housing Authority, Richmond, Va.
- Herbert E. Millen, Asst. Director of Public Safety, Philadelphia, Pa.
- J. Thomas Newsome, Commissioner in Chancery, Newport News, Va.
- Miles A. Paige, Special Sessions Judge, New York City
- Henry Robinson, Senior Supv., Dept. of Liquor Control, Ohio
- Charles A. Roxborough, Member, State Appeal Board of Unemployment Compensation, Mich.
- Floyd H. Skinner, Asst. Atty. General, Mich.
- Fred W. Slater, Asst. Commissioner, Illinois Commerce Commission
- J. Dalmus Steele, City Marshal, New York City

W. Ellis Stewart, Member, Chicago Planning Commission, Ill.

Darwin E. Telesford, Secretary to State Supreme Court Justice Benjamin F. Schreiber, New York

Leon Washington, Member, Immigration Housing Commission, Calif.

Appointed in 1941

Warren Anderson, Member, State Board of Education, Ind.

J. T. Canady, Asst. City Physician, Portsmouth, Va.

Golden B. Darby, Area Supervisor, Metropolitan Delinquency Prevention Division, Dept. of Public Welfare, Ill.

Hubert T. Delany, Member, Board of Governors, College of the City of New York

David M. Grant, Asst. Circuit Court Atty., St. Louis, Mo.

John B. Hall, Jr., District Health Supt., Dept. of Public Health, Ill.

J. Raymond Henderson, Member, Bureau of Recreation, New York City

Cornelius Henderson, Member, National Defense Commission, Mich.

Harrison H. Hollie, Asst. Prosecuting Atty., Mo.

Edwin L. Jefferson, Municipal Judge, Los Angeles, Calif.

Fleming A. Jones, Field Claims Investigator, Dept. of Workmen's Compensation, West Va.

Graham T. Perry, Asst. Atty. General, Ill.

Robert Queen, Asst. City Counselor, Trenton, N. J.

Willard B. Ransom, Asst. to Atty. General, Ind.

Sidney R. Redmond, Special Asst. City Counselor, St. Louis, Mo.

Fred C. Violet, Deputy Boxing Commissioner, N. Y. State Athletic Commission

Appointed in 1942

Elmer A. Carter, Member, New York State War Council

Eunice H. Carter, Deputy Asst., Adolescent Offenders Research Bureau, District Atty's Office, New York City

Frank R. Crosswaith, Member, New York Housing Authority

John A. Davis, Labor Discrimination Inspector, Field Staff, Committee on Discrimination in Employment, New York City

Hubert T. Delaney, Judge, Domestic Relations Court, New York City

Perry B. Jackson, Judge, Municipal Court, Cleveland, Ohio

Orrin G. Judd, Member, Board of Higher Education, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Francis E. Rivers, Asst. District Atty., New York City

G. Bruce Robinson, Asst. Atty. General, Mass.

Helen G. Russell, Bailiff, Women's Court, Chicago, Ill.

Henry A. Stratton, Medical Inspector, Public Schools, Philadelphia, Pa.

James M. Yeargan, Deputy Asst., New York City

Appointed in 1943

John H. Bosshard, Member, War Records Commission, N. J.

Homer S. Brown, Member, Board of Education, Pittsburgh, Pa.

John M. Dabney, Member, Defense Council, Newark, N. J.

Frank Forbes, Judge, Staff of State Athletic Commission, N. Y.

Walter A. Gordon, Member, State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, Calif.

Wade H. Hammond, Member, State Planning Committee on Housing, Ariz.

Hilmar Jensen, War Records Commission, N. J.

Conrad A. Johnson, Asst. Atty. General, N. Y.

C. B. Powell, Member, State Athletic Commission, N. Y.

Francis E. Rivers, Justice, City Court, New York City

Appointed in 1944

Bertram L. Baker, Confidential Inspector for the Borough, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Walter M. Beekman, Member, Committee on Discrimination, State War Council, N. Y.

George A. Blakey, Asst. Atty. General, Ill.

Matthew W. Bullock, Chairman, State Parole Board, Mass.

Eunice H. Carter, Asst. District Atty., New York City

Bertha J. Diggs, Secretary, Dept. of Labor, N. Y.

Georgia J. Ellis, Asst. Corporation Counsel, Chicago, Ill.

Marie C. Ferguson, State Parole Officer, Ill.

Robert H. Miller, State Parole Officer, Ill.

Irwin C. Mollison, Member, Board of Education, Chicago, Ill.

Lamar Perkins, Asst. Atty. General, N. Y.

Francis E. Rivers, Senior Asst. District Atty., New York City

Noah C. A. Walker, Member, Industrial Board, N. Y.

George W. Warrick, Supt., City Refuse Collection Dept., St. Louis, Mo.

Charles N. Williams, Probation Officer, 6th District Court, Rhode Island

Appointed in 1945

Edward Bernacker, Hospital Commissioner, New York City

St. Clair T. Bourne, Director of Publicity, State Dept. of Labor, N. Y.

Sidney P. Brown, Member, Board of Education, Chicago, Ill.

John J. Congo, City Building Inspector, St. Louis, Mo.

Elvin L. Davenport, Asst. Prosecuting Atty., Detroit, Mich.

Hubert T. Delany, Judge, Domestic Relations Court, New York City

Walter A. Gordon, Chairman, Adult Authority Board, Calif.

Howard D. Gregg, Member, State Board of Education, Del.

W. J. Kennedy, Member, State Recreation Commission, N. C.

T. Raymond Jones, Secretary to Commissioner of Board of Elections, New York City

Harold J. Lett, Asst., Executive Staff, Anti-Discrimination Council, N. J.

Eddie L. Nelson, Automobile Investigator, Springfield, Ill.

Grant Reynolds, Member, State Commission of Correction, N. Y.
Lebron Simmons, Asst. Prosecuting Atty., Detroit, Mich.
Ernest Stebbins, Health Commissioner, New York City.
O. M. Travis, Member, State Board of Education, Ky.
Edward A. Watts, Sr., Member, Legal Staff, Labor Relations Board, N. Y.
Phillip Watson, Asst. Atty. General, N. Y.

Appointed in 1946

Charles W. Anderson, Jr., Asst. Commonwealth's Atty., Ky.
Charles Crampton, Asst. to Secretary of Health, Pa.
Norman O. Houston, Member, State Boxing Commission, Los Angeles, Calif.
J. Raymond Jones, Deputy Commissioner of Housing and Buildings, New York City
Clarence M. Long, Member, Board of Education, New Rochelle, N. Y.
Charles Matthews, Member, Police Commission, Los Angeles, Calif.
Ralph Metcalf, Member, Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, Chicago, Ill.
J. E. Mitchell, Member, State Board of Education, Mo.
Pauli Murray, Deputy Atty. General, Calif.
C. B. Powell, Member, State Athletic Commission, N. Y.
Vernon G. Riddick, Magistrate, City Court, New York City

List of Negroes Receiving Outstanding Federal Appointments, 1940-1946

(Unless otherwise indicated, locale is Washington, D. C.)

Appointed in 1940

Charles L. Franklin, Economist, Social Security Board
Truman K. Gibson, Jr., Asst. Civilian Aide, War Dept.
Charles M. Hanson, Inspector, Wages and Hours Div., Dept. of Labor
William H. Hastie, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War
T. Arnold Hill, Asst. Director, Division of Negro Affairs, National Youth Administration
Frank S. Horne, Acting Special Asst., in charge of Race Relations, U. S. Housing Authority
Campbell C. Johnson, Executive Asst. to Selective Service Director
Emmer Lancaster, Special Advisor to the Commerce Dept.
Arnett G. Lindsay, Works Progress Administration, Supv. of Negro Manuscripts
Ralph E. Mizelle, Atty. in the Solicitor's Office, Post Office Dept.
Pauline Redmond, Asst. Information Specialist, National Youth Administration
Cuthbert P. Spencer, Asst. District Supervisor, 1940 U. S. Census, New York
Channing H. Tobias, To Advise and Assist in Selective Service Training
William J. Trent, Jr., Racial Relations Office in Personnel Div., Federal Works Agency
Robert C. Weaver, Administrative Asst. to Advisory Committee on National Defense

Appointed in 1941

W. H. Dabney, Asst. to State Works Progress Administration Administrator, Mass.
Augustus Daly, Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue, 3rd District, N. Y.
Eugene Davidson, Investigator, Fair Employment Practice Committee
William H. Dean, Jr., Consultant on Location of Industry, National Resources Planning Board
Earl B. Dickerson, Member, Fair Employment Practice Committee
Crystal B. Fauset, Director, Racial Relations Office of Civilian Defense
G. James Fleming, Investigator, Fair Employment Practice Committee
Truman K. Gibson, Jr., Asst. to Executive Secretary, Fair Employment Practice Committee
Elmer W. Henderson, Field Representative, Fair Employment Practice Committee
William E. Hill, Special Asst., U. S. Housing Authority
George M. Johnson, Asst. Executive Secretary, Fair Employment Practice Committee
W. Robert Ming, Member of the Staff, Office of Price Administration
Curtis P. Mitchell, Junior Atty., Federal Works Agency
Thomas N. Roberts, Special Asst. to Personnel Director, Dept. of Agriculture
Arthur A. Taylor, Asst. U. S. Atty., Southern District of N. Y.
Robert Taylor, Housing Consultant, Office of the Defense Housing Coordinator
Channing H. Tobias, Member, Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation
Herman A. Washington, Special Asst., U. S. Housing Authority
Robert C. Weaver, Advisor to War Production Board on Negro Labor
Milton P. Webster, Member, Fair Employment Practice Committee
Donald Wyatt, Asst. Racial Relations Officer, Federal Works Agency

Appointed in 1942

William D. Alexander, Information Specialist, Office of Facts and Figures
Claude A. Barnett, Special Asst. to Secretary of Agriculture
Theodore M. Berry, Liaison Officer, Morale Division, Office of Facts and Figures
William M. Cooper, Sr. Field Representative, Office of War Information
William H. Dean, Jr., Economic Advisor to the Virgin Islands
Ulysses S. Garnes, Law Examiner in the Homestead Division, General Land Office, Dept. of Interior
George H. Gray, Law Examiner in the Minerals Division, Dept. of Interior
Roland G. Henderson, Geodetic Computer in the Topographical Branch, Dept. of Interior
W. C. Hueston, Jr., Deputy Probation Officer

Campbell C. Johnson, Member, Board of Intermediate Sentence and Parole
F. D. Patterson, Special Asst. to Secretary of Agriculture
William Pickens, Chief of Negro Organization Section, War Bond and Savings Stamps Division, Treasury Dept.
Theodore R. Poston, Information Specialist, Office of War Information
Roscoe W. Ross, Law Examiner in the Minerals Division, Dept of Interior
Robert C. Weaver, Asst. to Director of Operations, War Manpower Commission

Appointed in 1943

S. B. Danley, U. S. Employment Office, Hawaiian Islands
Joseph H. B. Evans, Associate Regional Director, Region IV, Fair Employment Practice Committee
Truman K. Gibson, Jr., Act. Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War
Thomas C. Hall, Asst. Solicitor, Post Office Dept.
T. Arnold Hill, Special Asst. to the Administrator, Office of Price Administration
Andrew Howard, Asst. to the District Atty.
Colie Jaco, U. S. District Court Bailiff, Nebraska District
James W. Johnson, Collector of Internal Revenue, 3rd N. Y. District
Martin A. Martin, Associate Atty., Dept. of Justice
Arthur W. Mitchell, Special Consultant to Secretary of War
Nelson H. Nichols, Act. Territorial Atty., Virgin Islands
Armond W. Scott, Judge, Municipal Court
J. Finley Wilson, Consultant, Interracial Section, War Finance Staff

Appointed in 1944

James A. Atkins, Racial Relations Officer, Federal Works Agency
Ralph J. Bunche, Asst., Division of Territorial Studies, Office of Special Political Affairs, Dept. of State
G. N. T. Gray, Act. Director, Race Relations, War Manpower Commission
Clarence Johnson, Regional Race Relations Advisor, Federal Public Housing Authority, N. Y.
Marshall L. Shepard, Recorder of Deeds

Appointed in 1945

Ralph J. Bunche, Member, Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, State Dept.
Maj. Daniel E. Day, Chief, Negro Interest Section of Press Branch, War Dept.
Edward R. Dudley, Legal Counsel to Governor of Virgin Islands
Lila W. Griffin, Research Analyst, Bur. of Agricultural Economics, Dept. of Agriculture
Phillip J. Jones, Asst. U. S. Attorney, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Irvin C. Mollison, Associate Judge, U. S. Customs Court, New York City
Ernest M. Norris, Asst. to the Personnel Director, Dept. of Agriculture
John R. Pinkett, Member, Small Business Advisory Committee, Dept. of Commerce
Lt. Col. Marcus H. Ray, Civilian Aide to Secretary of War
Lela Smalley, Research Analyst, Bur. of Agricultural Economics, Dept. of Agriculture

Appointed in 1946

Joseph F. Albright, Asst. to Gen. Omar Bradley, Veterans' Administration
Sadie M. Alexander, Member, President's Committee on Civil Rights
Kenneth E. Banks, Technical Adviser, Minority Groups Section, U. S. Employment Service, Dept. of Labor
James Baker, Information Specialist, Federal Housing Authority
Dr. Ambrose Caliver, Consultant, Returning and Reemployment Administration
Lt. Col. W. A. Clark, Consultant, Returning and Reemployment Administration
Samuel F. Coleman, Patent Examiner, Dept. of Commerce
Maj. Steve G. Davis, Planning Section, Personnel Division, War Dept.
Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs, Named by State Dept. to make Social Investigations in South America
Truman K. Gibson, Jr., Member, President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training
Dr. Roscoe C. Giles, Consultant to Secretary of War, through Surgeon General's Office
Edmonia W. Grant, Asst. Director, Project for Adult Education of Negroes, Office of Education
William H. Hastie, Governor of Virgin Islands
Leslie Pinckney Hill, Member, President's Highway Safety Conference
J. L. Horace, Consultant for Negro Groups, Citizens' Federal Committee on Education, Office of Education
Charles S. Johnson, Member, Education Commission (named by State and War Depts.) to go to Japan
Charles S. Johnson, Member, National Commission advising the State Dept. on U. S. participation in United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
Thomasina W. Johnson, Chief, Minority Groups Section, U. S. Employment Service, Dept. of Labor
R. O'Hara Lanier, Minister Envoy, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Liberia
Lt. Col. T. M. Mann, Member, War Clemency Board
Ann Mason, Staff Member, Racial Relations Service, National Housing Administration
F. D. Patterson, Special Consultant to Maj. Gen. G. B. Erskine, Administrator, Returning and Re-employment Administration
Lt. Col. James H. Robinson, Member, Discharge Review Board, War Dept.
Estelle M. Riddle, Consultant for Negro Groups, Citizens' Federal Committee on Education, Office of Education

Charles R. A. Smith, Asst. U. S. District Atty., Detroit, Mich.
Julius A. Thomas, Consultant, Returning and Reemployment Administration
A. Oliver Thornton, Deputy Recorder of Deeds
Channing H. Tobias, Member, President's Committee on Civil Rights
Lt. Sylvester White, Information Specialist, Navy Dept.
Marshall E. Williams, Chief Application Analyst, Bureau of Personnel, United Nations Organization, N. Y.
William O. Woodson, Asst. Director, Project for Adult Education of Negroes, Office of Education
P. B. Young, Sr., Consultant for Negro Groups, Citizens' Federal Committee on Education, Office of Education

DIVISION XII

THE NEGRO AND CIVIL RIGHTS

By Charles G. Gomillion

Tuskegee Institute

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Residential Segregation A National Problem

Since the abolition of slavery in the United States, Negroes have experienced difficulty in securing living accommodations in keeping with their desires and financial means. In some instances, they are prevented from renting the kinds of rooms which they desire and from buying the kinds of homes in which they want to live. In other instances, they are denied the opportunity of renting, or buying, or building living quarters in desirable localities, both rural and urban. Although these restrictions are more prevalent in the South, they are in evidence to some extent throughout the nation.

In order to effect residential segregation of Negroes, an individual or group might resort to informal, unofficial, non-violent, or violent behavior, which reflects the customs and traditions of the community or which might be the result of a more consciously formulated policy.

Between 1941 and 1947, many Negro families, like white families, experienced considerable difficulty securing adequate and desirable housing, because of the scarcity of rooms and homes available, because of their low economic income, and because of the presence of children in the families. But in addition to these factors, Negro families were further handicapped because of race and color. In 1941, the manager of the Marshall Field Garden Apartments in Chicago admitted that the management discriminated against Negroes and refused to rent or lease apartments to them. In Washington, D. C., a colored player on a Boy's Town athletic team, was barred from the hotel accommodating the white members of the team. In Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University denied students the opportunity to live in dormitories on the campus. The business manager of the University stated to a group of Negroes that "it is the policy and the unwritten law of Northwestern University to prohibit all Negroes from living in any dormitory, or house, on the University campus."

In Washington, D. C., the National Association of Real Estate Boards issued a booklet which contained the following statement of policy: "No property in a white section should ever be sold, rented, advertised, or offered to colored people." In the Real Estate Board's Code of Ethics there is a further statement that:

> "When, for example, in any respectable neighborhood, a house is wanted for conversion to an objectional use, no respectable broker will consent to represent the buyer.
>
> "The latter might be a bootlegger who would cause considerable annoyance to his neighbors, a 'madam' who had a number of 'call girls' on her string, a gangster who wanted a screen for his activities by living in a better neighborhood, a colored man of means . . . giving his children a college education and thought that they were entitled to live among the whites, but no matter what the motive or character of the would-be purchaser, if the deal would instigate a form of blight, then certainly the well-meaning broker must work against its consummation."

Later, however, the Executive Secretary of the National Association of Real Estate Boards in a letter to Mr. Ira F. Lewis, President and General Manager of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, disowned the statement and expressed regret that the publication had been circulated. In his letter, he wrote that "the article in question was prepared by individuals who were invited to discuss a series of methods and techniques. Obviously, the statement was not reviewed by our editor before sending the book to press. It should never have been printed." The Executive Secretary insisted that the objectionable statement which appeared in the booklet did not represent the official attitude of the Association toward the Negro.

Several times during this six-year

period groups of citizens petitioned city and county officials and real estate dealers and property owners to prevent Negroes from buying and/or living in houses in areas in close proximity to whites. In 1941, one hundred white residents appeared before the County Commissioners of Fulton County, Georgia, and expressed strong objections to the Commission's approving a proposed subdivision for Negro homes. In another state, seventy-five home owners appeared before the members of the City Council at City Hall and expressed their desire that the community in which they lived be kept a "white community." In Miami, Florida, ninety-nine heads of families appeared before the County Commissioner with a petition to prevent a white realtor from selling land to Negroes. In Orange, New Jersey, forty-five white home owners tried to prevent a Negro dentist and his wife from occupying a house which they had purchased in a "white neighborhood." In Roselle, New Jersey, nineteen residents protested to the Borough Council the proposed construction of nine dwellings for Negro occupants in their neighborhood. At Indianhead, Maryland, in 1943, approximately one hundred federally constructed housing units stood idle while colored workers in a powder factory found it impossible to secure housing. The empty units were originally planned for colored occupants, but because of the objection of whites living in the community, the Negro workers had not been permitted to occupy them.

Sometimes efforts are made to oust Negroes from the rooms and homes which they occupy. In Michigan and in Missouri in 1941, white citizens strove to oust Negro residents from their homes. In Chicago, Ku Kluxers endeavored to frighten Negroes to the extent that they would move from the property which they had purchased. It should be mentioned, however, that efforts are sometimes made to prevent prejudiced persons from succeeding in preventing Negroes from occupying property in which they are interested and which they are able to buy. In New Jersey, the police stopped a meeting of white tenants who were protesting against a Negro family's moving into the community in which they lived. On the other hand, it happens, sometimes, that officers of the law do not provide Negro citizens with the protection to which they are entitled, and, occasionally, they themselves, participate in violent acts against Negroes. In Detroit, in 1944, a policeman hired a youth who was on parole from a penal institution to set fire to Negro homes in the neighborhood in which he owned property.

Restrictive Covenants

In various parts of the nation, groups of citizens have entered restrictive covenants which were designed to bind the signers in a united effort to withhold property from Negroes and other minority groups who desired to rent, lease, buy, and/or occupy such property. In Columbus, Ohio, a court ruled that a Negro might buy a house in a neighborhood covered by a restrictive covenant, but he could not occupy that house within a period of twenty-five years. There is no uniformity in the decisions of the courts concerning the legality of restrictive covenants. In Memphis, Tennessee, the City Commissioners ruled that white citizens have no right to protest Negro servants living in neighborhoods inhabited by whites.

There is evidence that Government officials and agencies have endeavored to segregate the residential facilities of Negroes, either by executive decree or by legislative enactment, such as zoning. In Michigan, United States officials sanctioned segregated housing in the Willow Run Lodge Homes. Negro war workers were barred from occupancy. In New York City, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company undertook to build the Stuyvesant Homes which, according to the original plan, were to house only persons who were classified as white. At one of its meetings, the New York City Council voted 23-1 against approving the segregated housing proposed by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. In Georgetown, South Carolina, and in Dallas, Texas, the city officials sought to segregate and isolate Negro residential areas. A Federal judge in Texas, in deciding a case, ruled that "we cannot segregate races in America —white, black, red, yellow, all have the right to live where they choose. I found that there is no ordinance on the books of the city showing any favoritism, or any effort to make use of an invalid state statute." In 1945, twenty-four lawyers representing ten States and the District of Columbia, along with other persons interested in housing, met in the City of Chicago to map out plans to combat the restrictions placed upon Negroes by such devices as restrictive covenants and prejudicial zoning. This meeting was presided over by William H. Hastie, who represented the Washington office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. At that time there were numerous restrictive covenant cases before the courts. In California alone there were twenty.

Residential Segregation A Hardship on Negroes

The practice of residential segregation and discrimination against Negroes seeking satisfactory living quarters is considered by Negroes as a tremendous hardship upon them and a violation of the principles of democracy and Christianity. Individually and collectively, Negroes and sympathetic whites have been working diligently to reduce the restrictions and to increase the opportunities for Negroes to secure homes in keeping with their interests and means.

DISCRIMINATION ON PUBLIC CONVEYANCES

Discriminatory Practices in South not in Conformity with Constitutional or Statutory Law

In the Southern States, constitutional and statutory law provides for separate but equal facilities on public conveyances serving Negroes. Observation, however, reveals that the facilities are usually separate, but unequal in convenience and in the service and treatment accorded Negroes by employees working on these public conveyances. Elevators and train coaches serving Negro passengers might be identical in construction and equipment, but the location of the elevator in the public building and the location of the coach on the train might be such as to impose inconvenience on the Negro passenger, or to subject him to greater danger than that to which the white passenger is subjected. Further, it usually happens that the services and courtesies shown Negro passengers are inferior to those accorded white passengers. Such situations are discriminatory to Negroes. Discriminatory also is the practice of legalizing, or sanctioning, compulsory segregation, without giving Negroes the opportunity to participate in the legislative process of enacting the legalized regulation.

Discrimination on Elevators

The following incidents are suggestive of the discrimination against Negroes on public conveyances. In several cities in the South separate elevators have been provided for Negro passengers. In other places, Negro and white citizens may ride the same elevator, but not at the same time. These practices are, of course, of decreasing frequency. Signs designating specific elevators for Negroes and for whites are being removed, and, more and more, elevator operators are admitting passengers without regard to color.

Discrimination on Air Lines

While the air lines have not practiced segregation and discrimination to the same extent as have the railroads and buses, there have been some discriminations on the basis of race. The Chicago and Southern Air Lines, Incorporated, in a letter to a passenger who had charged that he had been discriminated against and humiliated by a stewardess on a southbound plane stated that:

> "Chicago and Southern certainly regrets that you have experienced any feeling of embarrassment, or discomfort due to the incident in question. We have carried Negro passengers on many occasions and it is our policy and desire to make available to such passengers accommodations and services in all respects equal to those offered to the traveling public in general.
>
> "It is true that Negro passengers are requested to assume the forward seats in the airplane. However, from the standpoint of personal comfort, these are the most desirable seats in the aircraft. Thus, it should be made clear that the practice rather than one of discrimination, is one offering Negroes accommodations and facilities which are equal or superior to those offered other passengers."

Discrimination on Railroads

The Pennsylvania Railroad has been accused of segregating Negro passengers who board their stream-line trains in New York City for points

South of Washington, D. C. Negro passengers have been sold seats only in the number one coach nearest the engine on the New York to Florida and the New York to New Orleans streamliners. An official of the Pennsylvania Railroad admitted that the segregation was practiced, but only "in order that colored passengers destined to points South of Washington will not be disturbed."

After having been accused of discriminating against Negroes in selling berth space in sleeping cars, the Missouri-Pacific Railroad Lines advised that in the future berth space in sleeping cars operating in the Southern Division of that system would be reserved for Negroes without discrimination. In spite of the promises of some railroad companies to refrain from discrimination against Negroes, other companies have not seen fit to desist. Two Negro passengers en route to Houston, Texas, from Baltimore and Cleveland were forced to move from a Pullman car about two hours before reaching Houston.

Not only have railroad officials discriminated against Negro passengers, but white passengers have assaulted Negro passengers in Pullman cars. A Negro clergyman, 76 years of age, was beaten by a white passenger on a train traveling through Alabama in 1942. In the next year, Rev. Martin L. Harvey was assaulted by a train conductor while en route from Chicago to Atlanta, while he was seated in the observation car. The assault was provoked by the Rev. Mr. Harvey's refusal to move from the observation car at the request of the conductor.

Two women, Dr. Virginia M. Alexander and Mrs. Sadie T. M. Alexander, filed suit for damages against the Southern Railroad Company and the Washington Terminal Company for having been refused dining car service while en route to Atlanta, Georgia, in November, 1941. Two years later, Negro soldiers traveling on several trains in the South were refused meals in the dining cars.

In 1945, the Alabama Public Service Commission ordered the railroads servicing the State to provide for colored persons seeking berth or seat space in closed accommodations, if possible, or accommodations separated from other passengers by a partition or a curtain. Later, however, the Commission slightly modified its order, but retained the basic requirement of separate accommodations and facilities.

Discrimination on Buses

Negro passengers have probably fared worse on buses than they have on trains. Not only have they been left standing in the bus stations while buses loaded with white passengers pulled out of the station and proceeded on various routes, but they have been subjected to greater inconveniences and physical discomforts than have white passengers. In 1941, Mrs. Clara Wilson was forced to give up a reserved seat on a bus in Mississippi while traveling from Chicago to New Orleans. She withdrew from the bus and bought a railroad ticket from Jackson, Mississippi, to New Orleans. In Kansas, Mrs. Leona Boone filed suit alleging forcible ejection from a Southwestern Greyhound bus to provide a seat for a white passenger. Although the seat was in the space "reserved" for Negro passengers, Mrs. Boone was not allowed to retain possession of it. In North Carolina, a Negro woman was dragged from a bus, beaten by a policeman and convicted on charges of violating the racial separation law. In Florida, a Negro college president was slapped by a policeman after he had alighted from a bus and denied charges of having been guilty of disorderly conduct while on the bus. In Chicago, a Negro soldier was beaten by a bus driver, because "he talked back." In New Orleans, a 17-year-old high school girl graduate was beaten by a white passenger, because she moved the screen on a city bus.

In order to reduce the tension created by segregation on buses, various persons have proposed elimination of the ordinances legalizing segregation. In 1943, Virginius Dabney, editor of the *Richmond-Times Dispatch*, advocated the repeal of the Virginia laws which compelled the segregation of white and Negro passengers on street cars and buses. Said Mr. Dabney:

> "The time has come to do something about the well-nigh intolerable interracial friction on the street cars and buses of the state. This friction stems largely from the laws which compel the segregation of white and colored pas-

> sengers. . . . Repeal of the state law which requires segregation of the races on street car and buses, and of local ordinances which embody the same requirement, would solve the difficulty."

It should be said, however, that there was considerable objection to the proposal made by Mr. Dabney and that later he stated that the proposal was probably untimely in that the white citizens of Richmond were probably not yet ready for the abolition of segregation on public conveyances.

In the future, Negro bus passengers on interstate travel might secure better accommodations. In the Irene Morgan case, the United States Supreme Court, in 1946, held that "on interstate journeys the enforcement of requirements for reseating would be disturbing," and that "seating arrangements for the different races in interstate motor travel require a single uniform rule to promote and protect national travel." In this case, the court reversed the decision of a lower court, and declared invalid regulations which Jim Crow Negro motor bus passengers on interstate trips.

COURT DECISIONS INVOLVING THE RIGHTS OF NEGRO CITIZENS

Since 1941, several State and Federal courts, including the United States Supreme Court, have rendered significant decisions involving the rights of Negro citizens. These judicial pronouncements have decided a variety of issues relating to discriminations in union membership, in housing accommodations, in educational opportunities, in wages, in bus and railway transportation, in freedom to work, in political elections, and in police and court protection.

Court Decisions Relating to Labor Unions

In 1944, a New York State Court of Appeals ruled that the Railway Mail Association was a labor union and violated State laws in barring Negroes from membership. Prior to this decision, the New York City branch of the Association had admitted Negroes to membership, which was in violation of the Constitution of the Association which limited membership to "members of the Caucasian race, or native American Indians." Justice Stanley F. Reed delivered the opinion of the court, and stated that:

> ". . . to deny a fellow employee membership because of race, color, or creed may operate to prevent that employee from having any part in the selection of labor policies to be promoted and adopted in the industry and deprive him of all means of protection from unfair treatment arising out of the fact that the terms imposed by a dominant union applied to all employees, whether union members or not.
>
> "In their very nature, racial and religious minorities are likely to be so small in number in any particular industry as to be unable to form an effective organization for securing settlement of their grievances and consideration of their group aims with respect to conditions of employment. The fact that the employer is the government has no significance from this point of view."

In California, in 1945, the State Supreme Court ruled unanimously that a labor union must admit Negroes to full membership, or not try to enforce the closed shop agreement. In Rhode Island, a State Superior Court judge ruled in 1944 that the policy of herding Negro employees of the Washington-Kaiser Shipyard in Providence, Rhode Island, into an auxiliary of the Boiler Makers Union, Local 308, American Federation of Labor, and separating their ballots, was irregular and discriminatory. In the same year, the United States Supreme Court ruled against the "lily white" policy of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and declared that an agreement by the union and twenty-one southern railroad companies, restricting the employment opportunities of Negroes, deprived them of their rights to jobs. The opinion of the court, read by Chief Justice Stone, stated in part that unless the labor union representing a craft owes some duty to represent non-union members of the craft, at least to the extent of not discriminating against them as such in the contract which makes it their representative, the minority would be left with no means of protecting their interest, or indeed their right to earn a livelihood by pursuing the occupation in which they are employed. Justice Frank Murphy, writing a concurring opinion, stated that "The economic discrimination against Negroes practiced by the brotherhoods and railways under color of congressional authority, raises a grave constitutional issue that should be squarely faced." Continuing, he said that "Racism is too virulent today to permit the slightest refusal, in the light of a constitution that abhors it, to expose it and condemn it wherever it appears in the course of a statutory interpretation." This decision has been held as a new Bill of Rights for Negro labor.

Court Decisions Relating To Restrictive Covenants

In the field of restrictive covenants, several significant decisions have been rendered. In 1943, a Municipal Court judge in Chicago ruled that restrictive covenants based on race are illegal. This decision was rendered in a suit which was brought by a citizen to oust a tenant who had rented rooms to Negroes. In his opinion, Judge Heller stated that "the Constitution of the United States is the basic law of a republic which recognizes only one class of citizens. All are subject to the same obligations. All are entitled to the same privileges."

In California, Superior Court Judge Thurmond Clark ruled that restrictive covenants based on race are in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States. In this case, the movie star, Hattie McDaniels, and other Negro citizens in California had been subjected to certain restrictions in the use of their property, because of the existence of restrictive covenants which had been entered into by white citizens living in the same community. In handing down his decision, Judge Clark said: "Colored people too long have been deprived of their Constitutional rights. They were not denied these rights when they were called to defend their country. It is time some court intervened to protect their rights."

In the State of Missouri, in 1945, a Circuit Court judge ruled that an agreement not to sell property to Negroes and Chinese was null and void, because it was contrary to the Federal and State constitutions and certain Federal statutes, and, also, because it was improperly executed and did not bind all of the property owners in the community. In the same year, Judge Stanley Milledge in the State of Florida ruled that residential zoning on the basis of race was invalid. He stated that Florida law did not authorize government officials to designate in what areas members of the various races might reside and that commissioners had no authority to make it a penal offense to reside in such areas. On the other hand, in the State of Georgia, the State Supreme Court upheld racial covenants, and stated that real estate restrictions limiting the sale of property only to white persons are enforceable and not in violation of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

It is interesting to note that in 1945, the Ontario Supreme Court, in the Dominion of Canada, ruled that property covenants restricting members of a given race were not in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations. The decision was made in a case involving an effort to restrain Jews from occupying a specifically designated area.

Court Decisions Relating To Educational Opportunities

Since the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Gaines case, there have been numerous efforts on the part of Negro citizens to secure educational opportunities equal to those provided for whites. In 1941, the Tennessee State Supreme Court denied the petition of six Negroes for admission to the Graduate School of the University of Tennessee, because "equivalent facilities" had been authorized in 1941 by an act of the state legislature and that a further decision "was unnecessary and improper." In 1945, the Kentucky Court of Appeals ruled that "the fact that a Negro high school has an eight months term and a white school in the community runs nine months is no legal ground for Negroes to refuse to pay school taxes." The decision of the Court included the statement that "pupils in an eight month's school may advance as rapidly and master the prescribed course to the same extent, as those attending a nine month's school."

The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States ruled in 1945 that the action of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore in barring Miss Louise Kerr, a Negro, from a training course, violated the equal rights provision of Federal statutes. The court further said that Miss Kerr had been denied the training course solely because of her race.

During the past six years, several

courts have ruled that Negro teachers are entitled to the same salaries received by white teachers when they have similar qualifications and are performing similar duties. A Federal District Court handed down a decision in a case involving a Negro teacher in Virgina. In his opinion, the judge stated that

> "It is obvious that the school board in adopting the salary schedule for 1943 has not complied with the terms of the order of the court, which enjoined and restrained the defendants from discriminating in the payment of salaries against colored teachers and principals and in favor of the white teachers and principals in the public schools, solely on account of race or color, and from paying the colored teachers and principals salaries less than those paid white teachers and principals of substantially the same qualifications, the experience, and performing similar duties, solely on account of race and color."

In Arkansas, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Negro teachers could not be discriminated against in salaries paid by public school boards. In Florida and in South Carolina, similar decisions were handed down by court officials.

Court Decisions Relating to Travel

Perhaps the most famous court decision rendered concerning travel on public conveyances was the one handed down by the United States Supreme Court in the famous Arthur W. Mitchell case in 1941. Arthur W. Mitchell contended in court that he had been forcibly ejected from a Pullman car in Arkansas while en route from Chicago to Hot Springs in 1937. He contended further that he was entitled to railroad accommodations equal to those provided for whites. Chief Justice Hughes delivered the opinion of the court in which he asserted that the act of the railway officials

> ". . . was manifestly a discrimination against him (Mitchell) in the course of his interstate journey and admittedly that discrimination was based solely upon the fact that he was a Negro. The question whether this was a discrimination forbidden by the Interstate Commerce Act is not a question of segregation, but one of equality of treatment. The denial to appellant of equality of accommodations because of his race would be an invasion of a fundamental individual right which is currently against state action by the 14th Amendment and in view of the nature of the right and of our constitutional policy, it cannot be maintained that the discrimination as it was alleged was not essentially unjust."

In 1944, the Virginia State Supreme Court ruled that bus drivers must not seek to enforce the law in a discriminatory manner. The statement occurred in a decision in which it was pointed out that a bus driver had attempted to force a Negro passenger to move from her seat in order to provide one for a white passenger, but no effort was made to require any white passenger to move from his seat, so as to provide accommodation for a Negro passenger. The judge stated that the bus driver "undertook to enforce the statute against the plaintiff, a colored person, without enforcing it against a white person and this he had no right to do." In 1945, the Virginia State Supreme Court in the Irene Morgan case held that the State had full right to police power and that enforcing racial segregation falls within this power, and upheld the practice of segregation on interstate public conveyances. More recently, however, the United States Supreme Court has reversed the decision, holding that the enforcement of segregation laws on interstate motor conveyances interferes with interstate commerce and is, therefore, illegal.

Court Decisions Relating to Forced Labor

In 1942, the United States Supreme Court rendered a decision declaring that Ira Taylor, a Negro, who had been convicted for having refused to work out a contract, was being held in peonage. In 1944, the United States Supreme Court held as unconstitutional a Florida peonage law which was enacted in 1919. The decision came as a result of an appeal of a case involving a Negro who had been sent to jail for six days for lack of $100 to pay a fine imposed by the State court as a penalty for not working off $5.00 which was advanced to him by his employer. These two verdicts emphasize the idea that it is unconstitutional to force persons to labor in order to pay off a debt which has been contracted.

Court Decisions Relating to Voting

Perhaps the most significant decision in the area of politics rendered during the past six years was the one handed down by the United States Supreme Court in May, 1941, which stated that Congress has "authority to regulate primary elections when . . . they are a step in the exercise by the people of their choice of representatives in Congress." The decision was a close one, 4-3, but it served as a stimulus to Negro citizens who had been clamoring for the opportunity to participate in the Democratic primaries of the South. In 1944, the United States Supreme Court, in the case of Lonnie E. Smith vs. S. E. Allwright ruled that Negroes could not be legally barred from primary elections when those elections were an integral part of the election procedure. In 1945, Judge T. Hoyt Davis ruled in Georgia that Negroes were entitled to vote in Democratic primaries, and a similar decision was handed down in the State of Florida, thus outlawing "lily white primaries" in these two Southern States. The case in Georgia was appealed, but in 1946 the United States Supreme Court upheld the right of Negroes to vote in the Democratic primaries of Georgia.

Court Decisions Relating to Forced Confessions of Guilt

For many decades Negro citizens accused of various offences have contended that purported confessions have been secured from them as a result of various kinds of pressure and torture. In 1941, the United States Supreme Court, in an opinion read by Justice Black, declared unlawful and unconstitutional all efforts to obtain confessions by force or coercion. In the same year, the Supreme Court reversed the death sentence of Joe Vernon, because it was found that he was convicted of murder after having been "beaten to the point" of confessing guilt. In 1942, William Ward of Mt. Pleasant, Texas, accused of murder, was driven to six different counties and questioned, threatened, beaten, whipped, and burned until he confessed murder. The United States Supreme Court declared that the Negro had been denied his Constitutional rights and issued a stay of execution and ordered a new trial. In 1943, a stay of execution of Henry Daniels, Jr. and Curtis Robinson, Negroes of Alabama, was ordered by the United States Supreme Court. These men had been sentenced to death on a charge of rape, but evidence presented before the court supported the contention of the attorneys for the Negroes that they had been illegally beaten, threatened with lynching, and subjected to prolonged questioning. In 1945, the State Supreme Court of Georgia rendered a decision in which it outlawed the use of the "third degree" in seeking confessions from citizens accused of crime. These decisions handed down by the several courts suggest that Negro citizens are resorting to the courts in an effort to have specifically stated the rights to which they are entitled and the nature of the protection which they might expect from government officials.

JURY SERVICE

Increasing Participation Of Negroes As Jurors

Since the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the famous Scottsboro Case to the effect that systematic exclusion of Negroes from jury service constitutes a violation of Federal law, efforts have been made by court officials to permit increasing participation of Negro citizens as jurors. In the South, the discrimination against Negroes as jurors has been greater than it has been in the North, but during the last six years Negro men and women have served on Grand and Petit Juries in Federal and State courts and on criminal and civil cases involving white and non-white citizens. In many communities, the presence of the Negro citizen on the jury marked the first time that a Negro had ever served in that capacity, or the first time since the Reconstruction Period. Frequently, the daily press publicized the event, and secured from court officials statements that Negro jurors served as creditably as whites.

Nature of Negro Participation As Jurors

No attempt is made here to present a complete record of the participation of Negroes as jurors during the last six years, but rather to present enough data by years to indicate the nature of the participation and of the participants.

In 1941, in Sarasota, Florida, jury duty was opened to Negroes. In the same year, Henry Ellington became the first Negro to serve in a civil division of the Jefferson County, Alabama, Circuit Court. The jury, including Mr. Ellington, awarded a Negro $2,250 damages against the Southern Railroad. In New Jersey, a Negro woman was called for jury service by the Clerk of the Fifth Judicial District Court. In Texas, Judge Whit Boyd appointed a Negro principal of an elementary school in Houston to a three-man commission to select members of the Grand Jury, and in Monroe, Louisiana a cafe proprietor was chosen to serve on a Federal Grand Jury. In Des Moines, Iowa, three Negro women served on a Petit Jury. In Corpus Christi, Texas, an all-Negro jury was used in one court case. For the first time in the history of the United States District Court, Eastern District of Missouri, two Negroes were selected to serve as Petit Jurors. In New York, Governor Thomas E. Dewey selected Robert P. Braddicks, a Negro, as foreman of a Grand Jury.

In 1943, in Nashville, Tennessee, Jasper C. Horne became the first Negro since 1870 to serve as a member of a Grand Jury. In Philadelphia, William B. Hammum, Jr., served as a member of a special Grand Jury appointed to conduct exhaustive investigation of the activities of Axis spies, saboteurs, and other enemy agents. In Dallas, Texas, a Negro served on a Grand Jury for the first time in the history of the county. Commenting on this service, the *Dallas Morning News* said:

> "The placing on the grand jury of a Negro for the first time in the history of Dallas County may go against the grain of some of those who are steeped in the southern tradition by the mere fact that this is the first instance of a Negro on the grand jury in this county during the long interval between adoption of the Post Civil War amendments and the present is sufficient answer. The Negro has been denied his right under the Constitution, and the only answer is compliance. From a strictly practical viewpoint, of course, there must be compliance, because of the recent ruling of the United States Supreme Court. To refuse would mean simply the suspension of punishment of Negro offenders against the law. Wise thought and political leadership in the South should have made unnecessary the recent coercive court ruling.
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> "This ruling should be adopted by the southern people as a challenge to work out their own racial problem, unless it is to be worked out for them. That Negroes have not gotten justice in our courts can be proven a thousand times over by statistics on relative prison terms given white and black offenders for the varying degrees of crime."

In Arkansas, a Negro had been convicted by an all-white jury from which Negroes had been systematically excluded. His attorneys appealed, and the United States Court reversed the decision of the lower court, and ordered a re-trial for the Negro. At the second trial, the Negro was tried by an all-Negro jury. His attorneys again appealed the case on the basis that an all-Negro jury was as unfair as an all-white jury.

In 1943, in Los Angeles, California, a Negro was one of 30 citizens chosen to serve on the Grand Jury. This was the first time that a Negro had served on a jury since 1781, when five Negro families helped to found what is now the city of Los Angeles. In Limestone County, Alabama, a Negro served for the first time as a member of the Grand Jury, although on several previous occasions Negroes had served on Petit Juries. In Missouri, Cole County had its first Negro Petit Juror on a $10,000 damage suit. In Green County, an all-Negro coroner's jury, the first in the history of the county, recommended that a Negro accused of murder be held for the Grand Jury. In Winchester, Virginia, in a case involving the trial of a Negro, a Negro citizen was qualified for jury service. In Fulton County, Georgia, Milton Washburne, a veteran Pullman porter, was the only Negro among 45 Fulton County citizens drawn by a Superior Court judge for Grand Jury service for a period of two months.

In 1944, in Brooklyn, Kings County, New York, Herbert T. Miller, Executive Secretary of the Carleton Avenue Y. M. C. A., was appointed by County Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz as foreman of a twenty-one-man Grand Jury. He was the only Negro serving on the jury. In Newark, New Jersey, Mrs. Effa Manley served as a member of a Federal Grand Jury for the New Jersey district. In Texas, a Prairie View College professor served as a member of a Grand Jury in Waller County. In the same State three Negroes served on a Petit Jury which acquitted a Negro accused of assault with attempt to murder. In Little Rock, Arkansas, George H. Evans was the only Negro serving on a jury in the Pulaski County Circuit Court. He was chosen by the other eleven jurors to serve as foreman.

In 1945, in Hudson County, New Jersey, Harold S. Williams became the first Negro ever to serve on a County Grand Jury. Shelby County, Tennessee had two Negroes on a Grand Jury, which indicted two Negroes. In Knoxville, Tennessee, three Negroes served on a Federal Grand Jury and two men served on a Grand Jury in a State court. In Clinton, North Carolina, Walter Murphy became the third Negro to serve on a jury in that city since the Reconstruction Period. In Essex County, New York, Rev. Thomas L. Puryear, pastor of the St. Matthews A. M. E. Church, served on a Grand Jury. In Jefferson County, Alabama, an all-Negro Petit Jury of 11 men tried a civil suit. The jury denied the petition of the Negro plaintiff for $5,000 damages from another Negro. In Georgia and in Alabama, government officials and Negro leaders have made proposals to use all-Negro juries in trying murder cases involving only Negroes. It is believed that such a practice might result in fairer sentences being meted out to Negroes guilty of murdering other Negroes.

In 1946, in Jefferson County, Alabama, two Negroes, Moulton H. Gray and James Glover, served on a Grand Jury. In Norfolk, Virginia, in Corporation Court, Part 2, five Negroes were on a jury when a Negro citizen went on trial for grand larceny.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

On December 5, 1946, there was created by Executive Order 9708 the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Headed by Charles E. Wilson, President of the General Electric Company as chairman, the committee of 15 prominent citizens included two Negroes: Mrs. Sadie T. Alexander, Philadelphia lawyer and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York City. Stating that in some places, from time to time, local enforcement of law and order have broken down, President Harry S. Truman declared that "in its discharge of the obligations placed on it by the Constitution, the Federal Government is hampered by inadequate civil rights statutes." The new committee was authorized "to inquire into and to determine whether and in what respect current law-enforcement measures and the authority and means possessed by Federal, State, and local governments may be strengthened and improved to safeguard the civil rights of the people," and to make recommendations for more adequate protection of the civil rights of the people of the United States.

DIVISION XIII

LYNCHING—CRIME

BY JESSIE P. GUZMAN AND W. HARDIN HUGHES
Tuskegee Institute and Pasadena, California

SECTION ONE: LYNCHING

LYNCHINGS DECLINE

Since 1882 the trend in lynchings has been steadily downward. Several agencies have been responsible for this decline. No little credit should be given to the press, both white and Negro. It has taken a strong stand through editorial and news columns against this evil. State Patrols, where they have operated, have been influential in reducing lynchings and attempted lynchings by providing police protection to would-be victims. Tuskegee Institute, through its Department of Records and Research, has carried on an educational program against lynching since 1913, by issuing annual and semi-annual reports and by furnishing other statistical data to the public. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People not only has made investigations of lynchings, but since 1921 has also sponsored Federal anti-lynching legislation. The Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, by research and publications, provided additional facts on lynchings, and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings directed its activities toward exposing the falsity of the claim that lynching is necessary for the protection of southern white womanhood. Nor should the work of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America or of the more recently organized Southern Regional Council be overlooked.

An analysis of editorial opinion on the lynching of four Negroes in Georgia on July 25, 1946[1] shows how the press reflects as well as influences public opinion. This analysis includes 217 editorials from daily newspapers published in twenty-six States and the District of Columbia, as follows: Alabama, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky, Illinois, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia.

Of these editorials, 139 were from Northern and 78 from Southern States. The editorial opinions are summarized as follows:

(1) All editors from both Southern and Northern States condemned the lynchings.

(2) All editorials attributed the outbreak to some reasonable circumstance, but the circumstances given emphasis varied considerably.

(3) The majority opinion attributed the mass lynching to the recent election and pre-election activities of Mr. Talmadge in Georgia and Senator Bilbo in Mississippi, and to renewed activities of the Ku Klux Klan.

(4) Other causes ranged from race hatred, to the natural results of a capitalistic economy.

"Most of the editors pointed out that the lynching was obviously a premediated, 'rehearsed' affair. All of them urged harsh punishment for the mobsters; the majority felt that no penalty other than death would be sufficient. Several believed that it would be impossible either to catch or convict the offenders."

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[1] Source: A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, August-September 1946, pp. 52-53.

Table 1

Causes Attributed and Remedies Proposed by Editors of 217 Northern and Southern Newspapers in Discussing the Lynching of Four Negroes in Georgia, July 25, 1946

Causes	Southern Papers	Northern Papers	Total
Election of Talmadge, Activities of KKK	23	63	86
Race hatred	9	15	24
Southern living standards	2	5	7
Sadistic tendencies of lynch-minded persons	3	2	5
Postwar reaction	2	2	4
Outside agitators	3	1	4
Governor Arnall's liberalism	1	..	1
Results of capitalism	..	1	1
Total	43	89	132
Remedies			
Federal anti-lynch law	6	20	26
State anti-lynch law	2	4	6
Education, Religion	2	4	6
Harsh penalties for lynchers	2	..	2
Better local law enforcement officers	1	..	1
More all-Negro, all-white communities	1	..	1
Unity of liberal forces	..	1	1
Total	14	29	43

DEFINITION OF LYNCHING DIFFICULT

The term "lynching" is becoming more and more difficult to define. At the present time, as in the past, agencies concerned about the lynching problem have not been able to come to a conclusive agreement even when using the same criteria in classifying cases of lynching.

For the past twenty-five years and more, writers of Federal anti-lynching bills have generally accepted the following definition of lynching:

> "Any assemblage of three or more persons which shall exercise or attempt to exercise by physical violence and without authority of law any power of correction or punishing over any citizen or citizens or other person or persons in the custody of any peace officer or suspected of, charged with, or convicted of the commission of any offense, with the purpose or consequence of preventing the apprehension or trial or punishment by law of such citizen or citizens, person or persons, shall constitute a 'mob' within the meaning of this Act. Any such violence by a mob which results in the death or maiming of the victim or victims thereof shall constitute 'lynching' within the meaning of this Act: Provided, however, That 'lynching' shall not be deemed to include violence occurring between members of groups of law-breakers such as are commonly designated as gangsters or racketeers, nor violence occurring during the course of picketing or boycotting or any incident in connection with any 'labor dispute' as that term is defined and used in the Act of March 23, 1932 (Sec. 2, 47 Stat. 70, H. R. 1507—Van Nuys)."

But there are persons who are put to death by mobs under circumstances not entirely covered in what was the generally accepted definition. The difficulty here is apparent. This problem was squarely faced at a conference arranged by President Frederick D. Patterson on December 11, 1940 at Tuskegee Institute when representatives of the press, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other interested persons met to discuss it. This conference set up criteria that would cover cases not included by specification or implication in Federal definitions. These criteria are:

1. There must be legal evidence that a person was killed.
2. The person must have met death illegally.
3. A group must have participated in the killing.
4. The group must have acted under pretext of service to justice, race or tradition.

In addition to the fact that accepted definitions do not cover all lynchings, there are borderline cases that cannot without some shadow of doubt be called lynchings, neither can they be eliminated without reservation. The ordinary lynching can be readily recognized, but it is the marginal cases that cause concern.

Seldom now are there spectacular man hunts, with large groups participating. Mobs are more likely to be orderly and secretive and to commit few lynchings within the accepted definitions. An examination of the cases of lynchings occurring during the past ten years shows that in only a few cases are mobs composed of many persons. This change is elaborated upon in *The Changing Character of Lynching* by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, published by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in 1942. Cases of the quiet, unobtrusive, but very effective operation of the small group are cited:

> "A man is out fishing. He discovers a body on the bank of a creek. It is clearly evident that the man was murdered. Maybe his body is riddled with bullets—his feet wired together, his hands tied behind him, his head bashed in. There have been no reports of any trouble in the county. Was he lynched or was he murdered?
>
> "Another man has an altercation with his employer over a lost tool, or the amount of wages due him, or failure to carry out orders. His body is found one day. It is evident from its condition that the man was put to death. Did he meet his death at the hands of three or more persons? Was he suspected or accused of a crime? Were the officers of the law forewarned of his danger and did they act in collusion with the killers?"

DETAILED LYNCHING RECORD 1937-1946

Between the years 1937 and 1946, 44 persons were lynched; 2 whites and 42 Negroes. The crimes summarized are: rape or attempted rape, 5; murder, 16; insulting woman, 2; stabbing, 3; "crime against nature," 1; owing debt, 1; killing boy in auto accident, 1; quarreling over wages, 1; wife beating, 1; altercation, 2; attempting to qualify to vote, 1; failure to call white man, "Mr.," 1; replacing white men on job, 1; stealing or suspected stealing, 4; "molesting" people, 1; safeguarding property, 1; no charge, 2. A detailed listing of these cases of lynchings is as follows:

1937:

February 2—At Abbeville, Henry County, Alabama. Wes Johnson, Negro. Charge, rape. Taken from jail, hanged and shot.

April 13—At Winona, Montgomery County, Mississippi. Roosevelt Townes and "Bootjack" McDaniels, Negroes. Charge, murder. Taken from officers of the law. Shot and burned to death.

May 25—At Bainbridge, Decatur County, Georgia. William Reed, Negro. Charge, murder. Was captured at Dothan, Alabama and was being taken to jail at Albany, Georgia. The officers reported he attempted to escape and was shot to death. His body was placed in a Negro undertaker's parlor at Bainbridge. A mob composed of men and women took the body from the undertaker's parlor, dragged it around the public square behind a procession of automobiles. The mob then moved into the Negro district and to a Negro baseball park where, on a pyre made of boards knocked off the fence, the body was burned.

July 20—At Tallahassee, Leon County, Florida. Richard Hawkins and Ernest Ponder, Negroes. Charge, stabbing a policeman and "breaking into a restaurant." Taken from jail, and shot to death.

August 17—At Covington, Tipton County, Tennessee. Albert Gooden, Negro. Charge, murder. Taken from officer of the law, hanged, shot to death.

October 4—At Milton, Santa Rosa County, Florida. J. C. Evans, Negro. Charge, was charged with a "crime against nature," involving an attack on a 12 year old white boy, and with the robbing of a filling station. Taken from officer of the law, shot to death.

1938:

June 10—At Columbus, Lowndes County, Mississippi, Washington Adams, Negro. Charge, owed debt of $10.00 on a funeral bill of his deceased wife which he had been unable to pay. Beaten to death by three men.

July 6—At Rolling Fork, Sharkley County, Mississippi. Tom Green, Negro. Charge, murder and resisting arrest. Shot and body burned.

July 9—At Arabi, Crisp County, Georgia, near Cordele. John Dukes, Negro. Charge, drunkenness and murder. Shot and body burned.

August 9—Near Perry, Taylor County, Florida. Otis Price, Negro. Charge, making insulting remark to a white woman. Body found beside a road, shot two or three times.

October 13—At Ruston, Lincoln Parish, Louisiana. R. C. Williams, 19 years old, Negro. Charge, killing a white man and beating his woman companion. Hanged, body riddled with bullets.

November 21—At Wiggins, Stone County, Mississippi. Wilder McGowan, Negro. Charge, rape. Hanged.

1939:

April 1—At Panama City, Bay County, Florida. Miles W. Brown, white. Charge, murder. Taken from jail, shot to death. (There was dissatisfaction because he failed to receive the death penalty in a murder trial.)

April 29—At Daytona Beach, Volusia County, Florida. Lee Snell, Negro. Charge, fatal injury to a white boy, age 12, struck by the taxi while riding a bicycle. Taken from officer of the law while being taken to jail. Shot to death.

May 8—At Canton, Madison County, Mississippi. Joe Rodgers, Negro. Charge, "He refused to accept a weekly deduction of $5.50 from his wages in payment for renting a company-owned cabin which he did not occupy." Shot, tortured by hot irons, brutally cut, and his body thrown into the Pearl River.

1940:

March 7—At East Point, Fulton County, Georgia. Ike Gaston, white. Charge, wife beating and drunkenness. Flogged unmercifully by a band of men.

May 9—At Fairfield, Jefferson County, Alabama. O'Dee Henderson, Negro. Charge, altercation with white man. Beaten and shot to death by 3 officers of the law and one civilian.

June 22—At Brownsville, Haywood County, Tennessee. Elbert Williams, Negro. Charge, attempting to qualify to vote—"Interest in Negro affairs." Murdered and body thrown into the Hatchie River.

June 22—At Crenshaw County, Alabama, near Luverne, Jesse Thornton, Negro. Charge, failure to refer to a white man as "Mr." Shot to death and body thrown into the Pataylogga River.

September 8—At LaGrange, Troup County, Georgia. Austin Callaway, Negro. Charge, attempted attack on a white woman. Taken from jail and shot to death by band of masked men.

1941:

February 15—At Andrews, Georgetown County, South Carolina. Bruce Tisdale, Negro. Charge, working on a job from which whites had been discharged. Died of head wounds. Five men held responsible for death.

April 13—Near Cherryville, at Gaston County, North Carolina. Robert Melker, Negro. Charge, altercation with white man. Shot to death in his home by four men.

May 6—At Blakely, Early County, Georgia. Robert Sapp, Negro. Charge, suspected of stealing from his employer. Flogged with a club and a piece of machine belting.

May 13—At Quincy, Gadsden County, Florida. A. C. Williams, Negro. Charge, attempted rape. Beaten and body riddled with bullets. Williams was first taken from jail by a group of armed men. His body riddled with bullets, he was left for dead. He was later discovered at a Negro residence severely wounded, and was placed in an ambulance for transfer to a hospital in Tallahassee 25 miles away. Five miles out of Quincy, a masked band stopped the unguarded ambulance and removed the wounded Negro. His bullet riddled body was found the next day on a creek bridge north of Quincy.

1942:

January 25—At Sikeston, Scott County, Missouri. Cleo Wright, Negro. Charge, attempted criminal assault. Dragged through the streets behind an automobile and body burned.

July 13—At Texarkana, Bowie County, Texas. Willie Vinson, Negro. Charge, suspected of attempted rape. Body dragged through streets behind a speeding automobile to the edge of town and hanged from a cotton gin winch.

October 12—Near Paris, Edgar County, Illinois. James Edward Person, Negro. Charge, he was charged with having "molested" people in the community. His body was riddled with bullets.

October 12—At Quitman, Clarke County, Mississippi. Charlie Lang and Ernest Green, 14 year old Negro boys. Charge, attempted rape. Bodies found hanging from river bridge.

October 17—At Laurel, Jones County, Mississippi. Howard Wash, Negro. Charge, received an automatic life sentence when jury failed to agree upon the punishment on a murder charge. Taken from jail and hanged.

1943:

January 30—At Newton, Baker County, Georgia. Robert Hall, Negro. Charge, resisting arrest on charge of theft of truck tire. Severely beaten on January 29 by Sheriff M. Claude Screws, a deputy sheriff and a county policeman. Died early on January 30.

June 16—Near Marianna, Jackson County, Florida. Cellos Harrison, Negro. Charge, killing John Mayo, white filling station operator, in robbery attempt in 1940. Taken from jail by four masked men and clubbed to death.

November 7—Near Camp Ellis, Fulton County, Illinois. Private Holley Willis, Negro soldier. Charge, insulting white women over telephone. Shot to death as he tried to escape from a farm house.

1944:

March 26—At Liberty, Amite County, Mississippi. Rev. Isaac Simmons, Negro. Charge, he was hiring a lawyer to safeguard his title to a debt free farm through which was possibility that an oil vein ran. Taken from his home and shot to death by a mob.

November 23—At Pikeville, Bledsoe County, Tennessee. James Scales, Negro. Charge, murdering wife and daughter of the superintendent of the reformatory in which he was confined. Taken from jail and shot to death by a mob.

1945:

October 12—At Madison, Madison County, Florida. Jesse James Payne, Negro. Charge, assault with intent to rape. He had been wounded when captured by a posse near Monticello, Florida. Two weeks after he had been accused, he was taken to Raiford State Prison by the police guard for safekeeping. Indicted, he was brought from Raiford and locked in the Madison County jail for arraignment. He was removed from the jail and shot to death by a mob which apparently entered with a key.

1946:

July 22—At Lexington, Holmes County, Mississippi. Leon McTatie, Negro. Charge, stealing a saddle. He was flogged to death.

July 25—At Monroe, Walton County, Georgia. Roger Malcolm and his wife, Dorothy Malcolm; George Dorsey and his wife, Mae H. Dorsey, Negroes. Charge, Roger Malcolm was charged with stabbing his former employer. The three other persons were innocent of any charge, except the fact that one of the women recognized a member of the mob who came to lynch

Roger Malcolm. Their bodies were riddled with bullets.
August 8—Near Minden, Webster Parish, Louisiana. John C. Jones, Negro. Charge, attempting to break into the house of a white woman. He was tortured and beaten to death.

LYNCHING BY LOCATION, BY RACE, BY CAUSES, 1882-1946

Lynching By States and Race, 1882-1946[2]

Table 2 gives the number of lynchings that have occurred in the United States, 1882-1946, by States, for whites and Negroes. During this period more than two and one-half times as many Negroes as whites were lynched. The State of Mississippi has the highest number of lynchings for the South, 574, as well as the highest for the United States.

Table 2

Lynchings by States and Race 1882—1946

State	Whites	Negroes	Total
Alabama	47	299	346
Arizona	29	0	29
Arkansas	59	226	285
California	41	2	43
Colorado	66	2	68
Delaware	0	1	1
Florida	25	256	281
Georgia	38	487	525
Idaho	20	0	20
Illinois	14	19	33
Indiana	33	14	47
Iowa	17	2	19
Kansas	35	19	54
Kentucky	64	141	205
Louisiana	56	335	391
Maryland	2	27	29
Michigan	7	1	8
Minnesota	5	4	9
Mississippi	41	533	574
Missouri	51	71	122
Montana	82	2	84
Nebraska	52	5	57
Nevada	6	0	6
New Jersey	0	1	1
New Mexico	33	3	36
New York	1	1	2
North Carolina	15	84	99
North Dakota	13	3	16
Ohio	10	16	26
Oklahoma	82	41	123
Oregon	20	1	21
Pennsylvania	2	6	8
South Carolina	4	155	159
South Dakota	27	0	27
Tennessee	47	203	250
Texas	143	346	489
Utah	6	2	8
Virginia	16	83	99
Washington	25	1	26
West Virginia	21	28	49
Wisconsin	6	0	6
Wyoming	30	5	35
Totals	1,291	3,425	4,716

Lynching, Whites and Negroes, 1882-1946

Table 3 gives the number of whites and Negroes lynched yearly from 1882 through 1946. The greatest number of lynchings occurred in 1892. Of the 231 persons lynched during that year, 162 were Negroes and 69 were whites. But during the year 1884, which has the next highest number of lynchings, a total of 211, 160 whites were lynched and only 51 Negroes.

There have been 13 years out of the 65 years in which no lynchings for whites were reported. Only once during this same period has the number of lynchings of Negroes been as low as 1. In other words, every year from 1882 through 1946 lynchings of Negroes have been reported.

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[2] All figures relating to lynching revised as of December 31, 1946.

Table 3

Lynching, Whites and Negroes, 1882—1946

Year	Whites	Negroes	Total
1882	64	49	113
1883	77	53	130
1884	160	51	211
1885	110	74	184
1886	64	74	138
1887	50	70	120
1888	68	69	137
1889	76	94	170
1890	11	85	96
1891	71	113	184
1892	69	162	231
1893	34	117	151
1894	58	134	192
1895	66	113	179
1896	45	78	123
1897	35	123	158
1898	19	101	120
1899	21	85	106
1900	9	106	115
1901	25	105	130
1902	7	85	92
1903	15	84	99
1904	7	76	83
1905	5	57	62
1906	3	62	65
1907	2	58	60
1908	8	89	97
1909	13	69	82
1910	9	67	76
1911	7	60	67
1912	2	61	63
1913	1	51	52
1914	3	49	52
1915	13	54	67
1916	4	50	54
1917	3	35	38
1918	4	60	64
1919	7	76	83
1920	8	53	61
1921	5	59	64
1922	6	51	57
1923	4	29	33
1924	0	16	16
1925	0	17	17
1926	7	23	30
1927	0	16	16
1928	1	10	11
1929	3	7	10
1930	1	20	21
1931	1	12	13
1932	2	6	8
1933	4	24	28
1934	0	15	15
1935	2	18	20
1936	0	8	8
1937	0	8	8
1938	0	6	6
1939	1	2	3
1940	1	4	5
1941	0	4	4
1942	0	5	5
1943	0	3	3
1944	0	2	2
1945	0	1	1
1946	0	6	6
Totals	1,291	3,425	4,716

Causes of Lynchings Classified 1882-1946

In table 4 lynchings are classified according to causes. Being charged with a crime does not necessarily mean that the person lynched was guilty of the crime. Some mob victims have been known to be innocent. Lynchings that have occurred for trivial reasons, such as, "peeping in a window," "disputing with a white man," or "attempting to qualify to vote" are included under "All Other Causes." Homicides lead all causes of lynchings with both the highest number and the highest percentage.

Table 4

Causes of Lynchings Classified 1882—1946

Causes	Number	Per Cent
Homicides	1,934	41.0
Felonious Assault	202	4.3
Rape	910	19.2
Attempted Rape	288	6.1
Robbery and Theft	231	5.0
Insult to White Persons	84	1.8
All Other Causes	1,067	22.6
Totals	4,716	100.0

Lynchings, Whites and Negroes By Periods

There has been a remarkable decrease in the total number of persons lynched during each decade, 1887-1946. The greatest decrease was in the number of white persons lynched. From a total of 548 white persons lynched, 1887-1896, the number dropped to a low of 2 during the decade 1937-1946.

Table 5

Lynchings, Whites and Negroes, By Periods 1882—1946

Period	Whites	Negroes	Total
1937-1946	2	42	44
1927-1936	14	136	150
1917-1926	44	419	463
1907-1916	62	608	670
1897-1906	146	884	1,030
1887-1896	548	1,035	1,583
1882-1886*	475	301	776
Totals	1,291	3,425	4,716

*Indicates a five-year period. The other intervals are ten-year periods.

Lynchings By Regions 1882-1946

The South has the highest number and percentage of lynchings. This region had a total of 3,905 during the 65 year period, 1882-1946 and 82.8 per cent of all lynchings occurred in that part of the country. Next to the South are the North Central States, with a total of 424 lynchings and 9.0 per cent of the total number of lynchings. The Western States are third, with a total of 376 lynchings and 8.0 per cent of all lynchings. In the North Eastern States, the total is 11 and a percentage of 0.2. No lynchings have occurred in 6 of the North Eastern States; namely, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Neither have any been recorded for the District of Columbia.

Table 6

Lynchings By Regions 1882—1946

	Whites	Negroes	Total	Per Cent of U. S. Total
North Eastern States..	3	8	11	0.2
North Central States ..	270	154	424	9.0
Southern States	660	3,245	3,905	82.8
Western States	358	18	376	8.0
Totals All Regions ..	1,291	3,425	4,716	100.0

LYNCHINGS PREVENTED

The wide publicity given to lynchings has created sentiment against it to the extent that communities do not desire the adverse criticism they receive when a lynching occurs within their borders. In its issue of October 5, 1946, the *Saturday Evening Post* corrected an error appearing previously, which stated the lynching of four Negroes on July 25, 1946 had taken place in Monroe County, Georgia instead of Walton County, Georgia. So many Georgia people had taken the trouble to ask the *Post* to make it clear that the savage murder did not occur in their part of the State. Governors of Southern States have protested crediting certain lynchings to their States on the grounds that they were ordinary murders and not lynchings.

Officers of the law are condemned when they are suspected of making no attempt to prevent lynchings, when they are a party to a lynching or when they connive with those bent on lynching. However, throughout the history of lynching in the United States, some officers have "out-thought and outmaneuvered mobs." As the number of lynchings in the United States has grown fewer, so has the number of those unsuccessfully attempted. The vigilance of law enforcement officials and the intelligent action of numbers of private citizens have kept many intended victims from being put to death. Were precautions not taken to save accused persons from mob law, such as augmenting guards, removing the prisoner to a place of safekeeping, using force to disperse the mob or some other necessary strategy, the annual lynching record would contain more names than are now listed.

While Table 7 indicates that the number of lynchings prevented is large, it is not intended to show all of the lynchings which have been prevented. Numerous cases of lynchings prevented, like many cases of lynchings, are not publicized. Persons preventing lynchings often do so without a thought that an exceptional act has been performed. In the case of some lynchings, their secretive nature prevents their becoming known.

Table 7

Number of Persons Lynched and Number Prevented From Being Lynched 1937—1946

Year	Number of Persons Lynched	Number of Persons Prevented From Being Lynched
1937	8	77
1938	6	53
1939	3	25
1940	5	28
1941	4	21
1942	5	17
1943	3	11
1944	2	8
1945	1	5
1946	6	28

THE PUNISHMENT OF LYNCHERS

There have been indictments of persons participating in lynchings and some convictions, but it is not usual for participants in a lynching to receive punishment even when brought to trial. The reason most frequently given is that the evidence submitted to the court is not of sufficient weight to bring action against the accused. In connection with such cases, it is almost impossible to secure witnesses who are willing to give adverse testimony.

In 1943, four men brought to trial for the lynching of Private Holley Willis stationed at Camp Ellis, Illinois, received a verdict of "justifiable homicide."

In Hattiesburg, Mississippi, in 1943, five men were freed after being indicted for the 1942 lynching of Howard Wash, two of them on a motion that the Government had "failed to produce any evidence connecting them with the crime." The other three men were acquitted. These five men had been indicted upon evidence presented by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and were found not guilty by a Federal Court Jury.

In a more recent case of lynching, that of two men and their wives at Monroe, Walton County, Georgia on July 25, 1946, by a mob of from 20 to 30 men, the Federal Grand Jury, meeting at Athens, Ga., on December 26, 1946, after investigating the case for three weeks, reported that it was not even able to bring an indictment because of its inability to establish the identity of any person guilty of participating in this mass murder. Judge T. Hoyt Davis refused to discharge the jury, but ruled that it would be recessed "subject to recall."

On October 18, 1946, a Federal Grand Jury at Monroe, La., under the Civil Rights Statutes indicted 6 men in connection with the lynching of John C. Jones, age 28 and the beating of Albert Harris, Jr., age 17, at Minden, Webster Parish. Brought to trial, they were later freed.

However, in 1941, four men involved in the lynching of a Negro in Gaston County, N. C., received sentences from 14 to 25 years in prison for their crime and in May, 1942, at Roxboro, N. C., a jury convicted five men for attempting to lynch a Negro youth held in jail on charges of attempted rape. Two of the men were sentenced to 18 months on the road; the other three drew terms of 12 months each. The State Bureau of Investigation is credited with bringing the men to justice.

On October 7, 1943, in the United States Middle District Court at Albany, Ga., Sheriff M. Claude Screws, Deputy Sheriff Jim Bob Kelly, and Frank Edward Jones, former Newton, Ga., policeman, were sentenced to three years in Federal prison and fined $1,000 each for violating Civil Liberties statutes in the abducting and lynching of Robert Hall, a Negro.

In December, 1946, in Illinois, 9 white farmers were fined $200 each in Federal Court for conspiracy to violate the Federal Civil Rights Acts by lynching James E. Person on October 12, 1942 near Paris, Illinois.

Federal Courts and officers are handicapped in bringing lynchers to justice. They must show that a State or a State agent has been responsible for the infringement of an individual's civil rights by proving (1) that a law officer participated in a criminal act; and (2) that he intended to deprive a prisoner of his Constitutional rights. A lynching by 20 private persons is simply murder as far as Federal civil rights laws are concerned and the State is supposed to act to bring the criminals to justice. If an officer maims or kills a person in his custody, the Federal Government must prove that he intended to deprive the prisoner of his rights under the Constitution. Such officers usually contend that the prisoner was resisting arrest, or was violent. These are handicaps difficult to overcome in order to secure a conviction. The Committee on Civil Rights appointed by President Truman is expected to remedy the weaknesses of present Federal civil rights laws.

EFFORTS FOR ANTI-LYNCHING LEGISLATION

Agencies working for a Federal anti-lynching law continue their efforts to have lynching outlawed by Congress. Foremost in this fight is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Other national organizations have given their support. However, at no time have these agencies been strong enough to secure passage of a bill by both houses of Congress.

In the 79th Congress, 1st Session, at least 8 anti-lynching bills were introduced. So strong is the sentiment of the southern bloc in the Senate against a Federal anti-lynching law, that it goes almost without question that any anti-lynching legislation brought before that body will be opposed by use of the filibuster. The main argument used against the bill is that it interferes with States Rights; and local governmental agencies can best cope with the situation.

AMERICAN CRUSADE TO END LYNCHING

In September, 1946, a group of citizens known as "The American Crusade to End Lynching" banded themselves together for this purpose. Their platform called for: (1) the apprehension and punishment of every lyncher; (2) passage of a Federal anti-lynching bill; (3) keeping the Klan out of Congress—no Senate seat for Bilbo. The Chairman of the group was Paul Robeson. Leaders from all races and groups were sponsors of the movement.

At a national conference on September 23, 1946 in Washington, D. C., attended by more than 1500 citizens, church groups, labor unions, veterans' groups and civic and fraternal bodies, a program aimed at curbing mob violence was adopted. The conference marked the beginning of a 100-day crusade lasting from September 22, 1946 to January 1, 1947, during which time comparable conferences were organized throughout the country. A delegation from the conference, including Paul Robeson, as Chairman, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Rev. W. A. Jernagin, Dr. Joseph Johnson, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. M. T. P. Lochard, Mrs. Harper Sibley, Aubrey Williams, Max Yergan and Howard Murphy, requested President Truman to issue "a formal public statement expressing . . . views on lynching and recommending a definite legislative and educational program to end the disgrace of mob violence"; that he commit himself to recommend in his next message to Congress the passage of Federal anti-lynching legislation and use his "full resources for an educational program to assist in ending the most brutal kind of crime—lynching and mob violence."

The President told the group that the moment was not propitious for such a statement; that the whole question of violence was one to be dealt with in political terms and strategy to be worked out by responsible political leaders, and that patience must attend the final solution of the problem. (See *Chicago Defender* 9-28-46.)

SECTION TWO: CRIME

CRIME NOT EASILY DEFINED

The comparative study of crime, whether of Negroes or of whites, is extremely complicated. Any definition of crime is inadequate. While crime is generally thought of as "an anti-social act," not all anti-social acts are to be classified as crime. Scarcely more definite is the definition that "crime is a failure to live up to the standard of conduct deemed binding by the community"; for communities, States, and regions differ widely with respect to what is deemed binding.

Still further complicating the comparative study of crime are such variable factors as the following: (1) differences in the character and efficiency of police; (2) community and temporal differences in public opinion and attitudes; (3) differences in caliber of the prosecution; (4) differences in judicial interpretation of the courts; (5) differences in bias of judges; (6) differences in the economic status of offenders; and (7) differences in record-keeping. All these factors and many more make it difficult to differentiate real from apparent criminality.

SOME STATISTICS ON CRIME

Comparative Distribution And Rates of Arrest

Table 1, Distribution of Arrests According to Race and Type of Offense, is not a true measure of the incidence of crime.

Table 1

Distribution of Arrests According to Race and Type of Offense (Excluding Those Under Fifteen Years of Age) 1940

Offense Charged	Per Cent Negro of Total In Each Offense	Rate Per 100,000 Population		Coefficient of Frequency of Negroes
		Negro	White	
Criminal Homicide	40.1	19.8	3.2	6.2
Robbery	30.8	31.7	7.6	4.2
Assault	44.0	116.4	15.7	7.4
Burglary—Breaking or Entering	24.5	66.3	22.0	3.0
Larceny—Theft	28.4	138.1	37.4	3.7
Auto-Theft	14.8	15.4	9.6	1.6
Embezzlement and Fraud	11.5	17.1	14.2	1.2
Stolen Property; Buying, Receiving, etc.	27.3	7.6	2.2	3.5
Arson	17.4	1.5	0.8	1.9
Forgery and Counterfeiting	9.1	5.0	5.4	.9
Rape	22.1	10.4	3.9	2.7
Prostitution and Commercialized Vice	25.4	17.7	5.6	3.2
Other Sex Offenses	14.9	11.1	6.8	1.8
Narcotic Drug Laws	19.3	7.5	2.9	2.6
Weapons, Carrying, Possessing, etc.	45.8	20.3	2.5	8.1
Offenses Against Family, Children	15.6	9.7	5.7	1.7
Liquor Laws	47.2	36.5	4.4	8.5
Driving While Intoxicated	6.8	15.3	22.4	.7
Road and Driving Laws	21.6	10.0	3.9	2.6
Parking Violations	14.3	..	..	..
Other Traffic and Motor Laws	21.0	15.5	6.2	2.5
Disorderly Conduct	28.1	64.2	17.6	3.6
Drunkenness	12.3	110.3	84.8	1.3
Vagrancy	19.5	81.5	36.0	2.3
Gambling	41.9	43.2	6.0	7.2
Suspicion	27.1	130.6	37.9	3.4
Not Stated	19.5	6.5	2.9	2.2
All Other Offenses	23.5	69.2	24.1	2.8
Total	22.8	1078.4	391.6	2.8

Sources: U. S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports, 1940; and Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population.

If we take number of arrests as a measure of criminality, we are in error for it is known that police sometimes pick up many suspects in connection with a single crime, when only one could possibly be guilty. Police often arrest indiscriminately and, in such instances, are more prone to pick up Negroes than whites. The table, therefore, should be taken at its real value, distribution of arrests only, and not as an actual comparison of criminality among Negroes and whites.

"Coefficient of frequency," used in the last column of the table, means the quotient derived by dividing the number of Negro arrests per 100,000 Negroes by the number of white arrests per 100,000 whites. This is not an absolute amount, but is a proportional measure of expectancy. The coefficient of frequency, 6.2, at the head of the last column, merely indicates that the probable frequency of arrest of the Negro for criminal homicide is 6.2 times that of the white. It will be noted in table 1 that the coefficient of frequency for Negroes is least for such charges as: (1) driving while intoxicated; (2) forgery and counterfeiting; and (3) drunkenness. The Negro's highest coefficients of frequency of arrests are for the following: (1) violation of liquor laws; (2) carrying or possessing weapons; (3) assault; and (4) gambling. For only two of the types of offense mentioned —"driving while intoxicated," and "forgery and counterfeiting"—is the Negro's coefficient of frequency of arrest less than that of the white's.

Statistics On Race, Nativity, And Offense

The statistics presented in Table 2 are for male felony prisoners received from the courts in 1944. "This group comprises prisoners sentenced to terms of six months or more for offenses other than those falling into the classifications of disorderly conduct, drunkenness, or vagrancy. The statistics are based on reports from 147 State and

Federal institutions. Statistics are not included for State institutions in Michigan, Georgia, and Mississippi, and for certain institutions in other States, such as State farms, which receive prisoners only on transfer or only prisoners committed for misdemeanors. Likewise, statistics for juvenile training schools, military and naval prisons, and local jails and workhouses are not included."

Table 2

Male Felony Prisoners Received From Court by Type of Offense, Race, and Nativity for the United States 1944

(Excludes Statistics for State Institutions in Michigan, Georgia, and Mississippi)

OFFENSE	ALL INSTITUTIONS (Federal and State)				
		White			
	All Classes	Native	Foreign Born	Negro	Other Races
All offenses	38,880	25,291	1,650	11,354	585
Murder	1,214	519	28	650	17
Manslaughter	891	355	26	502	8
Robbery	2,994	1,747	35	1,195	17
Aggravated Assault	2,062	848	75	1,103	36
Burglary	6,311	4,049	80	2,145	37
Larceny, except auto theft	6,515	4,215	111	2,131	53
Auto theft	2,720	2,260	20	423	17
Embezzlement and fraud	1,123	945	76	99	3
Stolen Property	425	253	19	150	3
Forgery	2,175	1,781	29	335	30
Rape	1,583	1,001	46	501	35
Commercialized vice	261	197	15	47	2
Other sex offenses	1,089	898	74	107	10
Violating drug laws	1,121	668	82	288	83
Carrying and possessing weapons	158	74	1	82	1
Nonsupport or neglect	389	297	14	75	3
Violating liquor laws	1,983	1,247	81	636	19
Violating traffic laws	73	56	1	15	1
Violating National Defense Laws	3,826	2,773	262	610	181
Other offenses	1,967	1,108	575	260	24

Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, April, 1946.

"Of the 38,880 male felony prisoners received from court by State and Federal prisons and reformatories during 1944, 25,291, or 65.0 per cent, were native white and 11,354, or 29.2 per cent, were Negro," according to statistics released by the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. "Foreign-born white persons and other races constituted 4.2 and 1.5 per cent, respectively, of the male felony prisoners received from court."

"Burglary and larceny were the two most frequent offenses among both Negroes and whites. Together, these two offenses accounted for 31.4 per cent of the white commitments and 37.7 per cent of the Negro commitments during 1944. Foreign-born white males were most frequently committed for violations of National Defense laws and 'Other Offenses'."

Prisoners Executed in 1945

During 1945, 117 prisoners (41 white, 75 Negro and 1 "other race") suffered the death penalty in the United States, according to the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. Of these prisoners, 90 (37 white, 52 Negro and 1 "other race"), or 76.9 per cent of the total number, were executed for murder. Twenty-six (4 white and 22 Negro), or 22.2 per cent, were executed for rape, and 1 prisoner, a Negro, was executed for robbery. During 1945, 35.0 per cent of all executions occurred in the States of Georgia, California, and North Carolina, with the largest number of prisoners (4 white and 15 Negro) being executed in Georgia. For both whites and Negroes, the majority of prisoners executed were under 30 years of age, with the age group 25-29 years, predominant for each race.

Not all legal executions that occur in this country take place in prisons and reformatories. In several States, prisoners under sentence of death are executed by local sheriffs. Therefore, complete data on executions are secured by examining the death certificates which are returned to the United States Office of Vital Statistics. In 1945 there were 37 executions in addition to the 80 executions reported by prisons. The statistics presented here do not cover executions in military establishments.

HOMICIDE

Homicides Decrease During Pre-War Decade

From 1933, when nation-wide data first became available, to 1942, the death rate from homicide in the United States was on the downward trend, falling from 9.7 per 100,000 population to 5.8 in 1942. This trend was nation-wide, every State but Connecticut and North Dakota showing a decrease. Some States in which the homicide rate is far above the national average have shown marked reductions in homicides. These are all Southern States: Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, with rates not far from double the national average and with declines ranging between 38 and 48 per cent.

White persons made relatively twice as much progress as the colored in reducing the homicide rate in the decade. The total for the whites was cut about one-half and for the colored by about one-fourth.

The homicide rates per 100,000 were greater, for both whites and Negroes in 1946 than in 1945[3]. The rate for whites in 1946 had increased 31 per cent. The corresponding increase in homicide rate for Negroes was 38 per cent. The frequency of homicides is greatest among male Negroes.

Comparisons of White and Negro Homicides in Typical Cities

In a typical southern city, Atlanta, the Crime Bureau of the Police Department has recently published some startling facts concerning the comparative frequency of homicides in that city over an eight-year period. In a Negro population one-half that of the white, Negro homicides were slightly more than seven times as many as white homicides, or approximately fifteen times as many per 100,000 population.

Table 3

Racial Distribution of Homicides in Atlanta 1938—1945

Year	Negro Victims	White Victims	Coefficient Of Frequency For Negroes
1938	94	13	14.5
1939	90	9	20.0
1940	100	10	20.0
1941	107	9	23.8
1942	76	8	19.0
1943	42	12	7.0
1944	59	20	5.0
1945	76	15	5.1
Totals	635	86	14.8

Of the 76 Negro homicides in the city during the year 1945, 49 are known to have been killed by Negroes; 4 by policemen; 1 by a military police; 2 by white civilians; and the remainder by persons unknown. During the month of June of that year, there were 7 murders in Atlanta, all of and by Negroes. There were 7 arrests. An editorial in the *Atlanta Constitution* commented on these homicides as follows: "The fact that most of the murders involve only Negroes is disturbing, because it reveals that the attitude of courts and juries is that of 'just another Negro killing.' Court reports, too, declare Negroes too often unwilling to give information leading to arrests and too slow to testify as witnesses."

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[3] Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's Statistical Bulletin. August, 1946. Note: Rates for 1946 are based on first six months of the year.

The homicide situation in Atlanta is very similar to that in other large cities of the South such as Baltimore, Birmingham, Louisville, Memphis, and Tampa. In general, the rate per 100,000 for Negroes is several times the rate for whites. A committee to study crime in Richmond, Virginia, in 1943 reported that during the preceding year out of 44 slayings in that city, 36 were confined to killings of Negroes by Negroes; 5 involved killings of whites by whites; and only 3 involved members of the two races. Since in Richmond the Negro population is scarcely half as large as the white, the comparative frequency of homicides among Negroes is very great.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY[4]

"On the basis of reports to the United States Children's Bureau, for the year 1940, from 462 courts serving 36 per cent of the population, it is estimated that almost 1 per cent of the nation's 17,000,000 children, aged ten to sixteen years inclusive, pass through the juvenile courts each year as delinquents. Available data, although incomplete, warrant the conclusion that there has been a marked increase in delinquency in the United States since the beginning of the war. According to reports from 53 courts serving areas of 100,000 or over, a distinct rise in delinquency began in 1941, which was the first year of major defense activity, and continued during the war years 1942 and 1943. The increase over the previous year was 10 per cent in 1941, 6 per cent in 1942, and 30 per cent in 1943. Another study, made by the National Probation Association, covering 117 courts, shows an aggregate rise of 42 per cent for this three-year period.

"It is now believed that the attitudes which the parents bring to the care of the child, their own feeling of security as well as acceptance, are determining factors in the child's attitude toward adult demands and his capacity to meet life situations. . . . The quality of the child's physical and social environment, beginning with the attitude of his own parents, has an important bearing on the development of his personality and his adjustment to society.

"Many studies have established a direct correlation between delinquency and social disorganization. It has been shown that delinquency is a product of deteriorated neighborhoods in which overcrowding, harmful neighborhood conditions, destructive use of leisure time and the influence of criminal personalities are present.

"The war . . . intensified the social and economic factors which contribute to social maladjustment and delinquency. As a result, there has been a substantial increase in the number of delinquent children referred to the police and juvenile courts. However, the problems brought about by the war are in general not qualitatively different from those occurring in normal times.

"Most of the specific factors which affect children include the absence from the home of fathers . . . in the armed forces or employed in other communities; the increased employment of mothers, with a consequent weakening of parental guidance and supervision; an increase in the employment of children, very often under unwholesome conditions . . . with resultant interference with school attendance and vocational training; and widespread migration of families to crowded centers of war industry, accompanied by break-up of normal community relationships and controls of conduct—this frequently resulting in unsuitable housing and overcrowding, inadequate social and protective services for children, and a large increase in the use of commercialized recreational facilities.

"Undoubtedly psychological, economic, and social changes—particularly the withdrawal of parents and older brothers and sisters from the home—brought about by the war, adversely affect the emotional satisfaction which the family group affords the child, and consequently the behavior of many children.

"The increase in girls' cases (of delinquency) is proportionately greater than in boys'. The increase is larger in areas of growing population. It is less in rural areas and small towns than in large cities. The increase has occurred in all juvenile age groups but has been most apparent among those in the group of fourteen years of age and over. Although Negro children appeared before the courts more frequently in relation to their number in the group than did white children, the per cent of increase for delinquency among white children in the two years between 1940 and 1942 was substantially greater than the increase for Negro children. The Federal Bureau of Investigation reports that the percentage of girls under twenty-one years of age who were arrested for certain specific offenses increased in 1942 over 1941. Thus, the number charged with prostitution and commercialized vice increased 64 per cent; and the number charged with other sex offenses, 104 per cent."

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[4] Source: Social Work Year Book, 1945, pp. 214-16; 222-23.

The United States Children's Bureau in reports on juvenile-court statistics for 1944 and 1945, which show increase in number of cases handled by juvenile courts, cautions against the use of juvenile-court statistics alone as a reliable index to the extent of delinquency in a particular community, or for comparative purposes. "Regional differences in attitudes towards types of behavior manifested by children of the different racial groups and differences in community provisions for dealing with children of various racial groups have a marked effect on the number of children of each group referred to juvenile courts. Statistics on racial distribution, therefore, can be used most effectively for evaluative and planning purposes in local communities where due consideration can be given to community organization for handling delinquency and to prevalent attitudes on the treatment of children from different population groups."[5]

GENERAL ACCOMPANIMENTS AND CAUSES OF CRIME

The answer to the question concerning the relative frequency of crime is largely in terms of education, economics, and history. Criminologists usually find that a lowering of the rate of crime parallels improvements in educational, economic, and sociological conditions. The fundamental causes and accompaniments of crime are everywhere similar. While criminals may come from almost any kind of environment, they tend to come in greatest numbers from those environments in which abnormal conditions prevail. Standards of living at the subsistence level; unwholesome social environments; absence of recreational facilities; large-scale illiteracy and ignorance; limited occupational opportunities; schools of an inferior order—these conditions in any community or State are conducive to relatively high rates of crime.

While States and communities in the South differ with respect to the crime-accompanying characteristics just mentioned, the Southern Region is known to possess far more than its normal share of them. Educationally, economically, sociologically, and politically, the Southern States provide the conditions under which crimes of certain types can be expected to thrive.

Negroes Most Affected By Economic Backwardness

Obviously, the Negro is in position to experience the maximum effects of the general, unfavorable conditions of the South. Dr. Guy B. Johnson in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1941 says: "In all sections of the country, race prejudice or caste attitudes have conditioned the Negro's jobs and wages, his working conditions, his relation to labor unions, his vocational training, his choice of a place to live, and his use of political power as a protection against exploitation. Comfort, home ownership, job security, and the enjoyment of the finer things of life are absolutely out of the realm of possibility of the majority of Negro families. On any scale of economic adequacy or inadequacy—measured, e. g., in terms of number employed, number on relief, number in unskilled occupations, number in professional work, income levels—the Negro would have to be rated as from two to four times worse off than the white man."

Sociological Factors And Negro Crime

As a ghetto dweller in the large cities, whether in the South or in the North, the Negro finds it abnormally difficult to become socially stabilized and to acquire a sense of community esprit de corps. In the disorganized communities in which he must usually live, vice, crime, and social disorder are to be expected. In such an environment, the frequency of crime is naturally multiplied. Bullies, gamblers, "bad men," prostitutes, pimps, and other anti-social persons are most likely to be found here. Furthermore, the very nature of the slum community attracts lawless individuals and gangs from other communities. Gambling dens, houses of ill repute, bootleggers, graft participants, narcotic rings, and the like, all thrive in the Negro neighborhood. The Negro ghetto district not only breeds crime because of its own internal nature but it attracts a class of lawless men and women from the outside who introduce their own brands of disrespect for the law.

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[5] "Juvenile Court Statistics for 1944," Social Statistics, Supplement to Vol. 11, The Child, November, 1946.

Leniency As a Factor in Negro Crime

It is known that crimes of Negroes against Negroes in the South are not treated as crimes of Negroes against whites or of whites against Negroes. The defense attorney for an Alabama Negro charged with assaulting a Negro woman, for example, sought to have a death sentence commuted on the grounds that "an Alabama jury has never before sentenced a Negro to death for raping a Negro woman." The retort of Solicitor Seibels of Montgomery County was unexpected: "Then it is high time," he said, "that we start doing it."

In the study by Dr. Johnson, referred to above, it was shown that during a ten-year period in Richmond, Virginia, only 5.6 per cent of Negro murderers of Negroes received life sentences while 100 per cent of Negro murderers of whites received life sentences. Of the 141 Negro murderers of Negroes in this city during the period, not one received the death penalty and only 8 received life sentences. In a North Carolina series of 201 Negro murderers convicted, 11 received the death penalty and one a life sentence, or a total of 5.9 per cent for these two types of sentence.

Interpreting the contrasts between sentences for Negro-Negro and Negro-white murder, Dr. Johnson concluded: "The implications with regard to the relation of the courts to the causation of Negro crime are clear. The courts, like the police, are dealing out a double standard of justice. Numerous Negro intra-racial offenses probably go unpunished or are punished so lightly that offenders feel a real contempt for the law, while the certainty of severe punishment in Negro versus white cases cannot help but make a Negro feel that justice is not entirely color-blind. Undue leniency gives comfort to the disorderly and criminal element, promotes recidivism, and nurtures careers of crime. There is the further implication that if the differentials are slight in the North, as seems likely, then Northern statistics of Negro crime reflect actual Negro criminality in the North better than Southern statistics reflect actual Negro criminality in the South, and the statistics are therefore not safe indices of regional differences."

Police a Factor in Negro Crime

Reliable studies concerning the characteristics of Southern policemen have a significant bearing on Negro crime. "The average Southern policeman," as described by Myrdal in *An American Dilemma*, "is a promoted poor white with a legal sanction to use a weapon. His social heritage has taught him to despise Negroes, and he has had little education which could have changed him. His professional experiences with criminals, prostitutes, and loiterers in Negro joints and with such 'good niggers' as can be used as informers, spotters, and stool pigeons—often petty criminals and racketeers who as an exchange for immunity help locate Negroes desired by the police department—are strongly selective and only magnify his prejudices. The result is that probably no group of whites in America have a lower opinion of the Negro people and are more fixed in their views than Southern policemen. To most of them no Negro woman knows what virtue is—'we just don't talk about prostitution among the Negroes,' said one of the chiefs of police in a big Southern city—and practically every Negro man is a potential criminal. They usually hold, in extreme form, all other derogatory beliefs about Negroes; and they are convinced that the traits are 'racial'. This holds true of the higher ranks in the police departments as well as of the lower ranks."

Many Southern policemen of every rank hold as a part of their philosophy the belief that Negro suspects and criminals should be punished bodily and that this method is necessary if the Negro is to be "kept in his place." The beating of arrested Negroes is not infrequent. The "third degree" to get "confessions" from Negro suspects is a common procedure in numerous jails of the South. Police brutality frequently ends in the unnecessary killing of Negroes.

NEGRO POLICEMEN AND CRIME PREVENTION

In Southern cities where Negro police are employed there is almost unanimous agreement among police chiefs and mayors concerning the desirability of such practice. The Commissioner of Police in San Antonio, Texas, speaks particularly of the "ability, loyalty and bravery of the Negro policemen" in his department. The Mayor of Lexington, Kentucky, states that crime has greatly decreased in the Negro district of his city during the years in which Negro policemen have been employed. "Tulsa's experience through the years with Negro policemen," declares the Mayor of that city, "has been very fine. We have some very loyal and efficient Negro officers who take a great deal of pride in their work in apprehending Negro criminals and in maintaining peace and order in their part of the city." The Mayor of Fort Myers, Florida, has stated that "this practice has been followed for the past twelve years and has been found to be the most satisfactory arrangement possible in handling the Negro population."

These statements fairly represent the judgment of administrative officers in practically all cities where Negro policemen have been used. The Richmond, Virginia, Dispatch on February [illegible], editorialized as follows: "White chiefs of police in city after city have testified publicly to the good work done by colored patrolmen. This is the testimony of officials in Raleigh and Charlotte, North Carolina, for example, who declare that Negro policemen have made a distinct and valuable contribution toward better law enforcement in these cities, and that the crime rate has been lowered as a result."

A far-reaching result of the appointment of Negro policemen in the Deep South is a more whole-hearted cooperation on the part of the Negro citizens with the law enforcement authorities. The Negro officers have a distinct advantage over white officers, first, by having a clearer insight into the home life and habits of their people; second, by having more normal access into Negro sections where white officers would be handicapped, because of inter-racial attitudes, in securing necessary information. In many places where Negro patrolmen have been employed, there has been a reduction in petty vice and crime formerly shielded by the Negro community.

A List of Southern Cities Using Negro Policemen, 1946

State and City	Number of Negro Policemen	Number of Negro Policewomen
ARKANSAS		
Little Rock	8	
FLORIDA		
Daytona Beach	6	
Deland	1	
Fort Myers	2	
Miami	18	
Sanford	2	
Sarasota	*	
Tampa	4	
Ocala	1	
KENTUCKY		
Lexington	[illegible]	
Louisville	[illegible]	1
Owensboro	1	
MISSOURI		
Jefferson City	*	
Kansas City	*	
Sedalia	*	
St. Louis	*	
NORTH CAROLINA		
Ahoskie	1	
Asheville	[illegible]	
Charlotte	[illegible]	2
Durham	[illegible]	
Greensboro	[illegible]	
High Point	[illegible]	
Raleigh	[illegible]	2
Winston-Salem	[illegible]	
OKLAHOMA		
McAlester	*	
Muskogee	[illegible]	
Oklahoma City	[illegible]	
Tulsa	[illegible]	
SOUTH CAROLINA		
[illegible]	*	
York	1	
[illegible]	*	
TENNESSEE		
Chattanooga	[illegible]	
Knoxville	[illegible]	
TEXAS		
Austin	[illegible]	
Beaumont	[illegible]	
El Paso	[illegible]	
Galveston	[illegible]	
Houston	[illegible]	
Port Arthur	[illegible]	
San Antonio	[illegible]	
VIRGINIA		
Newport News	[illegible]	*
Norfolk	[illegible]	
Richmond	[illegible]	
Roanoke	[illegible]	
WEST VIRGINIA		
Charleston	*	
Wheeling	*	

*Exact number of policemen not known.

Conclusion

Many other factors than mere incidence of criminal acts must be taken into account in any scientific interpretation of comparative criminality between Negroes and whites. Criminologists no longer explain differences in criminality in terms of racial inheritance. All admit the complex environmental factors which affect individual and group behavior, both socially and anti-socially. Improved environments—physical and social—would have beneficial effects on Negroes as well as on the rest of the population.

DIVISION XIV

HEALTH AND HOUSING

By Dr. Roscoe Conkling Brown, *Chief,*

Office of Negro Health Work, United States Public Health Service

SECTION ONE: HEALTH

VITAL STATISTICS

Health protection and the provision of adequate health and medical facilities constitute a large and difficult program. The wisdom of protecting the whole population by providing health security for all is unquestioned. The Negro has a higher death rate and a shorter life expectancy than his white neighbor. Poor housing, malnutrition, ignorance, and inadequate access to basic health essentials—hospitals, clinics, medical care—are among the social factors contributing to the Negro's health status. This racial group "has a problem of such size and complexity as to challenge the leadership of both the Negro and the white races to intelligently, courageously, and persistently prosecute for the nation a definite program of general health betterment for all people without recrimination or discrimination."

Trend of Births and Deaths

The crude birth rate of Negroes (the number of births, per 1,000 population) in the United States, like that for the total population, has had a downward and an upward trend since 1920. Table 1 shows the figures for Negroes and other colored, which is practically an index for Negroes. In 1920, it was 27.0 births per 1,000 Negro population; in 1930, 21.6; and in 1943, 24.1. "The birth rate for 1943," the Census reports for the whole population, "was the highest recorded for the birth-registration States since 1924 and was a continuation of the upward movement evident in the birth rate since 1933. Increases in the birth rate have been particularly marked since 1940." The birth rate for Negroes has been consistently higher than that for whites, but the death rate has also been higher.

Infant and Maternal Mortality

The maternal mortality rate has shown an uninterrupted decline since 1930. The Negro rate, while declining, is decidedly higher than the white rate. In 1943, the maternal mortality rate for Negroes was 5.1 per 1,000 live births as compared with a rate of 2.1 for whites. Maternal mortality in the North increases slightly as size-of-city decreases; in the South the Negro rate in small towns and small cities is exceptionally high.

Negro infant mortality though declining, is higher than that of other groups. In 1943, among Negroes there were 61.5 infant deaths per 1,000 live births, as compared with 37.5 for whites on the same basis. Negro still births were 47.3 as compared with 37.5 for whites. On the whole, the infant mortality rate increases as size-of-city decreases, except in the South where the rural Negro rate is lower than the urban in any size-of-city group. Southern infant mortality is higher than northern except for the low rate among southern rural Negroes.

Table 1

Birth and Death Rates Maternal and Infant Deaths and Still Births Ratios By Race: Registration States—For Specified Years*

SUBJECT	1943	1930	1920
Births:			
Total	21.5	18.9	23.7
Negro }			
Other }	24.1	21.6	27.0
White	21.2	18.6	23.5
Deaths:			
Total	10.9	11.3	13.0
Negro }			
Other }	12.8	16.3	17.7
White	10.7	10.8	12.6
Maternal deaths:			
Total	2.5	6.7	8.0
Negro	5.1 }	11.7	12.8
Other	4.5 }		
White	2.1	6.1	7.6
Infant deaths:			
Total	40.4	64.6	85.8
Negro	61.5 }	99.5	135.6
Other	84.6 }	108.4	89.6
White	37.5	60.1	82.1
Stillbirths:			
Total	26.7	39.2	....
Negro	47.3	82.5	....
Other	22.8	24.6	....
White	24.2	34.0	....

*—Birth and death rates per 1,000 estimated population; maternal death and infant death rates, and stillbirth ratios per 1,000 live births. Birth rates are based on total population including armed forces overseas. Death rates for 1943 are based on total population excluding armed forces overseas.

The largest numerical difference in mortality of Negroes and whites is that for infants and for stillbirths. Table 2 presents in some detail the comparative deaths of infants under one year of age.

Table 2

Infant Mortality For Negroes and Whites By Sex: United States, 1943

(Exclusive of stillbirths. Deaths under 1 year per 1,000 live births.)

Age	Negro			White		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Under 1 year	61.5	67.9	54.8	37.5	42.0	32.7
Under 1 day	13.3	14.9	11.6	11.4	12.9	9.7
1 day	4.1	4.7	3.5	3.1	3.6	2.7
2 days	2.7	2.1	2.3	2.0	2.3	1.6
3 to 6 days	5.0	5.9	4.1	2.8	3.3	2.4
1 week	3.7	4.0	3.5	1.9	2.1	1.8
2 weeks	2.1	2.5	2.2	1.3	1.5	1.2
3 weeks	2.0	2.2	1.7	1.1	1.3	0.9
Under 1 month	33.1	37.2	28.9	23.7	26.9	20.2
1 month	5.0	5.5	4.6	2.7	3.0	2.3
2 months	4.3	4.4	4.1	2.2	2.4	1.9
3 months	3.5	4.0	3.1	1.8	2.0	1.7
4 months	3.2	3.4	3.0	1.4	1.6	1.3
5 months	2.7	2.8	2.6	1.2	1.3	1.1
6 months	2.5	2.6	2.3	1.1	1.1	1.0
7 months	2.0	2.3	1.8	0.9	1.0	0.8
8 months	1.7	1.8	1.5	0.8	0.8	0.7
9 months	1.3	1.5	1.1	0.6	0.7	0.6
10 months	1.1	1.2	1.0	0.6	0.6	0.5
11 months	1.1	1.3	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5

Table 3

Births, Deaths, and Excess of Births Over Deaths, For the Negro Population, For the United States, By Regions: 1941 to 1943

(A minus sign (—) indicates an excess of deaths over births. By place of residence.)

REGIONS	BIRTHS			DEATHS			EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS		
	1943	1942	1941	1943	1942	1941	1943	1942	1941
UNITED STATES	324,865	307,777	294,554	171,247	168,244	176,729	153,618	139,533	117,825
REGIONS:									
The North	63,041	57,525	54,448	45,250	41,699	41,338	17,791	15,826	13,110
The South	256,724	246,706	237,436	122,690	123,809	132,878	134,034	122,897	104,558
The West	5,100	3,546	2,670	3,307	2,736	2,513	1,793	810	157
THE NORTH:									
New England	2,456	2,211	1,858	1,626	1,555	1,451	830	656	407
Middle Atlantic	28,564	26,705	25,346	19,561	17,790	17,831	9,003	8,915	7,515
East North Central	25,094	22,170	21,111	17,840	16,547	16,205	7,254	5,623	4,906
West North Central	6,927	6,439	6,133	6,223	5,807	5,851	704	632	282
THE SOUTH:									
South Atlantic	126,318	121,728	117,506	60,202	61,015	65,887	66,116	60,713	51,619
East South Central	73,600	70,755	67,355	34,182	34,275	37,630	39,418	36,480	29,725
West South Central	56,806	54,223	52,575	28,306	28,519	29,361	28,500	25,704	23,214
THE WEST:									
Mountain	871	743	557	696	618	581	175	125	—24
Pacific	4,229	2,803	2,113	2,611	2,118	1,932	1,618	685	181

In table 3 are indicated the total number of Negro births and deaths, and the excess of births over deaths for the various regions, 1941-1943.

Expectation of Life[1]

In 1944, "the expectation of life at birth among colored males was 55.30 years, and among colored females 58.99 years. Their gains since the turn of the century amounted to 22.75 years and 23.95 years, respectively, considerably larger gains than for white persons." However, "among colored persons the average length of life in 1944 was on about the level of that for white persons in 1919-1921."[2] These data are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Expectation of Life At Birth and At Age 40 in the United States, According to Color and Sex, For Selected Periods From 1900 to 1944.

Year or Period	Birth				Age 40			
	White		Colored*		White		Colored*	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1944†	63.55	68.95	55.30	58.99	30.39	33.97	26.26	28.92
1943†	63.16	68.27	54.655	57.97	29.97	33.47	25.83	28.11
1942†	63.65	68.61	54.28	58.00	30.27	33.86	25.92	28.51
1939–1941†	62.81	67.29	52.26	55.56	30.03	33.25	25.06	27.19
1930–1939†	60.62	64.52	50.06	52.62	29.57	32.24	24.65	26.11
1929–1931†	59.12	62.67	47.55	49.51	29.22	31.52	23.36	24.30
1920–1929‡	57.85	60.62	46.90	47.95	29.35	30.97	24.55	24.67
1919–1921‡	56.34	58.53	47.14	46.92	29.86	30.94	26.53	25.60
1909–1911§	50.23	53.62	34.05	37.67	27.43	29.26	21.57	23.34
1901–1910§	49.32	52.54	32.57	35.65	27.55	29.28	22.23	23.81
1900–1902§	48.23	51.08	32.54	35.04	27.74	29.17	23.12	24.37
Gain: 1900–1902 to 1944	15.32	17.87	22.76	23.95	2.65	4.80	3.14	4.55

Note—The life tables for 1944, 1943 and 1942 were prepared in the Statistical Bureau of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, that for 1944 being on the basis of unpublished data furnished by the United States Census Bureau.
*-Data for periods from 1900 to 1931 and 1939 to 1941 relate to Negroes only.
†-Continental United States.
‡-Registration States of 1920.
§-Original Death Registration States.

The expectation of life, according to color and sex, for each age up to five years, and for every fifth year thereafter is set forth in the left-hand panel of Table 5. The mortality rate is shown in the right-hand panel. "The mortality rates for colored persons are much higher than for white persons at all but the oldest ages, where the quality of the data relating to the colored is uncertain. The differences are relatively greatest among females at ages from 20 to 40 years, where the rates for the colored are more than three times these of whites."

Life expectancy may be extended further with advances in medical science and preventive medicine, and improvement of such factors as housing and nutrition, and a generally better standard of living.

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[1] From Division on Population by Dr. Oliver C. Cox.

[2] Statistical Bulletin, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, May 1946.

Table 5

Expectation of Life and Mortality Rate Per 1,000 At Specified Ages, By Color and Sex, General Population in the United States 1944*

Age	Expectation of Life					Mortality Rate Per 1,000				
	Total Persons	White		Colored		Total Persons	White		Colored	
		Males	Females	Males	Females		Males	Females	Males	Females
0	65.12	63.55	68.95	55.30	58.99	39.79	40.80	32.12	65.49	55.06
1	66.80	65.23	70.23	58.14	61.40	3.60	3.44	2.98	6.49	5.91
2	66.04	64.46	69.43	57.52	60.76	2.05	2.04	1.71	3.30	3.08
3	65.18	63.59	68.55	56.70	59.95	1.56	1.58	1.29	2.41	2.23
4	64.28	62.69	67.64	55.84	59.08	1.26	1.25	1.10	1.87	1.75
5	63.36	61.76	66.71	54.94	58.18	1.08	1.10	.94	1.52	1.40
10	58.64	57.06	61.95	50.27	53.47	.78	.90	.57	1.18	.85
15	53.89	52.35	57.14	45.65	48.79	1.25	1.41	.78	2.47	2.18
20	49.30	47.83	52.39	41.38	44.48	2.16	2.92	1.15	4.75	4.05
25	44.87	43.58	47.71	37.46	40.43	2.56	3.35	1.44	6.39	4.92
30	40.42	39.22	43.06	33.66	36.43	2.68	2.82	1.79	7.14	5.85
35	35.97	34.76	38.47	29.87	32.57	3.40	3.31	2.41	8.71	7.84
40	31.63	30.39	33.97	26.26	28.92	4.73	4.77	3.26	11.76	10.29
45	27.44	26.18	29.56	22.90	25.47	6.77	7.24	4.62	16.13	13.15
50	23.45	22.23	25.30	19.92	22.28	10.02	11.11	6.84	23.32	18.69
55	19.71	18.57	21.24	17.38	19.51	14.52	16.64	10.15	29.54	24.81
60	16.24	15.24	17.41	14.96	17.04	21.34	24.90	15.76	35.04	31.95
65	13.09	12.27	13.91	12.69	14.93	31.81	36.76	25.16	46.18	41.21
70	10.30	9.65	10.80	10.81	13.14	46.92	53.36	39.65	60.63	49.93
75	7.85	7.35	8.08	9.13	11.41	69.42	77.93	62.76	68.92	53.81
80	5.76	5.42	5.83	7.21	9.42	108.84	120.27	103.78	81.35	62.42

*–Computed in the Statistical Bureau of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, on the basis of unpublished data furnished by the United States Census Bureau.

Trend of Age—Specific Mortality

The trend of colored and white mortality, specific for age, has been computed by the Bureau of the Census for the expanding death registration States from 1910 to 1940.[3] Prior to 1920, the trend of age-specific rates for ages 1-45 years was interrupted by the influenza epidemic of 1918. For both colored and white, mortality for all ages has declined since 1910; the colored rates continue to be higher than the white but the rate of decline has been slightly more rapid for the former. In 1910, the colored rates were approximately 50 per cent higher than the white, while in 1940 they were only about 33 1/3 per cent higher. The rate of decline in mortality has been most rapid at 1-4 years for both groups. Under 25 years of age there was no apparent difference in the rate of decline in mortality for colored and white; from 25 to 44 years the decline in the white rates was somewhat more rapid than the colored; from 45 to 64 years there was very little change in the colored rates, whereas the white declined slightly; at ages over 65 years, the decline in the colored rate was somewhat greater than in the white.

On the whole the rate of Negro mortality shows decline particularly at ages under 25 years; in adult ages, however, 25-64 years, the rate of decline in Negro mortality has not equaled that of the white population, 1920-43.

Rate of Negro Mortality

A general decline was noted in the mortality rate (deaths per 1,000 population), and that of both Negroes and whites in the decade, 1930-1940. For the latest Census year (1940) the standardized death rate of whites was 8.2 per 1,000 population, while that of the Negro was 14.0. The Negro death rate in 1940 was 71 per cent higher than the white; the excess of Negro deaths was 82 per cent in 1930.

Chief Causes of Negro Mortality

Table 6 shows age adjusted rates of Negro and white mortality from all causes in the various States, 1939-1941,

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[3] From "Negro Mortality—Mortality From All Causes in the Death Registration States," By Mary Gover, Statistician, Division of Public Health Methods, United States Public Health Service.

Table 6
Rates of Negro and White Mortality From All Causes in Separate States 1939-1941

State and section	Negro population	Proportion of colored population that is Negro	Mortality from all causes: Crude 1939-41	Mortality from all causes: Age-adjusted† 1940	
			Negro	Nonwhite‡	White
	Number	Percent	Rate per 1,000		
New England	101,509	93.9	14.2	15.3	10.1
Maine	1,304	48.6	19.7	9.2	10.2
New Hampshire	414	77.4	16.1	20.7	10.0
Vermont	384	90.4	18.2	10.2	10.3
Massachusetts	55,391	93.7	14.3	14.6	10.2
Rhode Island	11,024	95.5	16.3	17.9	10.4
Connecticut	32,992	97.5	13.2	15.4	9.7
Middle Atlantic	1,268,366	97.4	13.9	17.3	10.7
New York	571,221	95.3	12.7	16.2	10.7
New Jersey	226,973	99.1	14.9	17.5	10.4
Pennsylvania	470,172	99.4	14.9	17.9	11.0
East North Central	1,069,326	97.4	15.0	16.9	10.0
Ohio	339,461	99.5	15.2	16.7	10.1
Indiana	121,916	99.5	15.9	16.6	10.1
Illinois	387,446	98.6	15.9	17.3	10.3
Michigan	208,345	96.2	12.7	15.8	10.0
Wisconsin	12,158	49.0	13.9	17.6	9.1
West North Central	350,992	86.6	16.6	16.5	8.8
Minnesota	9,928	42.6	15.9	15.4	8.7
Iowa	16,694	95.0	15.7	15.1	8.5
Missouri	244,386	99.6	17.0	17.3	9.6
North Dakota	201	1.9	34.8	15.8	8.4
South Dakota	474	2.0	13.4	15.4	7.9
Nebraska	14,171	77.8	14.3	14.6	8.4
Kansas	65,138	97.9	15.7	14.6	8.5
South Atlantic	4,698,863	99.4	13.8	17.4	10.5
Delaware	35,876	99.7	17.2	19.6	10.2
Maryland	301,931	99.7	16.3	19.0	11.0
District of Columbia	187,266	99.2	15.8	18.6	11.6
Virginia	661,449	99.9	15.5	18.0	10.6
West Virginia	117,754	99.9	13.9	17.4	10.2
North Carolina	981,298	97.7	11.7	15.2	10.1
South Carolina	814,164	99.8	13.3	17.8	10.8
Georgia	1,084,927	99.9	13.6	16.8	10.3
Florida	514,198	99.8	14.5	17.9	10.4
East South Central	2,780,635	99.9	13.7	16.4	10.2
Kentucky	214,031	99.9	18.2	17.3	10.2
Tennessee	508,736	99.9	15.0	16.8	10.2
Alabama	983,290	99.9	13.5	16.8	10.4
Mississippi	1,074,578	99.7	12.3	15.0	10.1
West South Central	2,425,121	97.2	12.3	14.8	9.9
Arkansas	482,578	99.8	10.6	12.6	9.1
Louisiana	849,303	99.7	13.3	16.0	10.9
Oklahoma	168,849	72.7	12.6	14.1	8.9
Texas	924,391	99.7	12.2	14.6	10.3
Mountain	36,411	21.3	16.8	17.1	10.6
Montana	1,120	5.9	24.4	15.8	10.0
Idaho	595	10.7	20.7	15.1	9.8
Wyoming	956	23.1	23.4	19.3	9.6
Colorado	12,176	72.5	19.4	16.0	10.2
New Mexico	4,672	11.8	15.4	8.5	12.0
Arizona	14,993	20.7	13.0	14.9	12.5
Utah	1,235	16.7	20.8	12.6	10.0
Nevada	664	10.7	32.1	22.5	12.4
Pacific	134,295	37.0	14.1	14.5	10.1
Washington	7,424	19.5	21.5	18.0	9.8
Oregon	2,565	18.4	18.6	17.7	9.5
California	124,306	40.0	13.6	13.6	10.2
United States	12,865,518	95.6	13.7	16.5	10.2

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†-Adjusted rates for States are taken from Vital Statistics—Special Reports, vol. 23, No. 1. Rates are adjusted to the age distribution of the population of the United States as enumerated in 1940.

‡-Adjusted rates for the United States and for geographic sections are Negro. Table from "Negro Mortality From All Causes," Public Health Reports, February 22, 1946. Vol. 61, No. 8.

Specific Death Rates By Race, Sex and Age

In 1943 the crude death rate of 10.9 per 1,000 estimated population marked the first increase in the annual rate since 1940. The non-white mortality rate (predominantly Negro) was 12.8 per cent, as against 10.7 per cent for whites. Table 7 shows specific death rates by race, sex and age for 1943.

Table 7

Specific Death Rates By Race, Sex, and Age: United States, 1943*

(Exclusive of stillbirths and of armed forces overseas. Rates per 1,000 estimated population in a specified group)

Age Group	All races, both sexes	White males	White females	Nonwhite males	Nonwhite females
	1943	1943	1943	1943	1943
All ages	10.9	12.2	9.2	14.0	11.6
Under 1 year	43.0	44.6	34.3	78.5	62.6
1–4 years	2.6	2.5	2.1	4.5	3.9
5–9 years	1.0	1.1	0.8	1.3	1.1
10–14 years	0.9	1.0	0.7	1.6	1.3
15–19 years	1.6	1.7	1.0	3.5	3.3
20–24 years	2.5	3.1	1.4	5.3	4.9
25–29 years	2.6	2.7	1.7	6.2	5.3
30–34 years	3.0	2.9	2.1	7.8	6.8
35–39 years	4.1	4.0	2.9	10.4	9.1
40–44 years	5.7	5.9	3.9	13.8	12.1
45–49 years	8.3	9.0	5.8	19.2	15.5
50–54 years	12.4	13.8	8.5	27.4	23.5
55–59 years	17.7	20.4	12.7	32.7	29.5
60–64 years	26.3	30.5	20.1	39.5	36.9
65–69 years	39.2	44.8	32.0	55.1	48.3
70–74 years	58.7	66.3	51.1	70.3	55.5
75 years and over	126.4	137.0	122.1	102.0	81.1

*–"Deaths and Death Rates for Selected Causes: By Age, Race and Sex: United States, 1943." Bureau of the Census, November 7, 1945.

Changes in Mortality Rates

Inasmuch as only partial records are available for diseases and disabilities from which individuals suffer, such facts as are available with regard to Negro health must be derived largely by indirection. Broad characteristics of Negro morbidity rate—their variations by age, sex, urbanization, economic status, etc.—have not been precisely defined. It is customary to resort to facts of mortality, as made available by publications of official statistical and health agencies, and more recently by life insurance companies.[4]

Another phase of Negro health has to do with heredity. Higher or lower death rates for white and colored persons cannot correctly be interpreted *prima facie* to indicate racial immunity or susceptibility to the diseases in question. It has not been conclusively proved that there is absolute racial immunity to any disease. While color does undoubtedly exert more or less influence over the prevalence of many diseases, it is difficult to determine how much is due to racial immunity or susceptibility and how much should be attributed to social factors arising from race—low economic status, improper housing, inadequate diet, lack of hospitalization and general unfavorable environment. Negroes suffer especially from diseases in which care and sanitation are of primary importance. Examples of diseases in which mortality rates are undoubtedly affected by unfavorable environment—and which cause a higher death rate among Negroes—are tuberculosis, typhoid fever, pellagra and puerperal conditions.

Changes in mortality rates, 1929-31; 1939, by cause of death, for whites and non-whites are shown in Table 8.

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[4] During the war considerable information became available on the nature and extent of defects among males of military age; such data are frequently used to indicate health of a particular group.

Table 8

Number of Deaths Per 100,000 Population From Selected Causes, By Color, United States, 1929-31, 1939, and the Percentage Change 1929-31 to 1939 (Rates Are Standardized On the Total United States Population 1940)

Cause of death	White		Nonwhite		Percentage change 1929-31 to 1939	
	1929-31	1939	1929-31	1939	White	Nonwhite
Influenza	32.7	14.5	75.2	37.5	—56	—50
Pellagra	2.6	1.2	36.9	9.6	—54	—74
Diarrhea and enteritis	19.1	10.4	37.7	19.7	—46	—48
Homicide	5.6	3.2	40.0	34.2	—43	—15
Tuberculosis	60.1	37.0	205.8	133.2	—39	—35
Pneumonia	76.3	54.3	269.6	106.8	—29	—60
Cerebral hemorrhage	99.5	72.7	161.5	137.1	—27	—15
Nephritis	97.5	76.7	208.1	164.6	—21	—21
Accidents	83.5	69.8	95.7	78.1	—17	—18
Syphilis	5.4	4.5	43.7	40.3	—17	—8
All causes	1,144.5	1,006.5	2,018.8	1,603.3	—12	—21
Suicide	16.7	14.9	6.2	4.6	—11	—26
Cancer	113.9	118.4	86.0	97.1	4	13
Heart disease	244.3	273.7	333.0	308.8	12	—7
Diabetes	22.7	25.4	18.8	23.3	12	24

Source: Changes in Mortality Rates, 1930-1940, by Harold F. Dorn, Division of Public Health Methods, United States Public Health Service.

Tuberculosis Mortality

Since 1930 there have been pronounced changes in death rates from the principal respiratory causes of death: Influenza, pneumonia and tuberculosis. Although tuberculosis continues to be an outstanding cause of death among Negroes, and the Negro death rate from tuberculosis is three times as high as that for whites, in the general population the rate of tuberculous infection is almost the same for both races, according to release (09-45844) week of March 31-April 7, 1946 of the Federal Security Agency, United States Public Health Service. "The chief reason advanced for the high death rate from tuberculosis among Negroes is that among non-white persons, tuberculosis, once it starts, progresses rapidly into advanced disease more frequently than it does in white persons. Many Negroes discover their tuberculosis only after it has reached serious proportions, when little can be done to stop the infection. The delayed diagnosis means that the patient has lost his best chance for recovery. The rapid course of tuberculosis among Negroes, with frequent premature death, also decreases opportunity for spreading the disease to others over a long period of years. This may account for the no-higher-than-average rate of tuberculosis among Negroes in the general population." Tuberculosis mortality, as Table 9 shows, has been declining generally at a relatively rapid rate, especially among non-whites, who are predominantly Negro.

Table 9

Death Rates For Tuberculosis (All Forms) By Race and Sex Death-Registration States, 1910-1944*

Year	Total	White			Nonwhite		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1944	41.3	33.7	45.0	23.3	106.2	122.7	91.3
1943	42.6	34.3	44.4	24.7	112.9	126.4	100.0
1942	43.1	34.4	43.3	25.6	118.4	131.4	106.0
1941	44.5	35.4	43.3	27.4	124.2	134.3	114.5
1940	45.8	36.5	44.7	28.2	127.6	138.7	116.9
1935	55.1	44.9	51.7	37.8	145.1	155.4	135.0
1930	71.1	57.7	63.4	51.9	192.0	194.3	189.8
1925	84.8	71.6	75.8	67.2	221.3	215.8	226.7
1920	113.1	99.5	104.1	94.8	262.4	255.4	269.6
1915	140.1	128.5	144.0	112.2	401.1	420.2	380.5
1910	153.8	145.9	158.2	132.8	445.5	479.3	406.8

*-Source: Derived from the Tuberculosis Control Division, United States Public Health Service, and the Division of Vital Statistics, United States Bureau of the Census.

Chief Causes of Negro Mortality

Table 10 indicates that in 1944 chief causes of deaths among Negroes were: (1) heart disease, (2) intra-cranial lesions of vascular origin, (3) tuberculosis, and (4) nephritis.

Table 10

Mortality From Selected Causes, By Race and Rank 1944 (Crude Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Nonwhite			White		
Rank	Cause of death	Rate	Rank	Cause of death	Rate
1	Heart diseases	246.51	1	Heart diseases	323.51
2	Intra-cranial lesions of vascular origin	110.35	2	Cancer and other malignant tumors	134.39
3	Tuberculosis (all forms)	106.23	3	Intra-cranial lesions of vascular origin	91.79
4	Nephritis (all forms)	106.16	4	Nephritis (all forms)	64.84
5	Cancer and other malignant tumors	84.32	5	Accidents (except motor-vehicle)	53.59
6	Pneumonia (all forms)	79.64	6	Pneumonia (all forms)	45.01
7	Accidents (except motor-vehicle)	53.03	7	Tuberculosis (all forms)	33.68
8	Syphilis (all forms)	39.56	8	Diabetes mellitus	27.21
9	Diabetes mellitus	19.18	9	Motor-vehicle accidents	18.38
10	Motor-vehicle accidents	17.76	10	Suicide	10.80

Source: Division of Public Health Methods, United States Public Health Service.

Various factors, applicable to both Negroes and whites, should be taken into consideration in explaining the changing mortality rates, as well as the declining death rate. Increased discovery and use of serums and drugs cause many diseases to be less fatal than previously. Undoubtedly public provisions for prenatal care have helped to reduce the rates of maternal and infant mortality. As the age composition of society changes and there is longer life expectancy, the degenerative diseases contribute more heavily to the death toll. Private and public agencies have aided in stressing the importance of early discovery and treatment of diseases, and ever-expanding public health measures and services better protect the general health. As the Negro shares more adequately in the progress which communities are making in public health and personal hygiene, it may be expected that his general health will improve.

SELECTIVE SERVICE EXAMINATIONS—DISQUALIFYING DEFECTS

The prevalence of physical defects among men of military age (18-37 years) sufficient to constitute principal cause for their rejection is indicated in Table 11 (a) and (b). According to Selective Service and Army records one of the major health problems among Negroes is venereal disease. The prevalence of defects indicates that all too frequently good medical care has been lacking. Table 12 affords data on types of defects, per 1,000 registrants by race.

Table 11 (a)

Estimated Principal Causes For Rejection of Registrants 18-37 Years of Age in Class IV-F and Classes With F Designation,[1] June 1, 1944[2]

Principal causes for rejection	Number			Percent		
	Total	White[3]	Negro	Total	White[3]	Negro
Total	4,217,000	3,393,000	824,000	100.0	100.0	100.0
Manifestly disqualifying defects	443,800	383,600	60,200	10.5	11.3	7.3
Mental disease	701,700	622,400	79,300	16.6	18.3	9.6
Mental deficiency[4]	582,100	322,700	259,400	13.8	9.5	31.5
Physical defects	2,426,500	2,013,400	413,100	57.6	59.4	50.1
Musculoskeletal	316,300	281,000	35,300	7.5	8.3	4.3
Syphilis	283,800	115,000	168,800	6.7	3.4	20.5
Cardiovascular	273,300	228,700	44,600	6.5	6.7	5.4
Hernia	238,400	211,900	26,500	5.7	6.3	3.2
Neurological	214,800	192,800	22,000	5.1	5.7	2.7
Eyes	212,700	188,700	24,000	5.0	5.6	2.9
Ears	162,900	158,300	4,600	3.9	4.7	.6
Tuberculosis	113,200	101,700	11,500	2.7	3.0	1.4
Lungs	72,800	64,100	8,700	1.7	1.9	1.0
Underweight and overweight	62,200	57,900	4,300	1.5	1.7	.5
Feet	54,000	42,000	12,000	1.3	1.2	1.5
Abdominal viscera	53,600	51,200	2,400	1.3	1.5	.3
Kidney and urinary	44,200	40,100	4,100	1.0	1.2	.5
Varicose veins	42,700	38,000	4,700	1.0	1.1	.6
Genitalia	42,300	33,100	9,200	1.0	1.0	1.1
Endocrine	40,300	38,600	1,700	1.0	1.1	.2
Teeth	36,100	33,800	2,300	.9	1.0	.3
Neoplasms	26,100	23,700	2,400	.6	.7	.3
Skin	26,000	23,100	2,900	.6	.7	.3
Nose	25,400	24,300	1,100	.6	.7	.3
Gonorrhea and other venereal	18,300	7,300	11,000	.4	.2	1.3
Hemorrhoids	17,200	14,400	2,800	.4	.4	.3
Mouth and gums	11,100	10,300	800	.3	.3	.1
Infectious and parasitic	4,500	3,900	600	.1	.1	.1
Throat	4,100	3,500	600	.1	.1	.1
Blood and blood-forming	3,900	3,400	500	.1	.1	.1
Other medical	26,300	22,600	3,700	.6	.7	.4
Nonmedical	62,900	50,900	12,000	1.5	1.5	1.5

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[1] Includes registrants in classes II-A, B and C with F designation.

[2] United States Congress. Senate. Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor. A Resolution Authorizing an Investigation of the Educational and Physical Fitness of the Civilian Population as Related to National Defense. Part 5. Hearings, 78th Congress. 2d Session on S. Res. 74, July 10, 11, and 12, 1944. Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1944. p. 1625.

[3] Includes all races other than Negro.

[4] Includes (1) registrants with more than one disqualifying defect who were rejected for educational deficiency prior to June 1943; (2) registrants rejected for failure to meet minimum intelligence standards beginning June 1, 1943; (3) morons, imbeciles, and idiots rejected November 1940–April 1944.

Table 11 (b)

Estimated Principal Causes For Rejections of Negro Registrants 18-37 Years of Age in Class IV-F and Classes With "F" Designation† August 1, 1945 (Preliminary)*

Principal Causes for Rejection	Number	Percent
Total	919,000	100.0
Manifestly disqualifying defects	67,700	7.4
Mental disease	97,800	10.6
Mental deficiency‡	308,600	33.6
Physical defects	430,600	46.9
Musculoskeletal	40,200	4.4
Cardiovascular	51,300	5.6
Hernia	29,800	3.2
Syphilis	154,800	16.8
Neurological	24,300	2.6
Eyes	26,500	2.9
Ears	5,400	0.6
Tuberculosis	13,100	1.4
Lungs	10,100	1.1
Underweight and overweight	4,400	0.5
Feet	14,800	1.6
Abdominal viscera	2,600	0.3
Kidney and urinary	5,200	0.6
Varicose veins	5,300	0.6
Genitalia	9,900	1.1
Endocrine	1,700	0.2
Teeth	2,300	0.2
Neoplasms	2,700	0.3
Skin	3,500	0.4
Nose	1,100	0.1
Hemorrhoids	3,000	0.3
Gonorrhea and other venereal	11,100	1.2
Mouth and gums	800	0.1
Infectious and parasitic	600	0.1
Throat	600	0.1
Blood and blood-forming	500	0.1
Other medical	2,000	0.5
Nonmedical	14,300	1.5

†-Includes registrants in Classes II-A, B and C with "F" designation.

‡ Includes (1) registrants with more than one disqualifying defect who were rejected for educational deficiency prior to June 1, 1943; (2) registrants rejected for failure to meet minimum intelligence standards beginning June 1, 1943; (3) morons, imbeciles and idiots rejected November 1940–July 1945.

* Source: National Headquarters, Selective Service System.

Table 12
Rate of All Recorded Defects, Per 1,000 Registrants Examined, By Race[1]

Defect	Bulletin No. 1[2] all races[4]	Bulletin No. 2[3]		
		All Races	White[5]	Negro
Total	1,356.8	1,583.3	1,595.0	1,493.9
Eyes	115.7	123.5	130.5	70.6
Ears	44.5	50.1	54.0	20.0
Teeth	140.3	167.8	176.9	98.5
Mouth and gums	63.9	84.2	81.3	106.3
Nose	68.9	81.5	89.0	24.1
Throat	66.3	81.5	81.2	84.0
Lungs	16.4	16.2	17.1	8.6
Tuberculosis	5.7	9.7	10.3	5.2
Cardiovascular	100.4	83.1	84.6	71.8
Blood and blood-forming	1.0	1.3	1.4	.4
Hernia	64.6	79.7	83.0	54.5
Kidney and urinary	14.0	9.0	9.2	7.9
Abdominal viscera	12.2	44.5	48.3	14.7
Genitalia	59.0	81.3	80.0	91.5
Syphilis	27.5	30.8	11.7	176.7
Gonorrhea and other venereal	7.4	7.3	3.4	36.5
Skin	115.8	88.0	94.0	42.2
Hemorrhoids	30.6	35.1	36.5	24.8
Varicose veins	26.7	32.1	33.6	20.4
Educational deficiency	3.6	21.2	12.4	89.0
Mental deficiency	8.4	15.3	15.7	12.1
Mental disease	18.2	23.7	25.7	7.8
Neurological	22.8	22.4	23.9	11.0
Musculoskeletal	101.3	113.9	119.3	73.8
Feet	145.0	172.4	158.9	275.7
Endocrine	16.0	19.7	21.3	7.4
Neoplasms	11.3	14.1	14.2	13.0
Infectious and parasitic	.4	.6	.7	.2
Underweight, overweight, and other	48.9	73.3	76.9	46.0

1-United States Congress. Senate. Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor. Wartime Health and Education, Part 5. A Resolution Authorizing an Investigation of the Educational and Physical Fitness of the Civilian Population as Related to National Defense. Hearings, 78th Congress, 2nd Session on S. Res. 74, July 10 11, and 12, 1944. Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1944. p. 1627.

2-Based on sample of forms 200 covering 19,923 registrants examined at local boards November 1940 through May 1941.

3-Based on sample of forms 200 covering 121,966 registrants examined at local boards November 1940 through September 1941.

4-Race breakdown not available.

5-Includes all races other than Negro.

NEGROES IN THE MEDICAL PROFESSIONS

The health welfare of Negroes is provided in large measure by professional members of the Negro race.[5] Many problems attend the efforts of professional personnel to render adequate health service to the Negro people. Insufficient numbers of physicians, dentists and nurses, medical-social workers, laboratory technicians, and other professionals and their inequitable distribution in the nation; the lack of adequate training facilities in Negro medical schools and the lack of opportunities in white medical schools and hospitals; the restricted admission to established institutions for medical care and public health, limit both the preparation of professional persons and the health services they might render.

Negro Physicians

With reference to Negro physicians, in the decade 1932-1942 there was a decrease of 5 per cent in the total number, while the Negro population increased by about 8 per cent. In 1942 there were 3,810 Negro physicians, or a rate of 1 for every 3,377 Negroes; as compared with a total of 176,191 physicians in the United States serving 132,000,000 persons, or a ratio of 1 to 750. The suggested wartime minimum for civilian safety of 1 physician to 1,500 persons indicates the serious disadvantage of the Negro population. The lowest ratio of Negro physicians is to be found in the South. As is true of physicians generally, there is a concentration of Negro physicians in the large cities, North and South. Nearly 600 Negro physicians served in the Armed Forces during the war.

Dr. Midian O. Bousfield, Chicago, served as commanding officer of Station Hospital No. 1 (staffed completely by nearly 100 Negro officers) at Fort Huachuca, Arizona.

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[5] The Negro professional groups have their own local and national organizations. Some few Negroes have been admitted to membership in white professional organizations.

Table 13

Distribution of Negro Physicians and Population and the Population Per Physician, According to States and Major Geographic Divisions of the United States*

	Negro Population 1940	Number of Negro Physicians 1942	Negro Population per Physician 1942
UNITED STATES	12,865,518	3,810	3,377
New England			
Maine	1,304	0	.....
New Hampshire	414	0	.....
Vermont	384	0	.....
Massachusetts	55,391	31	1,787
Rhode Island	11,024	6	1,837
Connecticut	32,992	18	1,832
Middle Atlantic			
New York	571,221	269	2,123
New Jersey	226,973	146	1,555
Pennsylvania	470,172	220	2,137
East North Central			
Ohio	339,461	182	1,865
Indiana	121,916	70	1,742
Illinois	387,446	311	1,246
Michigan	208,345	131	1,590
Wisconsin	12,158	11	1,105
West North Central			
Minnesota	9,928	3	3,309
Iowa	16,694	13	1,284
Missouri	244,386	244	1,002
North Dakota	201	0	.....
South Dakota	474	0	.....
Nebraska	14,171	8	1,771
Kansas	65,138	37	1,760
South Atlantic			
Delaware	35,876	9	3,986
Maryland	301,931	117	2,581
District of Columbia	187,266	252	743
Virginia	661,449	183	3,614
West Virginia	117,754	52	2,265
North Carolina	981,298	170	5,772
South Carolina	814,164	67	12,152
Georgia	1,084,927	152	7,134
Florida	514,198	85	6,049
East South Central			
Kentucky	214,031	109	1,964
Tennessee	508,736	246	2,068
Alabama	983,290	125	7,866
Mississippi	1,074,578	58	18,527
West South Central			
Arkansas	488,578	58	8,320
Louisiana	849,303	98	8,666
Oklahoma	168,849	71	2,378
Texas	924,391	166	5,569
Mountain			
Montana	1,120	0	.....
Idaho	595	0	.....
Wyoming	956	0	.....
Colorado	12,176	10	1,218
New Mexico	4,672	3	1,557
Arizona	14,993	5	2,999
Utah	1,235	0	.....
Nevada	664	0	.....
Pacific			
Washington	7,424	5	1,485
Oregon	2,565	1	2,565
California	124,306	68	1,828

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*-Source: **Distribution of Negro Physicians in the United States in 1942**, by Paul B. Cornely, M. D., Head, Department of Bacteriology, Preventive Medicine and Public Health, Howard University School of Medicine, Washington, D. C.

Table 14

Distribution of Negro Physicians and Population, and the Population Per Physician, in Cities With 50,000 or More Negroes 1942

City	Negro Population 1940	Percentage of Total Negro Population of State	No. of Negro Physicians 1942	Percentage of Total Negro Physicians in the State	Population per Physician
Atlanta, Ga.	104,533	9.6	43	28.3	2,431
Baltimore	165,843	54.9	83	70.9	1,998
Birmingham, Ala.	108,938	11.1	19	15.2	5,734
Chicago	277,731	71.7	264	84.9	1,052
Cincinnati	55,593	16.4	25	13.7	2,224
Cleveland	84,504	29.4	51	28.0	1,657
Dallas, Texas	50,407	5.4	19	11.4	2,653
Detroit	149,119	71.6	97	74.0	1,537
Houston, Texas	86,302	9.3	21	12.7	4,110
Indianapolis	51,142	41.9	25	35.7	2,046
Jacksonville, Fla.	61,782	12.0	17	20.0	3,634
Los Angeles	63,774	51.3	50	73.5	1,275
Memphis, Tenn.	121,498	23.9	58	23.6	2,095
New Orleans	149,034	17.5	54	55.1	2,760
New York	458,444	80.2	250	92.9	1,834
Philadelphia	250,880	53.4	131	59.5	1,915
Pittsburgh	62,216	13.2	32	14.5	1,944
Richmond, Va.	61,251	9.3	23	12.6	2,663
St. Louis	108,765	44.5	142	58.2	766
Washington, D. C.	187,266	....	252	....	743

Negro Dentists

The shortage of Negro dentists is even more marked than that of Negro physicians, with the disparity especially acute in the South. In the Negro population of 12,865,518 there are only about 1,611 dentists, according to the 1940 Federal Census of Occupations. As of February 28, 1945, 120 of these were serving in the Armed Forces. There were fewer than 300 Negro dental students in training as of April, 1945. Table 15 gives the number of employed Negro male dentists for the United States and by regions for 1940.

Table 15

Employed Negro Male Dentists (Except on Public Emergency Work), For the United States, By Divisions and States 1940

Region, Division, and State	EMPLOYED (except on public emergency work)	Average Negro Population per Negro EMPLOYED male dentist (exc. on pub. emerg. work)
UNITED STATES	1,463	8,794
REGIONS:		
The North	711	3,924
The South	708	13,990
The West	44	3,880
THE NORTH:		
New England	49	2,072
Middle Atlantic	325	3,903
East North Central	265	4,035
West North Central	72	4,875
THE SOUTH:		
South Atlantic	375	12,530
East South Central	170	16,357
West South Central	163	14,878
THE WEST:		
Mountain	7	5,202
Pacific	37	3,630

Negro Nurses

In 1940, 7,191, or 2 per cent of all the trained and student nurses in the United States were Negroes. The National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, formed in 1908, had 980 members in 1940, and 1,200 in 1944. Principal outlets of these Negro nurses prior to the war were Negro hospitals and institutions, the large public hospitals of the North, and local official and voluntary public health agencies serving large numbers of Negro patients. The majority of active Negro nurses in 1941 (63 per cent) were in hospital and institutional work, while 28 per cent were in public health. Little opportunity was afforded them in private practice and industrial training, where 6 per cent and 1 per cent, respectively, were engaged.

During the war, efforts were made to increase the number of graduate Negro nurses as well as to expand opportunities for their services. The number of Negro graduate nurses, according to the *American Journal of Nursing* ("Negro Nurses," 44:476-477, May, 1944), was estimated at 8,000. Graduate Negro nurses were employed by the American Red Cross, War Food Administration and the Veterans Administration, besides those serving official and voluntary public health agencies. According to the War Department, with the Army Nurse Corps were 343 Negroes, as of February 28, 1945, some on overseas assignment. The Navy Department dropped its restrictions against Negro nurses in January, 1945, and 4 served with this branch of the Armed Forces.

The greatest gains in civilian service were probably made in the hospitals of New York City where more than 1,250 Negro nurses were employed in 1942.

There has been a steady increase in the number of Negro public health nurses employed by official and non-official agencies. The number increased 20 per cent, from 918 in 1943 to 1,101 in 1945 when Negro nurses represented about 5 per cent of the total of public health nurses. As of January 1, 1946 there were 1,154 Negro nurses employed by 294 public health agencies. (See Table 17). In many localities, Negro communities are served by white nurses.

As of January 1, 1945, only 55 of the 1,101 Negro public health nurses had less than high school training, while 955 (86 per cent) had completed high school and 67 (6 per cent) had one or more college degrees. There continues to be a marked improvement over earlier years of Negro public health nurse training.

Opportunities for nurse training for Negro women were greatly expanded during the war period, with the largest number being provided through the United States Cadet Nurses Corps. As of May 31, 1945 there were, according to the Federal Security Agency, 4,128 Negro student nurses who were receiving free tuition under the Cadet Nurses Corps program.

In the post-war period there is a growing demand for well-prepared Negro nurses, especially in public health services in rural areas in the South, and also in the great cities in the North.

Table 16

Negro Employed Trained Nurses and Student Nurses (Except on Public Emergency Work) and Negro Trained Nurses and Student Nurses Seeking Work (Experienced), By Sex, For the United States, By Regions: 1940.

Regions	EMPLOYED (except on public emergency work)			SEEKING WORK (experienced)			Average Negro population per Negro employed trained nurse and student nurse (except on public emergency work)
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
UNITED STATES	6,801	121	6,680	391	6	385	1,892
REGIONS:							
The North	2,936	36	2,900	195	3	192	950
The South	3,718	82	3,636	177	2	175	2,664
The West	147	3	144	19	1	18	1,161
THE NORTH:							
New England	61	2	59	6	....	6	1,664
Middle Atlantic	1,919	22	1,897	119	1	118	661
East North Central	496	12	484	55	2	53	2,156
West North Central	460	....	460	15	....	15	763
THE SOUTH:							
South Atlantic	2,373	44	2,329	113	1	112	1,980
East South Central	878	24	854	28	1	27	3,167
West South Central	467	14	453	36	....	36	5,193
THE WEST:							
Mountain	5	....	5	3	1	2	7,282
Pacific	142	3	139	16	....	16	946

Source: Dr. Joseph R. Houchins, Specialist, Negro Statistics.

Table 17

Number of Negro Nurses Employed by Various Agencies For Public Health Work and Number of Employing Agencies, January 1, 1946.

	Total Agencies	Total Nurses	Department of Health†		Other Official Agencies		Boards of Education		Nonofficial Agencies‡	
			Agencies	Nurses	Agencies	Nurses	Agencies	Nurses	Agencies	Nurses
TOTALS..................	294	1154	165	813	14	61	46	90	70	190

†-Includes State departments of health.
‡-Includes "other State agencies."
Source: Division of Nursing, U. S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

NEGRO HOSPITALS

In 1944, there were 124 Negro hospitals located in 23 States and the District of Columbia[6]. Of this number, 12 were governmental (operated by Federal, State or municipal governments) and 112 were non-governmental (operated by Church, fraternal, community or proprietary organizations). The geographical distribution of these hospitals, given below, indicates that the majority of the Negro hospitals were located in the South:

Alabama	9	Mississippi	4
Arkansas	5	Missouri	7
Washington, D. C.	3	New Jersey	1
Florida	11	North Carolina .	13
Georgia	8	New York	1
Illinois	2	Oklahoma	4
Indiana	2	Pennsylvania ...	3
Kansas	3	South Carolina ..	7
Louisiana	1	Tennessee	4
Michigan	10	Texas	7
Maryland	4	Virginia	10
Delaware	1	West Virginia ..	4

The few Negro hospitals in the North are usually to be found in the large cities. However, in the North Negroes have access to other hospitals where they are admitted without legal segregation of white and colored patients. Yet, there are comparatively few opportunities in northern white hospitals for the Negro doctor to acquire the experience that is essential to good hospital practice. The majority of Negro physicians take their training in the two Negro medical schools, and have access to the hospitals operated in conjunction with them.

Twenty-three of the 124 Negro hospitals were fully approved by the American College of Surgeons; while 3 were provisionally approved. Nine of these approved hospitals were also approved by the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association for the training of interns. Schools of nursing were conducted in conjunction with 20 of the Negro hospitals.

The Negro hospital is a particularly significant factor in Negro health in the South, due not only to the size of the population to be served, but also to the prevailing social pattern. Under the latter conditions, Negro admissions to white southern hospitals are generally limited to teaching, to governmental institutions, or to segregated wings of subsidized voluntary hospitals. Southern social tradition does not permit the grouping of white and Negro patients, nor does it permit (with few exceptions) the training of colored medical personnel in white hospitals. In view of the fact that the Negro physician must be able to treat his patients and is denied this practice in white hospitals, the Negro hospital offers his only opportunity.

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[6] Cf. Eugene H. Bradley, "Health, Hospitals, and the Negro," Modern Hospital, August, 1945. Abstracted in National Negro Health News, (U. S. Public Health Service) Vol. 14, No. 2, April, June, 1946, pp. 14-15.

The Negro's health and hospital problem in the South (where 9,904,619 Negroes constitute 31 per cent of the region's total population) has been illustrated by statistical presentations. For example, the State of Georgia has a total population of 3,123,723 of which 2,038,278 are white and 1,084,927 are Negro. This State in 1944 had only 41 hospitals approved by the American College of Surgeons, and not one of these hospitals was Negro. On the other hand, the State of Wisconsin, with a total population of 3,137,587, had 81 approved hospitals, all of which admit Negroes without segregation.

SOME NEGRO HOSPITALS†* IN THE UNITED STATES

AMERICUS HOSPITAL
Americus, Georgia
BREWER HOSPITAL
Greenwood, South Carolina
*BREWSTER HOSPITAL
Jacksonville, Florida
*BURRELL MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
Roanoke, Virginia
BURWELL INFIRMARY
Selma, Alabama
*CHARITY HOSPITAL
Savannah, Georgia
CHILDREN'S HOME HOSPITAL
Birmingham, Alabama
CHRISTIAN HOSPITAL
Miami, Florida
*COLLINS CHAPEL CONNECTIONAL HOSPITAL
Memphis, Tennessee
*COMMUNITY HOSPITAL
Newark, New Jersey
COMMUNITY HOSPITAL
Wilmington, North Carolina
*DOUGLASS HOSPITAL
Kansas City, Kansas
DWELLE INFIRMARY
Atlanta, Georgia
*EDYTH K. THOMAS MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
Detroit, Michigan
*FAIRVIEW SANITARIUM
Detroit, Michigan
*FLINT-GOODRIDGE HOSPITAL OF DILLARD UNIVERSITY
New Orleans, Louisiana
*FLORIDA A. AND M. COLLEGE HOSPITAL
Tallahassee, Florida
*FRATERNAL HOSPITAL
Montgomery, Alabama
*FREDERICK DOUGLASS MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
Philadelphia, Pa.
*FREEDMEN'S HOSPITAL
Washington, D. C.
FRIENDLY CLINIC
Memphis, Tennessee
*GEORGE W. HUBBARD HOSPITAL OF MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE
Nashville, Tennessee
GEORGIA INFIRMARY
Savannah, Georgia
GILLESPIE HOSPITAL
Cordele, Georgia
GOOD SAMARITAN HOSPITAL
Selma, Alabama
*GOOD SAMARITAN HOSPITAL
Charlotte, North Carolina
*GOOD SAMARITAN-WAVERLY HOSPITAL
Columbia, South Carolina
GOOD SHEPHERD HOSPITAL, THE
New Bern, North Carolina
GOODNOW HOSPITAL
Talladega, Alabama
HALE INFIRMARY
Montgomery, Alabama
HALIFAX HOSPITAL
Daytona Beach, Florida
*HOMER G. PHILLIPS HOSPITAL
St. Louis, Missouri
HOSPITAL & TRAINING SCHOOL FOR NURSES
Charleston, South Carolina
*HOUSTON NEGRO HOSPITAL
Houston, Texas
*JOHN A. ANDREW MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
JOHN F. TAYLOR HOSPITAL
Mobile, Alabama
JOHNSON MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
Bainbridge, Georgia
JUBILEE HOSPITAL
Henderson, North Carolina
*KANSAS CITY GENERAL HOSPITAL NO. 2
Kansas City, Missouri
KATE BITTING REYNOLDS MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
Winston-Salem, North Carolina
KIRKWOOD HOSPITAL
Detroit, Michigan
*L. RICHARDSON MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
Greensboro, North Carolina
*LINCOLN HOSPITAL
Durham, North Carolina
MARY LAWSON SANATORIUM
Palatka, Florida
MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
Oxford, North Carolina
MERCY HOSPITAL (CITY)
St. Petersburg, Florida
MERCY HOSPITAL
Wilson, North Carolina
*MERCY HOSPITAL
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
*NORFOLK COMMUNITY HOSPITAL
Norfolk, Virginia
*PARKSIDE HOSPITAL
Detroit, Michigan
*PEOPLES HOSPITAL
St. Louis, Missouri
PINE RIDGE HOSPITAL
West Palm Beach, Florida

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†List provided by the National Conference of Hospital Administrators.

*Indicates membership in the National Conference of Hospital Administrators.

*PINKSTON CLINIC
Dallas, Texas
*PRAIRIE VIEW STATE COLLEGE HOSPITAL
Prairie View, Texas
*PROVIDENCE HOSPITAL
Bluefield, West Virginia
PROVIDENT HOSPITAL
Fort Lauderdale, Florida
*PROVIDENT HOSPITAL AND FREE DISPENSARY
Baltimore, Maryland
*PROVIDENT HOSPITAL AND TRAINING SCHOOL FOR NURSES
Chicago, Illinois
*RED CROSS HOSPITAL
Louisville, Kentucky
RICHMOND COMMUNITY HOSPITAL
Richmond, Virginia
*ST. AGNES HOSPITAL
Raleigh, North Carolina
ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL, INC.
Macon, Georgia
*ST. MARY'S INFIRMARY
St. Louis, Missouri
SAMARITAN HOSPITAL
Rome, Georgia
SEARCY HOSPITAL
Mount Vernon, Alabama
TABORIAN HOSPITAL
Mound Bayou, Mississippi
*TAMPA NEGRO HOSPITAL
Tampa, Florida
*TRINITY HOSPITAL
Detroit, Michigan
UNION COMMUNITY HOSPITAL
Union, South Carolina
*UNITED STATES VETERANS' HOSPITAL
Tuskegee, Alabama
VAN BUREN SANITARIUM
Statesboro, Georgia
WAYNE DIAGNOSTIC HOSPITAL
Detroit, Michigan
*WHEATLEY-PROVIDENT HOSPITAL
Kansas City, Mossouri
*WHITTAKER MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
Newport News, Virginia
WILLIAM A. HARRIS MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
Atlanta, Georgia

NATIONAL NEGRO HEALTH MOVEMENT

Active in the field of health education and health service is the National Negro Health Movement which grew out of National Negro Health Week, founded in 1915 by the late Booker T. Washington, at Tuskegee Institute.

As National Negro Health Week grew in extent and in the very evident need of continuous rather than interrupted activities for the maintenance and promotion of an effective program, ways and means were considered, which, at a Health Week Conference in Washington, March 19, 1929, resulted in adoption of the following objectives for a year-round health movement:

1. Consultation with State health officers to learn first-hand of the public health problems relating to the colored population.
2. Contact with State and local Negro organizations to secure their aid in promotion of the health of the Negro, and their support of measures sponsored by the State and local health authorities.
3. Stimulation of the training and employment of Negro public health personnel, by State and local health departments and other agencies.
4. Consistent efforts to elevate the standards of training for Negro personnel, and to induce persons with good educational background and aptitude to fit themselves for public health work.
5. Special efforts to emphasize health work in Negro schools, and to encourage the employment of trained personnel for health work in the schools.
6. Maintenance of a comprehensive register of speakers qualified to give talks on public health subjects.
7. Establishment in the central office of the National Negro Health Movement of a list of qualified Negro health workers.
8. The development of a depository of health information relating to the colored population, this library to include an abstracting and reference section.
9. Analysis of census data and vital statistics to determine the distribution of population and the nature and extent of health problems.
10. Promotion of the National Negro Health Week as a period for emphasis on the general health status of the Negro population and the program for health improvement.

This movement effected a permanent year-round program at Howard University through the sponsoring agencies, including, in addition to Tuskegee Institute and Howard University, the National Medical Association, the National Negro Business League, and the National Negro Insurance Association. It is now resident at the United States Public Health Service (since 1932) as part of the National public health organization and serves as a "clearing house" for matters on Negro health. It offers its service to State, County, and City health departments and various voluntary health and civic organizations.

SECTION TWO: HOUSING

The relationship of housing to health cannot be reduced to an exact formula, but there is substantial evidence and fairly general agreement that a healthy house helps to make a healthy family. Many factors are involved—location, condition of neighborhoods, customary and legal restrictions on better houses, cost, crowding, sanitary facilities, and the like. Only an intelligent, just, and economically sound program of housing—private and public—can effect the remedy of a long-standing housing problem aggravated by war-time dislocations of population, and limited construction of houses.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM

The essential problems to be faced are poverty and space restrictions growing out of racial discrimination. It is the problem of the racial restrictive covenant and the resultant ghetto. It is the problem of blight and slum living which have become associated with race. One residential phenomenon familiar to even the casual observer of American cities today is the concentration of most Negroes into one or two or more severely constricted areas, with a little scattering of colored families in other sections of the city. In fact, it has been established that the larger the proportion of Negroes in the total population, the higher is the degree of their concentration. Two, three, and four Negro families are forced to live where one white family lived before. According to 1940 Census definition, 8 per cent of urban units occupied by whites were overcrowded, while the comparable figure for Negroes was 25 per cent.

Ghetto people are usually poor people. Of the 35,000,000 families reporting income in the 1940 Census, 54 per cent of the white and 85 per cent of the non-white were below $1,000 in income per year. Median annual income for urban whites was $1,064; and for non-whites, $457.

Ghetto people are also, a low-rent paying people. Of the total occupied dwellings in 1940, approximately 61 per cent of the total occupied by whites and 80 per cent of the total occupied by non-whites were in the rental group. Further, for all urban localities, 32 per cent of all white tenants and 71 per cent of the non-white paid monthly rents below $20; 46 per cent white and 80 per cent non-white below $30. For all urban units, the median rents in 1940 were $25.98 for whites and $12.59, non-whites. Here is a people relegated to a physical environment which becomes a drain upon the moral, physical, and financial resources of the entire community. Enforced segregation begets discrimination and exclusion from the benefits of community life. Further, these slum islands be-devil and adversely affect urban re-development. Here is created much of the frustration and bitterness that brew tension and conflict.

Informed observation and available facts indicate that the vast majority of Negroes and other non-whites live in substandard housing and in slum or blighted areas, and that they are bound to such housing and neighborhoods by reason of their income limitations, resulting from racially restricted job opportunities, and imposed residential segregation reinforced by racial restrictive covenants, traditions, or law.[7]

Relationship Between Condition Of Dwellings and Rentals, By Race

1. The non-white group receives proportionately more substandard housing, or less housing value, for the same price than does the white group, which has access to the open housing market.
2. The progressive increase in the ratio of non-white to white occupancy in substandard housing for each succeeding rental bracket from the lowest to the highest clearly indicates that operation of the discriminated housing market, as a factor independent of comparable rent-paying ability, is a major cause for the excessive occupancy of non-whites in substandard housing.
3. The fact that the ratio of non-whites to whites in substandard housing is markedly greater for the tenant-occupied units as compared with those occupied by owners indicates that the non-white tenant suffers an even greater disadvantage than does the non-white owner when competing for decent housing. The importance of this is amplified by the fact that white tenants receive a lower proportion of substandard housing than do white owners in the rental ranges between $40 and $75.
4. The ratios of non-whites to whites in substandard housing is greater in the northern and western cities than in the southern metropolitan districts between the $20 and $75 rental levels; and, above the $40 rental level, the proportion of substandard housing occupied by the non-white group in the northern and western cities is markedly greater than is the proportion for the same racial group in the southern metropolitan districts.
5. Contrary to the experience of non-white tenants in any category, the white tenants in the northern and western areas occupy less substandard housing in the rental brackets above the $40 level than do white owners in these brackets.

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[7] B. T. McGraw, Principal Housing Analyst, Office of the Administrator, National Housing Agency.

6. In the northern and western areas, the proportion of non-white tenants to non-white owners in substandard housing is double in the brackets between $20 and $40, where almost half of the non-whites in this area are concentrated.
7. The general rank order from the highest to the lowest proportion of occupancy in substandard housing, by regions and tenure, is (1) white owners in northern and western cities, (2) white owners in southern districts, (3) white tenants in northern and western cities, (4) non-white owners in northern and western cities (5) white tenants in southern districts, (6) non-white tenants in northern and western cities, (7) non-white owners in southern districts, (8) non-white tenants in southern districts. The only instance in which the non-white group occupies a smaller proportion of substandard housing than the white group is in the case of non-white owners in northern and western cities which ranks higher than do the white tenants in southern districts.
8. The differentials revealed in this analysis may be imputed to the effect of residential racial restrictions. The fact is that the proportionate differentials between the two racial groups are greatest in the higher rental value brackets where racial restrictive practices result in highly discriminatory market. Differentials are also striking in the northern and western cities where the influx of non-whites has accentuated racial restrictions.[8]

THE SOLUTION OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM

Consideration of the scope, magnitude, and complexity of the housing task ahead has made it increasingly plain that, if the goal of a decent home for every American family is to be achieved, there must be:

1. Extensive supply of adequate housing adapted to family sizes and incomes of all the various economic and racial groups;
2. Necessary living space to relieve congestion and accommodate normal and orderly expansion of all the various economic and racial sectors of the population;
3. Utilization of all available resources—public and private—local, State, and national.[9]

These considerations lead inevitably to a few basic principles for adequately meeting the housing needs of Negroes and other racial minorities:

1. The housing needs of minorities at various income levels should be specifically defined and recognized as an integral part of the total housing need of the community.
2. Housing developments in the community, under private or public auspices, should be held to meet the needs of minorities, comparable to those of other groups in the community.
3. Any land assembly or housing development made possible by the use of governmental powers or assistance should provide equity of participation by all racial groups in accordance with their housing needs and ability to pay the costs.
4. No private or public housing program should proceed in such manner as to reduce in any degree the land area and living space now available to Negroes and other racial minorities in the community. Opportunity should be sought constantly to increase the land area open to Negroes wherever there is excess density. This will require careful reappraisal of the urban land use policies of all agencies—Federal, local and private.
5. Wherever public funds or powers are used in the recruitment, training and employment of off-site or on-site building construction labor, a policy of equitable employment of racial minorities at levels of their skill should be mandatory.
6. The full rescources of the racial minority sector of the community should be marshaled in support of a national policy and program for community and housing development.[10]

Public Housing Available For Negroes

As of July 31, 1945, 145,584 or 19 per cent of the 769,000 active low-rent and war-housing units of the Federal Public Housing Authority were programmed for or occupied by Negroes.[11]

"In the low-rent housing program, 46,522 or 35.1 per cent of all units were occupied by or programmed for Negroes. The estimated development cost for these units was $219,000,000 or about one-third of the total cost of the low-rent program. In projects built under the United States Housing Act, 36 5 per cent of the units were available to Negroes." (A list of the permanent public housing projects making provisions for Negro tenants is given at the end of this section.)

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[8] Corienne K. Robinson, Housing Analyst, (Race Relations), National Housing Agency.

[9] B. T. McGraw, Principal Housing Analyst, Office of the Administrator, National Housing Agency.

[10] Frank S. Horne, Special Assistant to Administrator, National Housing Agency.

[11] Report S-602 "Public Housing Available for Negroes," Statistics Division, National Housing Agency, Federal Public Housing Authority, November 9, 1945.

"In the war-housing program (excluding conversion management properties) 96,461 or 16.4 per cent of all units were occupied by or programmed for Negroes. The estimated development cost of these units was more than $313,000,000. The proportion of units for Negroes was approximately the same for projects under management and for projects under development." (See Table 18.)

Table 18

War Housing Units

War Locality	Units for Negroes	Total Number of Units
Portland-Vancouver	6,191	34,678
Detroit	5,619	13,270
San Francisco, San Pablo Bay	5,611	24,797
District of Columbia	5,176	26,730
San Francisco, East Bay	4,784	13,753
Norfolk-Portsmouth	4,320	18,309
Chicago	4,147	4,881
Los Angeles	3,825	20,938
Baltimore	3,359	11,421
Cleveland	3,209	6,031
San Francisco, West Bay	3,205	14,274

In the conversion management program, 2,601 or 5.3 per cent of all units were designated for Negro occupancy. (See Table 19.)

Table 19

Public Housing Programmed For Or Occupied By Negroes, By Type of Program and Construction Status of Dwelling Units[1]

(As of July 31, 1945)

Program and construction status	Number of dwelling units		Percent Negro	Estimated development cost of dwelling units available for Negroes ($000)
	Total	Occupied by or programmed for Negroes		
Low-rent and war housing				
All dwelling units	769,131	145,584	18.9	536,624
Dwelling units under management	730,730	139,459	19.1	507,730
Dwelling units under development	38,401	6,125	16.0	28,894
Under contract	19,168	2,925	15.3	15,328
Not under contract	19,233	3,200	16.6	13,566
Low-rent housing (excluding, PWA limited dividend projects)[2] Dwelling units under management	132,602	46,522	35.1	219,182
War housing, including projects built under U. S. Housing Act, and transferred to war use				
All dwelling units	636,529	99,062	15.6	317,442
Dwelling units under management	598,128	92,937	15.5	288,548
New construction	548,758	90,336	16.5	284,133
Conversion management	49,370[3]	2,601	5.3	4,415
Dwelling units under development	38,401	6,125	16.0	28,894
Under contract	19,168	2,925	15.3	15,328
Not under contract	19,233	3,200	16.6	13,566

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[1] –Based on number of assigned units where definitely programmed for Negro tenants. For all other projects, with 95 percent occupancy or more, based on number of occupied units, and for projects with less than 95 percent occupancy, on proportion of total occupied units occupied by Negroes.

[2] –All units under management.

[3] –Data as of June, not available for July.

Table 20

Permanent Public Housing Projects Making Provision For Negro Tenants (As of July 31, 1945)

Location	Project Name	Total No. Units in Project	Est. No. Units Occupied by Negro Tenants*
REGION I			
CONNECTICUT			
Bridgeport	Yellow Mill Village	1,239	88
	Marina Village	516	80
	Black Rock Village	176	16
	Success Park**	1,000	50
	Huntington Homes	250	18
	Lincoln Terrace	150	8
	Canaan Village	324	32
(Fairfield)	Knapps Highway	200	6
	Melville Avenue	200	4
(Stratford)	Stonybrook Gardens	400	42
East Hartford	Mayberry Village	500	1
Hartford	Nelton Court**	156	6
	Bellevue Square**	501	
	Charter Oak Terrace	1,000	1
(Manchester)	Orford Village	375	3
(Glastonbury)	Welles Village	200	1
(Rocky Hill)	Drum Hill Park	125	1
Middletown	Long River Village	190	15
New Britain	Mount Pleasant	340	4
	Ledgecrest	300	12
(Plainville)	East Mountain Terrace	200	3
New Haven	Elm Haven	487	326
	Farnam Courts	300	32
	West Hills	300	35
Norwalk	Washington Village	136	46
Stamford	Southfield Village	250	70
	Fairfield Court	148	4
Windsor Locks	Elm Plains	85	5
MAINE			
Bangor	Fairmont Terrace	150	5
Portland	Sagamore Village	200	4
MASSACHUSETTS			
Ayer	Devencrest	300	42
Boston	Lenox Street	306	
	Orchard Park	774	93
	East Boston	414	1
Cambridge	Washington Park	324	1
	New Towne Court	294	3
Fall River	Sunset Hill	356	2
	Harbor Terrace	223	2
Hingham	Old Colony Village	78	2
New Bedford	Bay Village	200	95
Springfield	Mallary Village	300	4
(Chicopee)	Curtis Terrace	250	8
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Portsmouth	Wentworth	800	12
RHODE ISLAND			
Newport	Tonomy Hill	538	17
Providence	Williams Homes	744	46
REGION II			
DELAWARE			
Wilmington	Southbridge	180	
MARYLAND			
Annapolis	College Creek Terrace	108	
Baltimore	McCulloh Homes	434	
	Edgar Allen Poe Homes	298	
	Frederick Douglass Homes	393	
	Gilmor Homes	587	
	Somerset Court Homes	420	
	Lyon Homes	304	
	Cherry Hill Homes	600	
Frederick	Lincoln Apartments	50	
Havre de Grace	Concord Fields	500	30

*-This column used only for projects partially occupied by Negro tenants.
**-Two projects.

Table 20 *(Continued)*

Permanent Public Housing Projects Making Provision For Negro Tenants (As of July 31, 1945)

Location	Project Name	Total No. Units in Project	Est. No. Units Occupied by Negro Tenants*
NEW JERSEY			
Asbury Park	Asbury Park Village	126	
Atlantic City	Stanley S. Holmes Village	277	
Beverly	Delacove Homes	71	24
Burlington	Dunbar Homes	90	40
Camden	Clement T. Branch Village	279	
	Chelton Terrace	200	
Dover	Victory Gardens	300	1
Elizabeth	Pioneer Homes	495	72
Jersey City	Lafayette Gardens	490	1
	Marion Gardens	462	4
	Booker T. Washington Apts.	234	
	Hudson Gardens	224	2
	Holland Apartments	192	2
Long Branch	Garfield Court	128	36
	Grant Court	82	
Newark	Pennington Court	236	60
	James M. Baxter Terrace	614	408
	F. D. Roosevelt Homes	275	
	Felix Fuld Court	300	150
Paterson	Riverside Terrace	300	23
Trenton	Lincoln Homes	118	
	Prospect Homes	120	
NEW YORK			
Buffalo	Willert Park**	473	
Hempstead	Mitchell Gardens	200	4
Lackawanna	Baker Homes	271	9
	Albright Court	200	155
Mineville	Grover Hills	100	1
New York City	Williamsburg Houses	1,622	33
	Harlem River Houses	576	
	Red Hook Houses	2,545	146
	Queensbridge Houses	3,148	121
	Vladeck Houses	1,531	14
	South Jamaica Houses	448	340
	East River Houses	1,170	122
	Kingsborough Houses	1,166	552
	Clason Point Gardens	400	8
	Markham Houses	360	34
	Wallabout Houses	207	3
Syracuse	Pioneer Homes	678	52
Yonkers	Mulford Gardens	552	2
PENNSYLVANIA			
Aliquippa	Griffith Heights	50	
	Mount Vernon	50	
Allentown	Hanover Acres	322	1
Beaver Falls	Harmony Dwellings	50	
Chester	Lamokin Village	350	
	Fairground Homes	350	
Clairton	Blair Heights	148	
Coatsville	Carver Homes	100	
Duquesne	Cochrandale	83	
Erie	Lake City Dwellings	40	
Harrison Twp.	Sheldon Park	200	11
Johnstown	Prospect Homes	111	51
McKeesport	Harrison Village	50	
McKees Rocks	McKees Rocks Terrace	288	20
Midland	Midland Heights	280	12
Mifflin Twp.	River View Homes	450	73
	Monongahela Heights	342	163
Moon Twp.	Mooncrest	400	32
North Braddock	North Braddock Heights	200	48
Philadelphia	Johnson Homes**	535	575
	Tasker Homes	1,000	100
	Allen Homes	1,324	1,300
Latrobe-Greensburg	Westmoreland Homestead	225	1
Pittsburgh	Addison Terrace	802	405
	Bedford Dwellings	420	405
	Wadsworth-Aliquippa	1,851	961
	Arlington Heights	660	108
	Allegheny Dwellings	282	60
	Broadhead Manor	448	46

*–This column used only for projects partially occupied by Negro tenants.

**–Two projects.

Table 20 *(Continued)*

Permanent Public Housing Projects Making Provision For Negro Tenants (As of July 31, 1945)

Location	Project Name	Total No. Units in Project	Est. No. Units Occupied by Negro Tenants*
PENNSYLVANIA (Continued)			
	Glen Hazel Heights	999	212
Pulaski Twp.	Pulaski Homes	100	1
Rankin	Hawkins Village	182	48
Reading	Glenside Homes	400	8
Scott Twp.	Chartiers Terrace	200	47
Sharon-Farrell	Steel City Terrace	150	50
South Union Twp.	Grossland Place	40	
Van Port	Van Buren Homes	400	38
Washington Co.	Lincoln Terrace	46	
Wayne	Highland Homes	50	25
REGION III			
ILLINOIS			
Cairo	Pyramid Courts	240	
Chicago	Ida B. Wells Homes	1,650	1,648
	Cabrini Homes	586	123
	Robert Brooks Homes	834	831
	Altgeld Gardens	1,500	1,413
	Wentworth Gardens	422	
	Ill-11208	250	232
	Jane Adams Houses**	1,027	43
Danville	Beecher Terrace	50	
Decatur	Longview Place	434	54
East St. Louis	Robinson Homes	144	
Madison Co. (Venice)	Jones Homes	37	
Peoria	Warner Homes	487	93
Quincy	Ball Homes	49	
Rockford	Central Terrace	150	34
Springfield	Hay Homes	599	147
INDIANA			
Evansville	Lincoln Gardens	191	
Fort Wayne	Samuel Morris Homes	88	34
Gary	Delaney Community	305	
Indianapolis	Lockfield Gardens	748	
Muncie	Munsyana Homes	278	114
New Albany	Crystal Court	18	
MINNESOTA			
Minneapolis	Field Homes	464	119
MISSOURI			
St. Louis	Carr Square Village	658	
NEBRASKA			
Omaha	Southside Terrace Homes	522	65
	Fontenelle Homes	284	108
	Logan-Fontenelle Addition	272	103
WISCONSIN			
Milwaukee	Parklawn	518	6
REGION IV			
ALABAMA			
Birmingham	Southtown	480	
	Smithfield Courts	512	
Fairfield	Fairfield Courts	90	
Mobile	Orange Grove Homes	298	
Montgomery	Cleveland Courts	150	
	Paterson Courts	150	
Phenix City	Frederick Douglass Homes	206	
FLORIDA			
Daytona Beach	Pine Haven**	167	
Ft. Lauderdale	Dixie Court	150	
Jacksonville	Blodgett Homes	708	
	Durkeeville	215	
Key West	Fort Village	84	
Lakeland	Lake Ridge Homes	160	
Miami	Liberty Square	243	
	Liberty Square Add.**	730	

*—This column used only for projects partially occupied by Negro tenants.
**—Two projects.

Table 20 *(Continued)*
Permanent Public Housing Projects Making Provision For Negro Tenants (As of July 31, 1945)

Location	Project Name	Total No. Units in Project	Est. No. Units Occupied by Negro Tenants*
FLORIDA (Continued)			
Orlando	Griffin Park	250	
	Carver Court	160	
Pensacola	Attucks Court	120	
St. Petersburg	Jordan Park**	446	
Sarasota	Newtowne Heights	60	
Tampa	North Boulevard Homes	534	
	College Hill Homes	500	
West Palm Beach	Dunbar Village	246	
GEORGIA			
Albany	Hines Homes	56	
Athens	Broad Acres	126	
Atlanta	University Homes	675	
	John Hope Homes	606	
	Henry Grady Homes	616	
	John J. Eagan Homes	548	
	Alonzo F. Herndon Homes	520	
Augusta	Sunset Homes	168	
	Gilbert Manor	278	
Brunswick	McIntyre Courts	144	
Columbus	Booker T. Washington Apts.**	392	
	Williams Homes	160	
Decatur	Allen Wilson Terrace	200	
Macon	Tindall Heights	444	
Marietta	Fort Hill Homes	120	
Rome	Altoview	94	
Savannah	Fellwood Homes	176	
	Yamacraw Village	480	
MISSISSIPPI			
Biloxi	Bayou Augusta Homes	96	
Clarksdale	Magnolia Courts	120	
Hattiesburg	Robertson Place	120	
Laurel	Triangle Homes	125	
McComb City	Burglund Heights	76	
Meridian	Frank Berry Courts	113	
	George H. Reese Courts	97	
NORTH CAROLINA			
Charlotte	Fairview Homes	452	
Fayetteville	Cape Fear Courts	56	
	Washington Square	75	
High Point	Daniel Brooks Homes	200	
Kinston	Mitchell Wooten Courts	142	
New Bern	Craven Terrace	253	
Raleigh	Chavis Heights	231	
Wilmington	Robert R. Taylor Homes	246	
	Hillcrest**	216	
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Charleston	Anson Borough Homes	162	
	Wragg Borough Homes	128	
	Cooper River Courts	137	
Columbia	University Terrace	122	74
	Allen Benedict Courts	244	
Spartanburg	Hartwell Homes	150	
	Spartanburg Defense Homes	10	
TENNESSEE			
Bristol	Johnson Court	68	
Chattanooga	College Hill	497	
Jackson	Merry Lane Courts	96	
Kingsport	Riverview	56	
Knoxville	College Homes	320	
	Austin Homes	200	
Memphis	William R. Foote Homes	900	
	LeMoyne Gardens**	842	
	Dixie Homes	636	
Nashville	Andrew Jackson Courts	398	
	John Napier Homes**	480	
VIRGINIA			
Hopewell	Davisville	96	

*-This column used only for projects partially occupied by Negro tenants.
**-Two projects.

Table 20 *(Continued)*

Permanent Public Housing Projects Making Provision For Negro Tenants (As of July 31, 1945)

Location	Project Name	Total No. Units in Project	Est. No. Units Occupied by Negro Tenants*
VIRGINIA—(Continued)			
Newport News	Harbor Homes	252	
	Lassiter Courts	350	
	Orcutt Homes	148	
Norfolk	Roberts Park	230	
	Oak Leaf Park	300	
	Benmoreell	1,062	20
Portsmouth (Virginia Beach)	Nelson Place	50	
Richmond	Gilpin Court	301	
REGION V			
ARKANSAS			
Little Rock	Tuxedo Park	100	
COLORADO			
Denver	Platte Valley Homes	77	
KANSAS			
Junction City	Pawnee Place	40	
LOUISIANA			
Alexandria	Carver Village	48	
East Baton Rouge	Clarksdale	50	
Lake Charles	Washington Courts	72	
New Orleans	Magnolia Street	723	
	Lafitte Avenue	896	
	Calliope Street	690	
	St. Bernard Avenue	744	
TEXAS			
Austin	Rosewood	130	
Corpus Christi	D. N. Leathers Center	122	
Dallas	Roseland Homes	650	
	Frasier Courts	250	
El Paso	Tays Place	311	
Fort Worth	Butler Place	250	33
Galveston	Palm Terrace	228	
Houston	Cuney Homes	564	
	Kelly Courts	333	
Pelly	Lincoln Courts	30	
San Antonio	Wheatley Courts	236	
	Lincoln Courts	342	
Texarkana	Stevens Courts	124	
Waco	Cain Homes	140	
REGION VI			
ARIZONA			
Fort Huachuca	ARIZ-2011	30	
	ARIZ-2012	100	
Phoenix	Matthew Henson	150	
CALIFORNIA			
Bakersfield	Adelante Vista	50	
Fresno	Sequoia Courts	60	
	Sierra Plaza	70	9
	Funston Place	150	10
Los Angeles	Cabrillo Homes	600	63
	Pueblo Del Rio	400	375
	Rancho San Pedro	285	44
	Aliso Village	802	173
	William Mead Homes	449	88
	Ramona Gardens	610	88
	Pico Gardens	260	40
	Rose Hill	100	2
	Hacienda Village	184	97
	Normont Terrace	400	2
	Channel Heights	600	88
Los Angeles County	Naravilla	504	50
Monterey (Ft. Ord)	CAL-4021	264	10

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*-This column used only for projects partially occupied by Negro tenants.

Table 20 *(Continued)*

Permanent Public Housing Projects Making Provision For Negro Tenants (As of July 31, 1945)

Location	Project Name	Total No. Units in Project	Est. No. Units Occupied by Negro Tenants*
CALIFORNIA—(Continued)			
Oakland	Peralta Villa	396	186
	Campbell Village	154	91
Sacramento	New Helvetia	310	17
	Dos Rios	168	1
San Diego	Linda Vista	5,026	219
San Francisco	Westside Court	136	131
Vallejo	Mare Island	250	22
REGION VII			
WASHINGTON			
Seattle	Yesler Terrace	690	38
	Yesler Terrace Addition	178	6
	Ranier Vista**	622	32
	Holly Park**	1,000	42
	High Point**	1,300	13
Tacoma	Salishan**	1,600	186
	Lincoln Heights	400	1
Vancouver	McLaughlin Heights	4,406	196
REGION VIII			
KENTUCKY			
Covington	Jacob Price Homes	163	
Lexington	Blue Grass-Aspendale Park	278	136
	Charlotte Courts	206	
Louisville	Beecher Terrace	808	
	College Park	125	
	Sheppard Square	423	
Madisonville	Rosenwald Homes	45	
Paducah	Abraham Lincoln Court	74	
MICHIGAN			
Battle Creek	Prairie View Homes	250	22
Detroit	Brewster Homes**	941	
	Sojourner Truth Homes	200	
(Inkster)	Carver Homes**	698	
(Clinton Twp.)	Selfridge Homes	150	1
(Ypsilanti)	Park Ridge	100	
OHIO			
Akron	Elizabeth Park Homes	276	268
Cincinnati	Laurel Homes**	1,403	602
	Lincoln Court	1,015	993
(Lockland)	Valley Homes	350	
Cleveland	Carver Park	1,287	1,278
	Outhwaite Homes**	1,028	1,005
	Cedar Apartments	654	16
(Euclid)	Lake Shore Village	800	2
Columbus	Poindexter Village	426	
Dayton	Desoto Bass Courts**	510	
Hamilton	Bambo Harris Homes	141	51
Lorain	Fulton Homes	60	
(Elyria)	Riverside Homes	40	
Massillon	Walnut Hills	300	20
Portsmouth	G. W. Failey Square	135	112
Sandusky	Fairlawn Court	100	
Toledo	Branch Whitlock Homes**	376	
	Albertus Brown Homes	134	
	Port Lawrence Homes	195	178
Warren	Trumbull Homes	224	38
Youngstown	Westlake Terrace Homes	618	218
Zanesville	Coopermill Manor	324	22
WEST VIRGINIA			
Charleston	Washington Manor	304	127
Huntington	Washington Square	80	
Mount Hope	Stadium Terrace	70	20
Williamson	Williamson Terrace	38	

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*-This column used only for projects partially occupied by Negro tenants.
**-Two projects.

Table 20 *(Continued)*

Permanent Public Housing Projects Making Provision For Negro Tenants (As of July 31, 1945)

Location	Project Name	Total No. Units in Project	Est. No. Units Occupied by Negro Tenants*
GENERAL FIELD OFFICE			
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA			
Washington	Langston	274	
	James Creek Site	278	
	Douglass Dwellings	313	
	Stanton Road	300	
	Carrollsburg Dwellings	314	
	Kelly Miller Dwellings	169	
	Barry Farms Dwellings	442	
	Parkside Dwellings	373	
	Hillside	440	
Washington	Lucy Diggs Slowe Hall	322	
	George W. Carver Hall	206	
MARYLAND			
Cabin John	Seven Locks	120	20
St. Mary's County	Carver Heights	72	
	Carver Heights	120	
VIRGINIA			
Alexandria	Parker Homes	110	
	Ramsey Homes	15	
Arlington	Paul Dunbar Homes	86	
	George Carver Homes	44	
RURAL PROJECTS			
ARKANSAS			
Lonoke	East Ark. Reg. Hous. Auth.	74	7
GEORGIA			
Thomas Co.	Ga. S. W. Assoc. Hous. Auth.	140	13
MISSISSIPPI			
Lee County	Miss. Reg. Hous. Auth. No. 1	186	21
	Miss. Reg. Hous. Auth. No. 2	30	3
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Darlington County	Darlington County Rural	71	17

*-This column used only for projects partially occupied by Negro tenants.

DIVISION XV

THE NEGRO AND WORLD WAR II

By Vera Chandler Foster and W. Hardin Hughes

Tuskegee Institute and Pasadena, California

SOME DIFFICULTIES FACED BY NEGROES AS PARTICIPANTS IN DEFENSE INDUSTRIES

The Negro and Defense Industries

During the two years immediately preceding Pearl Harbor, a major problem confronting the American Negro was that of securing an opportunity to participate in the enormous national defense program. The situation had changed materially since World War I when unskilled rather than skilled labor was chiefly in demand. During the depression of the 1930's, however, the supply of skilled workers in the white population was far greater than the demand. Well trained engineers and technicians were actually in the bread lines. These were the first to find skilled employment in the defense industries.

Very soon, however, the surplus of skilled workmen was exhausted and an ever increasing demand for qualified semiskilled technicians followed. To meet the new need a nationwide program of vocational education for national defense was developed under the direction and finances of the Federal Government.

Policy of Federal Government Toward Training of Negroes

It is important to note that the policy of the Federal Government, as announced by the United States Commissioner of Education, August 15, 1940, was to estabish practices in which there would be "no discrimination on account of race, creed, or color." When in October of that year additional funds were appropriated for an expanded program of training, the legislation provided that no trainee shall be discriminated against because of sex, race, or color; and where separate schools are required by law for separate population groups, equitable provision shall be made for facilities and training of like quality.

Such provisions for non-discrimination, however, were not in themselves sufficient to insure large enrollments of Negroes in the vocational schools. Employment opportunities for Negroes in skilled capacities had been so slow materializing that Negroes hesitated to take the training courses. At the same time the relatively rapid absorption of white workers in the well-paying jobs of industry created openings in non-defense, unskilled and service capacities.

Despite the discouraging prospects for Negro participation in the skilled work of the industries, there were many Negroes qualified for the jobs. According to figures presented by Lester B. Granger, in the November, 1942, *Survey Graphic*, there were, at the beginning of 1941, 8,000 Negro machinists, millwrights and tool makers available for the manufacture of tanks, planes and guns; 5,000 plumbers and steamfitters; 6,000 blacksmiths, foremen and hammermen; and 25,000 iron and steelworkers. In 1941 alone, we find that 56,096 Negro students completed trade and industrial courses in technical schools; and 56,706 more enrolled in defense training courses.

Negroes' Approach to Industry Blocked

Throughout the period, 1940 and 1941, Negroes applying for jobs in the defense industries found themselves blocked at almost every turn. Building contractors engaged in the top-speed erection of factories, army cantonments, and other essential defense construction were clamoring for skilled labor. At the same time, 75,000 Negroes, experienced as carpenters, painters, plasterers, bricklayers, and electricians, had the utmost difficulty in securing defense jobs.

Even when defense production was well under way, Negro applicants at industrial plants met with the same reception. A quarter-million workers were needed immediately by the aircraft industry, but Negroes were unwelcome regardless of training. The President of North American Aviation declared the policy of his industry in these words: "Regardless of their training as aircraft workers, we will not employ Negroes in the North American plant. It is against company policy." This policy was fairly representative of employment patterns in hundreds of defense industries in many parts of the country.

Pressure Groups Secure Opportunity For Negroes in War Industries

Protests against discrimination in war industries multiplied. The Negro press, organizations representing Negro welfare, mass meetings, careful surveys revealing the nature and extent of racial discrimination, pilgrimages to Washington—all of these began to have a positive effect on the Federal Government. The Labor Division of the National Defense Advisory Commission had already added to its staff an experienced Negro member, Dr. Robert C. Weaver. The repeated protests of Negroes developed support from many liberal white citizens. The daily press took notice and reported not only the opinions of Negroes but also presented strong editorials in their behalf. Governors in several States appointed committees to find some way of attacking the problem. State legislatures considered bills for banning racial discrimination in defense employment. In short, the pressure of public opinion was increasing almost everywhere—especially in the northern and western parts of the country.

The tide of Negro resentment had by this time risen to formidable proportions. A March-On-Washington Committee was formed under A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. All over the country preparations were being made for a march 100,000 strong, to Washington. This, the Administration did not wish to materialize, especially at a time when the prestige of the nation was at stake.

Hereupon, the President summoned Randolph and other members of his committee to Washington. Surrounded by Cabinet members and other advisers, the President first requested cancellation of the march, then agreed to issue an Executive Order forbidding racial discrimination in defense industries. The march was cancelled by the Committee and Executive Order 8802 was issued on June 25, 1941, stating in part:

> ". . . It is the duty of employers and labor organizations to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in the defense industries without discrimination. . . . All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination.
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> "All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker. . . . There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practices, which shall consist of a chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President."

While on paper, a great victory had been realized, the Executive Order in itself did not solve the problem of racial discrimination in the defense industries. In that part of the country in which the proportion of Negroes to the general population was highest, racial discrimination in training and employment continued great. The United States Office of Education was unable to cope effectively with the situation. Figures released by this Federal agency revealed that in eighteen Southern and Border States, where 22 per cent of the total population are Negroes, only 3,215 Negroes, or 4 per cent of the total trainees, were enrolled as of January, 1942, in pre-employment and refresher training courses. Out of 4,630 training courses in the Southern States, only 194 were open to Negro trainees. In Florida, Negroes are 27 per cent of the State's population, but only .17 of 1 per cent of its trainees. In the State of Texas, where Negroes comprise 14.3 per cent of the population, only 206 Negroes, at that time, had been admitted to training courses out of 12,472 persons trained in defense production. Similar ratios of Negroes to whites in other Southern States indicated the failure of the United States Office of Education to enforce the provisions of the law that there should be no racial discrimination in defense training.

SOME DIFFICULTIES FACED BY NEGROES AS PARTICIPANTS IN THE ARMY

Pre-War Strength of Negro Military Units[1]

In 1866, Congress provided that "the enlisted men of two regiments of Infantry and . . . the enlisted men of two regiments of Cavalry shall be colored men." The 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments and the 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments, established and maintained in accordance with this legislation, have had a long and creditable history. In 1939, two Negro Quartermaster Regiments, the 24th and the 48th, were partially organized in the form of Truck Companies in the motor transport service. Soon thereafter, but before the inauguration of the Selective Service in 1940, the 249th Field Artillery Regiment, the first Negro organization of the kind since World War I, was activated. Two Coast Artillery units, the 76th and the 77th Anti-aircraft Battalions, which were later to be expanded into regiments, became the first Negro units in this type of combat service. The 41st Engineer Regiment and additional Truck Companies, including elements of the 31st Quartermaster Regiment serving at air fields, were organized. A single Chemical Warfare Company was also added.

In the National Guard, as in the Regular Army, the peacetime units—369th, 184th, 372nd—were mere skeletons. Early in the expansion program, the 369th was converted into the 369th Coast Artillery, Anti-aircraft, and the 184th into the 184th Field Artillery.

Policy As to Proportion of Negro Personnel in the Army

The War Department, in October 1940, announced that "the strength of the Negro personnel of the Army of the United States will be maintained on the general basis of proportion of the Negro population of the country," and that "Negro organizations will be established in each major branch of the service, combatant as well as noncombatant." As a result of this new policy, 1941 saw the expansion and mobilization of all the previously existing Negro units to war strength and the creation of additional organizations sufficient to care for approximately 100,000 Negro soldiers.

Early in 1942, the Secretary of War announced the proposed recruitment of 175,000 additional Negro soldiers. This latest expansion included Negro troops in new types of organizations such as task destroyer units and zone of the Interior Military Police battalions organized for guarding critical installations.

The officer personnel of the peacetime Regular Army was very small in number. There were only three Negro line officers in the Regular Army: one a brigadier general, Benjamin O. Davis, recently retired but called back to active duty; one a captain, more recently promoted to the grade of lieutenant colonel; and a second lieutenant later promoted to first lieutenant. There were also three Negro chaplains in the Regular Army. After the inauguration of the Selective Service System, the Army began to utilize approximately 200 of the Negro National Guard and 300 Negro Reserve Officers whose commissions had remained active. This group of approximately 500 officers, including medical officers and chaplains, is large in comparison with the group of Negro officers available at the beginning of the first World War, but very small when we consider that the total for the Army in 1940 included about 100,000 officers.

Additional Negro Officers Trained

By the end of the summer of 1941, it became evident that the major problem of utilizing the Negro as an officer would be the problem of training and assigning new officers rather than absorbing those already available. In October 1940, a published statement of the War Department policy stipulated that "when officer candidate schools are established opportunity will be given to Negroes to qualify for reserve commissions." After much deliberation, it was decided that Negro and white candidates should be trained in the same schools and classes after meeting the single-standard requirements. This decision became the basic policy of the War Department except for the Air Corps. Instruction began in the first officer candidate schools in July, 1941.

Although every armed service, except the Air Corps, established an unsegregated school for the training of its officers, it became apparent, within six months after the inauguration of the officer training program, that racial discrimination in officer candidate selection was much in evidence. During this first half year of candidate training, fewer than 30 Negro soldiers were admitted to the schools, although the number of Negroes in the Army had increased to approximately 100,000. There was much evidence of the fact that many Negro soldiers could not even get information from their immediate superiors concerning officer candidate training.

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[1] Based on report of William H. Hastie in The Annals, September, 1942.

The Secretary of War, having been advised of these facts, directed that the practice conform to the announced policy of non-discrimination. The order issued by the Secretary in this matter was emphasized by a special appeal for increasing numbers of Negro officers. As a result, more Negro officer candidates were selected within the ensuing thirty days than during the preceding six months. By the middle of 1942, Negroes were graduating from the three-month officer candidate courses at the rate of nearly 200 monthly. The Negro candidate became a familiar figure in the Adjutant General's Department, the Armored Force, Air Corps Administration, Cavalry, Coast Artillery, Chemical Warfare Service, Engineers, Field Artillery, Infantry, Medical Administration, Military Police Corps, Quartermaster Corps, Signal Corps, and Tank Destroyer Corps. By the end of 1942, more than a thousand Negro soldiers qualified for the gold bars of Second Lieutenant and the monthly graduation of Negro officers was well over 200. In addition to those who qualified in this way, a small but increasing number of others were being commissioned directly from the ranks. The total number of Negro officers on duty at the end of 1942 was approximately 2,000.

Negro Morale At Beginning Of World War II

At the beginning of our direct participation in World War II, there were many conditions unfavorable to Negro morale in general. How could the Negro, who had never enjoyed the legitimate rights and opportunities of first class citizenship in his own country enter enthusiastically into a war to insure the basic freedoms for the rest of mankind! There was still in the Negro's memory the disappointing and humiliating experiences of World War I. He naturally feared a repetition of the well known discriminatory practices of the Army and Navy. Furthermore, during the years of our industrial preparation for active warfare, the Negro had been blocked in his every effort to cooperate fully in the common cause.

Southern Location of Army Camps Detrimental to Negro Morale

The location of most of the Army camps in the South and the predominance of training officers steeped in the inter-racial traditions of that region promised, from the first, little of equalitarian practice with respect to the Negro soldier. Segregation and discrimination prevailed both within the camps and in the surrounding communities to which Negro soldiers went in their free time. Some of them were actually murdered, many more assaulted, and most of them encountered humiliation at the hands of white citizens. In every southern city, there were white people determined to "keep the Negro in his place" regardless of his uniform. In fact, every Negro in uniform was a symbol of discontinuity in this tradition, and he was frequently in danger of assault, sometimes on slight provocation. To make matters worse, everywhere the Negro soldier turned he saw white military policemen—in the camp and in the community outside. It was not until hundreds of Negro soldiers had been "cracked over the head" by white military policemen that the Army authorized the training and use of Negro policemen. Some of them were not even armed. Others carried pistols but no bullets. Some could arrest any soldier; others were restricted to Negroes. In conflicts with civilian authorities, their power dissolved into thin air. Needless to say, all of this was greatly damaging to the Negro soldier's morale as well as to the nation's war effort.

Negro Areas of Camps Usually Isolated

Touring the Army camps in 1941, Editor P. L. Prattis of the Pittsburgh Courier made the following observations: "The Negro area, in nine cases out of ten, was in the most inaccessible section of the camp. . . . At Camp Lee, Negro soldiers told the writer that they had started at the center of the camp and had successively cleared up areas which were turned over to future incoming white troops while the Negroes were always kept in the woods." Prattis found Negro areas in other camps similarly unequal to those of the white soldiers. They were conspicuously set apart at Fort Bragg, Camp Croft, Fort Jackson, Camp Wheeler, Fort Benning, Camp Blanding, Camp Shelby, Camp Livingston, and Camp Bowie. At Camp Claiborne, the Negro soldiers were located in an area that seemed to have no geographical relationship to the rest of the camp. At Fort Sill, the Negro area was completely isolated from the main camp by railroad tracks and a public highway.

Observations of Brigadier General B. O. Davis Concerning Negro Morale

After visiting the northern and southern camps in which Negro soldiers were stationed in the early part of the war, Brigadier General B. O. Davis, in a memorandum dated November 10, 1943, wrote as follows: "I was deeply impressed with the high morale and attitudes of the colored officers and soldiers stationed in the camps visited in the past two months." (These were located in New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Michigan.) "They were very different from those of the colored officers and soldiers at the stations in the Southern States. While there has been improvement in general conditions, there is still great dissatisfaction on the part of the colored people and the soldiers. They feel that, regardless of how much they strive to meet War Department requirements, there is no change in the attitude of the War Department. The colored officers and soldiers feel that they are denied the protection and awards that ordinarily result from good behavior and proper performance of duty.

"Colored combat units, upon completion of training," General Davis continued, "have not been sent to theaters of operation. The enlisted personnel of two battalions of Field Artillery has been recently transferred to service units. The War Department has stated that this was done by military necessity. Somebody in the Department permitted this situation to develop. The personnel transferred from these Field Artillery units is reduced in morale. The commissioned and enlisted personnel left with the Field Artillery battalions can only look forward to another period of from fourteen to sixteen months preparation.

". . . The colored man in uniform receives nothing but hostility from community officials. . . . The colored man in uniform is expected by the War Department to develop a high morale in a community that offers him nothing but humiliation and mistreatment. Military training does not develop a spirit of cheerful acceptance of Jim Crow laws and customs. The War Department has failed to secure for the colored soldier protection against violence on the part of civilian police and to secure justice in the courts in the communities nearby Southern stations. Officers of the War Department General Staff have refused to attempt any remedial action to eliminate Jim Crow. In fact, the Army, by its directions and by actions of commanding officers, has introduced Jim Crow practices in areas, both at home and abroad, where they have not hitherto been practiced. . . ."

Controversy Over Efficiency of The 92nd Division

The 92nd Division, composed of all-Negro units, was conspicuous for its part in the Mediterranean Theater of Operations. At the time of its departure from Fort Huachuca, Arizona, June 1944, it was composed of the 365th, 370th, and 371st Infantry Regiments and the 597th, 598th, 599th, and 600th Field Artillery Battalions. A few months later, it was joined by the 366th Infantry. In Italy, the 92nd Division served with General Truscutt's Fifth Army until the end of hostilities there.

It was this division of Negro soldiers about which judgments differed as to its fighting qualities and efficiency. In its first major offensive, the 92nd crossed the Arno River, capturing the city of Lucca in September, 1944. Late in December of the same year, after capturing several towns and considerable territory from the Germans, the 92nd withdrew in the face of a surprise offensive by the enemy. Even though the American lines had, a little while before, been weakened by shifts of units and replacements with unseasoned troops, they were able to assume the offensive and, within a few days, to recapture all ground that had been lost.

It was the offensive of the 92nd, begun February 8, 1945, in the area of the Cinqualle Canal, which became the major object of unfavorable criticism. After four days of fighting, during which some territory was captured, the 92nd withdrew with severe losses in men and equipment. While there was no question concerning the actuality of a retreat and severe losses, the alleged description of the occurrence by Truman K. Gibson, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, who made a tour of the Division sector in Italy in the spring of 1945, in terms of "a melting away" and "more or less panicky retreats," was unacceptable to several commentators in the Negro newspapers.

The emphasis in the Gibson report, however, was not on "panicky retreats" but on certain abnormal conditions which could easily result in less than normal achievement. The controversy cleared up materially at a later date when the contents of the report were taken in their entirety.

It is significant that when Major General E. M. Almond, commander of the 92nd Division was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal in September, 1945, the division was especially praised in the citation. The records show that under the colors of this division, 12,096 decorations were awarded to officers and enlisted men, including 2 Distinguished Service Crosses, 1 Distinguished Service Medal, 16 Legion of Merit Awards, 95 Silver Stars, 6 Soldier's Medals, 723 Bronze Stars, 1,095 Purple Hearts, and 7,996 Combat Infantryman Badges.

A White Officer of the 92nd Infantry Reports on the Negro Soldier

Captain Warman Welliver, after serving with the 92nd Infantry Division from October 1943 to July 1945, has given in the April, 1946 issue of Harper's an evaluating "Report On the Negro Soldier." In this report, from a white officer's point of view, we have an interesting discussion of Negro morale and accomplishment. Two conclusions of Captain Welliver are significant: "One is that the policy for colored troops has been an almost complete military failure. The other is that unless people know about that policy and its results, the failure will be repeated.

"After all," declared Welliver, "the military ability of any group of people is a projection of the abilities and spirit with which they have developed in their civilian society plus the increment of specialized ability and morale which the Army can train into them. The unfavorable position of the Negro minority in our national life results in its members usually coming into the Army greatly handicapped. By denying them the opportunity to become fully developed citizens we have succeeded, really, in blunting not only the desires but the ability of most colored Americans to be good combat soldiers.

"More important," he continues, "is the habituation of colored men to discrimination and a dependent inferior position in civilian life. Most colored soldiers, before they entered the Army, resigned themselves to acceptance of the white man's arrogance and unfairness and forgetfulness of his professed ideals—largely because the colored man couldn't see much hope of remedying in the situation by his own individual efforts. This frame of mind is definitely not the stuff of which good soldiers are made. The white man's arrogance in America is just one facet, considerably distorted, of the American philosophy of independence, devil-take-the-hindmost, and any-man's-as-good-as-another. And this philosophy has been a powerful ingredient in making the American GI the consistently able and daring soldier he is. The fact that the colored man, by and large, has never been privileged to feel this stimulus to action—or perhaps the fact that when he has felt it, after a too early, too believing study of the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution, has been subsequently rudely awakened to reality—has formed a tremendous barrier to his ability, let alone desire, to be a competent combat soldier.

"The discrimination and segregation to which he has been subjected in civilian life are carried over into military life. He is placed in segregated units, his uniform is often no protection against illegal treatment at the hands of civilians, he is commanded by white officers whose dislike of him and of their job is too often obvious, he is sometimes denied pleasures and privileges enjoyed by white soldiers for the very real reason that serious trouble would develop if he were allowed to enjoy them. Yet he is asked to risk his life against the enemy as bravely . . . as the white soldier. Colored soldiers would be more than human if a lot of them didn't have very serious mental reservations about the setup."

Congresswoman Evaluates The 92nd Division

In the House of Representatives, February 1, 1946, the Honorable Helen Gahagan Douglas of California evaluates the 92nd Division in the following words: "It is one of the marvels of the war that the 92nd Division with an enlisted personnel made up almost entirely of Negro boys from the South—boys who had been sent out to work in the fields before they were even adolescents, boys who in many cases never had a chance to learn to read or write, boys who had grown up in an area where they and their people were always treated as inferiors—should have made the record it did, staying in there week in and week out, through some of the bitterest fighting in the whole war, against Hitler's best, a superb army of self-assured German veterans fighting with all they had to protect their homeland from the attack rolling up from the south.

"The 92nd Division consisted of approximately 12,000 officers and men, including some 200 white officers and 600 Negro officers, 3 of whom were lieutenant colonels and 6 were majors. Its enlisted personnel was all Negro—a majority of them rated as IV and V, the lowest grades in the Army classifications. This was due largely to the fact that three-fourths of them came from Southern States, where educational opportunities for the Negro are practically non-existent. And, furthermore, the 92nd Division was activated before the Army educational program—designed to carry a man only through the fourth grade in school—got under way.

"But these men—ill equipped as they were—did their job. They stayed in there, giving their best, day in and day out, see-sawing back and forth through the rain and cold and mud, locked in a titanic death struggle with an experienced, magnificently trained enemy who knew all the tricks and who had never known defeat.

"Through the whole bitter experience, the men of the 92nd Division were dogged by the racial prejudice and segregation that had followed them from the Southern camps where they trained at home. Other troops might yield temporarily, but there was no comment. But if the 92nd Division lost a yard one day—even though they might gain it back the next day—the reports went back across the Atlantic and soon their letters from home would tell them of loud-mouths screaming, even on the floor of Congress, that the Negro soldiers were no good."

THE NEGRO IN THE ARMY AIR FORCES

Discrimination in Army Air Forces At the Beginning of War

With the beginning of mobilization in 1940, there was the same kind of discrimination against Negroes in the Army Air Forces as existed in other branches of the Army, Navy, and in defense industries. Typical was the case of Roderick Charles Williams of Chicago who applied for a cadetship in the Air Corps. Williams, a graduate of the University of Illinois, class 1939, had fully met all requirements for admission to cadet training. In response to his written application, he was informed by Major L. S. Smith, acting Adjutant General, as follows:

> "The Congress has created several units of the Army exclusively for colored troops but no colored tactical units of the Air Corps have been authorized up to this time. Consequently, no provision has been made by the War Department for units to which the colored race could be assigned in the event of their completing the prescribed course of training to become military pilots. Accordingly, favorable consideration cannot be given your application for flying cadet appointment at this time. The supporting papers which accompanied your application are returned herewith.
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> "It is suggested that you communicate with the Administrator, Civil Aeronautics, Washington, D. C., who, it is understood, has designated certain civilian flying schools for the training of colored pilots."

Separate Aviation Squadrons For Negroes

In its statement of mobilization plans for 1941, the Air Command provided for the establishment of ten Negro units of 250 men each, to be designated as "Aviation Squadrons (Separate)." In the judgment of William H. Hastie, sometime Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, the Aviation Squadrons were not intended to function other than as organizations "for Negro enlisted men in the Air Corps." In a statement released to the Negro press, Hastie declared:

> "These units have never had a defined function. It is the practice of the Army command, whenever a new type of unit is authorized, to prepare in writing a careful and detailed statement describing the new unit, the things it is to do, and how it is to do them. No such guiding statement was prepared for the Aviation Squadrons (Separate). A unit of 250 Negro soldiers was merely assigned to an air field for use in such manner as the local commander might see fit.
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> "Except as individual commanders on their own initiative have found some military function for particular small groups of men, the characteristic assignment of the Aviation Squadrons (Separate) has been the performance of odd jobs of common labor which arise from time to time."

No Military Aviation For Negroes Before 1941

In the fall of 1940, the War Department announced that "Negroes are being given aviation training as pilots, mechanics, and as technical specialists. This training will be accelerated." Investigation revealed, however, that such training was civilian rather than military in nature and was being given in a small number of Negro colleges and one private air field, all under the supervision of the Civil Aeronautics Administration. The training thus received by Negro men gave no military status and no assurance of military acceptance at the completion of the courses.

This situation brought about protests from many quarters. Suits were brought against members of the War-Department to compel the admission of qualified Negro men to the military aviation centers. One of the results of the persistent protests was the establishment by the War Department of an aviation unit at Tuskegee, Alabama, to train Negroes for pursuit flying. While not entirely satisfactory from the Negro point of view, the establishment of this training center was considered by many to indicate progress toward a solution of the problem.

The Tuskegee Army Air Field (TAAF)

The United States Army's first flying school for Negro cadets, located at Tuskegee, Alabama, was dedicated July 19, 1941. This marked the formal beginning of the 99th pursuit squadron. TAAF, a once rough, wooded site, was converted into a magnificent airport by Hilyard Robinson and McKissack and McKissack, Negro architect and contractors.

On August 25, 1941, the first class of 13 cadets began primary training at the 66th Army Air Forces Flying Training Detachment, under instruction of civilian pilots, with supervision and administrative work handled by Army personnel. Moton Field[2] (privately owned by Tuskegee Institute) was built in 1941 for Army Primary Training. It was a facility of the Institute's Division of Aeronautics which had begun flying instruction in 1939, two years prior to the inauguration of training of Negroes as military pilots. Dedicated in April, 1943, Moton Field was named in memory of Dr. Robert Russa Moton, second President of Tuskegee Institute. Mr. G. L. Washington, formerly Director of the School of Mechanical Industries at Tuskegee Institute, had the responsibility of organizing and directing the school's aviation operations.

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[2] After termination of the Army's contract with Tuskegee Institute for pilot training November, 1945, facilities of Moton Field were leased to a newly formed company, Tuskegee Aviation, for operation of a private flying program.

The training schedule of cadets called for five weeks of pre-flight training, followed by 30 weeks of primary, basic and advanced training. Since March 6, 1942 when five of the first class completed training, pilots received wings monthly. The 34th and last graduating class, June 29, 1946, included nine cadets and brought the total number of fliers trained at the TAAF to 992. More than 500 of these pilots served overseas where they earned a liberal share of Distinguished Flying Crosses, Air Medals and other awards. Pilot production at Tuskegee reached its peak in March, 1945 when 38 pilots received wings. Until December, 1943 when the first class of twin-engine bomber pilots graduated, only single-engine fighter pilots had been trained at the base. The TAAF also produced hundreds of technicians and specialists essential to the Army Air Forces.

The first commanding officer of the field was Major James A. Ellison who was transferred in January, 1942 and succeeded by Colonel Frederick V. H. Kimble, a West Point graduate with 24 years' flying experience. In December, 1942 Colonel Noel F. Parrish assumed the command. While the commanding officers of the base were white, most of the other officers were Negroes.

On September 5, 1946 the Army Air Forces declared the Tuskegee base surplus. Officers formerly assigned to the field were transferred to the Lockbourne Army Air Base, Columbus, Ohio to join the 477th Composite Group.

The 99th[3] Pursuit Squadron

Activated on March 19, 1941, as the first all-Negro air unit, this Tuskegee trained unit of fighter pilots was committed to combat on June 1, 1943, after further training by veterans of the Tunisian campaign. It flew its first mission over an air base at Fardjouna, the following day. Other early missions were over the island of Pantelleria, Italian stronghold guarding the Sicilian straits. Six of its pilots had their first brush with enemy aircraft over Pantelleria, and pilots of the 99th dive-bombed Pantelleria daily until it was surrendered on June 11, 1943.

Next came the Sicilian campaign. During the first nine days of July, 1943, these Negro pilots escorted bombers to Sicily. On every trip they were attacked by superior numbers of enemy fighter planes. By the middle of July the 99th was escorting bombers over Italy. In a dog-fight over Sciacca, Italy, one day, First Lt. Charles B. Hall, of Brazil, Indiana, shot down the first Axis plane officially credited to the 99th Squadron. On that same day the 99th, flying close escort for medium Mitchell bombers, probably destroyed two more German planes and damaged three.

General Eisenhower was at the air base with the squadron's commander, Lieutenant Colonel (now colonel) Benjamin O. Davis, Jr.,[4] when Hall and the others landed after that fight and congratulated them on their first confirmed victory. From June 1 to September 3, 1943, the 99th Squadron participated in about 800 sorties over north Africa, Sicily and Italy.

The 99th Squadron, by this time based in Italy, had its biggest day on January 27, 1944. In one of the fiercest air battles of the Italian campaign, over the Anzio beachhead, south of Rome, Negro pilots of the 99th Squadron scored eight confirmed victories over the Germans. Bent on driving the Allied landing force out of its beachhead, a hundred or more Messerschmitt 109's and Focke-Wulf 190's came over in two attacks, morning and afternoon on that day. Twenty-eight were destroyed and the 99th got eight of them, the largest number credited to any single squadron that day. On January 28, 1944, the 99th shot down four more enemy planes. Allied fliers brought down 16 Focke-Wulfs and 3 Messerschmitts on February 7, 1944, three of these being brought down by pilots of the 99th. In ten days over Anzio beachhead, the 99th brought down 16 enemy planes, and received special commendation of ranking Army Air Forces officials. Then commanding the outfit was Major George S. Roberts, Fairmont, West Virginia, who succeeded when Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., returned to the States to head the 332nd Fighter Group.

Exactly one year after they had flown their first mission over an enemy air base at Fardjouna, North Africa, pilots of the 99th, on detached service with the 332nd Fighter Group, flew their five hundredth combat mission. The 99th flew 3,728 sorties during its first year of service. During the first year, the squadron lost 12 pilots—five killed in action, four reported missing, and three known to be prisoners of war.

The 99th Fighter Squadron (formerly the 99th Pursuit Squadron), having undergone many changes in the process of demobilization, is functioning as a unit in the postwar Army Air Force. Under command of Major William A. Campbell, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, it is a part of the 477th Composite Group, stationed at Lockbourne Army Air Base, near Columbus, Ohio.

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[3] Data on combat activities drawn from news releases, Bureau of Public Relations, and Records, War Department.

[4] West Point graduate, and member of first class of pilots trained at T.A.A.F.

The 332nd Fighter Group[5]

The 332nd Fighter Group, consisting of three pursuit squadrons and a technical service unit was activated at Tuskegee, Alabama, in October, 1942. During much of its training period in the United States, the group was commanded by experienced white pilots at Selfridge Field, Michigan. In October, 1943, Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., commander of the 99th Pursuit Squadron, having been recalled from the Mediterranean Theater, took command of the group at Selfridge Field. Earlier, a post commander at Selfridge Field, Colonel William T. Coleman (white), had been transferred and reduced in rank to captain for shooting his Negro orderly.

After the activation of the 332nd, a larger and more complex fighting unit than the 99th, Negroes became insistent in their pleas for acceptance as bombardiers and navigators. There followed the establishment of preliminary training for this type of service at Tuskegee in October, 1943; soon afterwards training of a similar nature was initiated at Selfridge Field, and the first class of Negro navigation pilots began training at Hondo Field, Texas. Some of these Hondo navigation trainees underwent bombardier training at Roswell Army Air Field, New Mexico, thus qualifying for dual-rating. Meantime, Negroes had been accepted for paratroop training at the Parachute School, Fort Benning, Georgia. In February, 1944 a unit designated as the 555th Parachute Infantry Company became the first Negro parachute unit.

In February, 1944, the 332nd Fighter Group became an active part of the 12th Air Force in the Mediterranean Theater, where it was soon joined by the 99th Pursuit Squadron which had already established an enviable reputation for itself. From Allied headquarters in Naples it was announced on March 17, 1944, that the 332nd Fighter Group was operating from Italian bases, as part of the Mediterranean coastal air force. This group flew P-39's on convoy protection and harbor patrol missions along the west coast of Italy. It also flew in close support of advancing Allied armies in Italy, in daily dive-bombing operations against enemy supply lines, motor transport, rail yards, and gun emplacements. Penetrating ahead of the 15th Army Air Force bombers bound for Munich on June 9, 1944, the group battled more than 100 enemy fighters near Udine, Italy, and sent five of them crashing to earth. The bomber formation they were protecting suffered only a few losses.

The 332nd Fighter Group destroyed a total of 111 enemy planes in the air and 150 on the ground. In addition, it is credited with destruction of 57 locomotives and damaging another 69. Perhaps the greatest single feat of the group was the sinking of an enemy destroyer, with machine-gun fire, off the Istrian Peninsula, but its pilots are best known for the protection they gave Fifteenth Air Force bombers during concentrated raids on oil refineries at Polesti and Vienna. On the D-Day invasion of southern France the group flew cover for Allied landing forces and strafed radar installations along the coast preparatory to the landings. On March 24, 1945, the group flew escort to B-17's of the 15th Air Force to Berlin and destroyed three enemy air-craft, probably destroyed three other, and damaged three. For its outstanding performance of duty, the group was awarded the Distinguished Unit Citation, which read as follows:

"On March 23, 1945, the group was assigned the mission of escorting heavy-bombardment type aircraft attacking the vital Daimler-Benz tank-assembly plant at Berlin, Germany. Realizing the strategic importance of the mission and fully cognizant of the amount of enemy resistance to be expected and the long range to be covered, the ground crews worked tirelessly and with enthusiasm to have their aircraft at the peak of mechanical condition to insure the success of the operation.

"On March 24, 1945, 59 P-51 type aircraft were air-borne and set course for the rendezvous with the bomber formation. Through superior navigation and maintenance of strict flight discipline the group formation reached the bomber formation at the designated time and place. Nearing the target approximately 25 enemy aircraft were encountered which included ME 262's which launched relentless attacks in a desperate effort to break up and destroy the bomber formations.

"Displaying outstanding courage, aggressiveness, and combat technique, the group immediately engaged the enemy formation in aerial combat. In the ensuing engagement that continued over the target area, the gallant pilots of the 332nd Fighter Group battled against the enemy fighter to prevent the breaking up of the bomber formation and thus jeopardizing the successful completion of this vitally important mission. Through their superior skill and determination, the group destroyed three enemy aircraft, probably destroyed three, and damaged three. Among their claims were eight of the highly rated enemy jet-propelled aircraft with no losses sustained by the 332nd Fighter Group.

"Leaving the target area and en route to base after completion of their primary task, aircraft of the group conducted strafing attacks against enemy ground installation and transportation with outstanding technical skill and devotion to duty of the ground personnel, the 332nd Fighter Group has reflected great credit on itself and the armed forces of the United States."

In recognition of their outsanding courage, professional skill and devotion to duty, Colonel Davis and three other pilots of the 332nd Fighter Group—Captain Joseph D. Elsberry, Langston, Oklahoma; First Lieutenants Jack D. Holsclaw, Spokane, Washington, and Clarence D. Lester, Chicago, Illinois, were presented with Distinguished Flying Crosses. Lieutenant General Ira C. Eaker, in command of all Allied Air Forces in the Mediterranean theater, was present at the occasion in Italy, September 10, 1944. Later, in ceremony at Godman Field, Kentucky, June 21, 1945, where he presented Colonel Davis as commander of the 477th Composite Group and of Godman Field, General Eaker said:

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[5] Data concerning combat activities drawn from news releases, Bureau Public Relations, and records, War Department.

> "Along with other officers in the Army Air Forces, I have followed closely the record of Negro pilots. As the commanding officer of the Mediterranean Allied Air Forces, I had under my command the 99th Fighter Squadron and later the 332nd Fighter Group. I watched closely as the pilots progressed through the P-39, P-40, P-47, and P-51 aircraft. I likewise watched their assignments develop from routine but necessary coastal patrol missions to important heavy bomber close-escort missions.
>
> "The 99th Fighter Squadron and other squadrons of the 332nd Fighter Group have done well. They have carried out the missions assigned to them and they have destroyed enemy aircraft both in the air and on the ground. By their efforts and performance they have won a place on the great Air Forces team. They came on the hard way."

The 477th Composite Group

The all-Negro air unit, the 477th Composite Group (bomber group redesignated), composed of the 99th Fighter Squadron, the 617th Fighter Squadron, the 602nd Engineer Squadron, the 766th AAF Band, and the 118th AAF Base Unit, was transferred in February, 1946 from Godman Field, Kentucky, to its permanent base, Lockbourne Army Air Field, near Columbus, Ohio. Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., former head of the 99th Pursuit Squadron and the 332nd Fighter Group, is commander of the 477th and the Lockbourne base.

The 477th Bombardment Group, first Negro bombardment squadron, had been formed in February, 1944, at Selfridge Field, Michigan, made up of the first class of twin-engine bomber pilots from the Tuskegee Army Air Field, subsequently trained at Mather Field, California. This group was, for a time, stationed at Freeman Field, near Vincennes, Indiana, before going to Godman Field. In 1945 Colonel Davis replaced Colonel Robert Selway, Jr., (white) as commander of the group at Godman after the latter was removed, following the arrest of 101 Negro officers, subsequently released, who had opposed segregation tactics in the officers' club at Freeman Field.[6]

Though a large per cent of the civilian employees at the Lockbourne base are white, it is essentially an all colored post, the key positions being staffed, for the most part, by men who saw extended combat duty with the 99th and 332nd. The 477th is under the First Air Force.

Negroes in the Army Air Forces, August 31, 1945

There were over 6,000 Negro technicians, mechanics and pilots in the Army Air Forces on August 31, 1945 (two days before V-J Day, September 2), according to the War Department. A partial list of Negro AAF personnel holding technical positions is shown below.

OFFICERS—Total 925	
Pilots—553	
Pilot 1-E	130
Fighter Pilot 1-E	223
Bomber Pilot 2-E	1
Pilot 2-E	100
Fighter Pilot 2-E	2
Pilot B-25	89
Pilot B-24	1
Service Pilot 1-E	9
Flight Test Maintenance Off.	7
Weather Officer Pilot	1
Navigators—130	
Navigator	58
Navigator-Bombardier	72
Bombardiers—189	
Bombardier	189
Communications Officers—34	
Electronics	3
Radio Officer	1
Communications Officer	23
Signal Officer	2
Message Center Off., Cryptogram	1
Maintenance Repair Air Signal Equipment	1
Signal Equipment Maintenance Repair Officer	1
Security Officer, Cryptogram	1
Communication Inspector	1
Weather Officers—9	
Weather Engineer Survey	2
Weather Officer	7
ENLISTED MEN	
Radio Operators	657
Crew Chiefs	379
Radar Technicians	88
Airplane Engine Mechanics	1,369
Propeller Technicians	56

VARIOUS ACTIVITIES OF NEGRO SOLDIERS[7]

African-Italian Campaign

41st Engineers

On June 17, 1942, 18 months before United States troops were reported to have landed at Dakar—the first Negro troops landed in Africa. They were the 41st Engineer Regiment—the "singing engineers"—and their mission was to protect that vital area in the trans-African life line of the United Nations under an agreement between the Government of the United States and Liberia. The pact, signed on March 31, 1942, gave the United States the right to construct, control, operate, and defend airports in the West African republic.

The 41st worked at a grueling pace. A big job had to be done in record time, despite malaria, bad terrain, and the rainy season. But they built the airports, cantonments, and other installations that were needed. They unloaded ships and dispatched supplies through three big defense areas. They laid steel landing mats in the emergency airports and waged a constant battle against the verdant undergrowth. They built permanent structures to replace temporary shacks and sheds.

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[6] The 477th and 553rd, in 1943 (before transfer to Godman Field and Walterboro, S. C., respectively), had experienced difficulty at Selfridge Field over use of the officers' club by Negroes.
(The 553rd Pursuit Squadron which had been activated at Selfridge contained replacements for the 99th and 332nd).

[7] —Data drawn directly or extracted from War Department releases.

450th Antiaircraft Artillery Automatic Weapons Battalion

This battalion had the distinction of being the first Negro combat unit to land in North Africa and the first Negro combat unit to go into action on European soil. As a matter of fact, before it even landed on the Italian peninsula, it won the commendation of Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark, commanding the Fifth Army, for "outstanding performance of duty" in its baptism of fire. It accounted for two German bombers before it landed in Italy.

While the Negro troops of the 450th Battalion were still aboard ship in Naples Harbor, German bombers came over. The attack occurred at night. Soldiers of the 450th Battalion aboard one ship manned its 40-mm guns. Searchlights picked up the bombers, and the Negro gun crew shot down one German bomber.

Aboard another ship, carrying personnel and equipment of the 450th Battalion, Master Sergeant Johnson Clark, of Detroit, Michigan, jumped into a loaded truck parked on deck and opened fire with a 50-caliber machinegun mounted on the cab. Other fire opened up from that ship, and a second bomber crashed into the sea.

The 92nd Division[8]

A regimental combat team of 92nd Infantry Division went into the line on the Fifth Army front in Italy in August, 1944. Ten minutes later they went into action against some of the best trained and seasoned troops Hitler had in his whole army. From then on, until the Italian campaign finally ended with the surrender of a million crack German troops in April, 1945, the 92nd Division fought in General Mark Clark's Fifth Army. Some of them were in the line as long as 68 days at a stretch, more than two months.

It was a polyglot army, the Fifth Army in which they fought, made up of British, American, Brazilian, French, Italian, Greek, Polish, Palestinian, New Zealand, and East Indian troops. It was in this Fifth Army that the Japanese-Americans so greatly distinguished themselves.

On April 30, 1945, General Clark announced that the long, weary, bitter campaign, begun on the beaches of Salerno in September, 1943, had ended. His polyglot troops had so smashed the German armies in Italy that they had been virtually eliminated as a military force. Nearly 1,000,000 Germans in northern Italy and western Austria laid down their arms in unconditional surrender on May 2, 1945.

Around Thanksgiving time the 92nd Division came home. Only 4,000 were left of the once 12,000 strong 92nd Division whose ranks, like those of other divisions that fought overseas, had been thinned by transfers, discharges and deaths. On the day the campaign in Italy ended, the 92nd Division had lost almost one-fourth of its men through casualties. Three hundred and thirty had been killed in action, 2,215 wounded, and 616 were missing in action.

Among the Negro units operating outside the 92nd Division in Italy was a signal construction battalion, assigned to the 15th Air Force. This battalion established a record. It installed and maintained 2,300 miles of open wire, 500 miles of field wire, and 100 miles of cable in its first four months in Italy.

European Theater

Combat Troops

Slightly under 9 per cent of the 259,173 Negro troops reported in the European Theater of Operations on May 15, (1945) one week after VE-Day, belonged to combat organizations.

Twenty-two Negro combat units participated in the operations of the American Expeditionary Forces against the Wehrmacht.

The 320th Barrage Balloon Battalion was the only Negro combat unit to take part in the initial landings on the Normandy coast on June 6th. Classified as an antiaircraft organization, it was the only American unit of its type in Europe, but was transferred from the theater before the end of the war.

Men from the 320th Barrage Balloon Battalion waded ashore in the early hours of D-Day, struggling with their "flying beer bottles" which they had brought across the channel on the first assault waves. They brought their balloons to the shoreline, dug in with infantrymen of the First and 29th Divisions, and proceeded under fierce enemy fire to erect a protective curtain of silver barrage balloons that proved highly effective in combating strafing German aircraft.

Negro artillerymen of the 333rd Field Artillery Battalion landed their 155 millimeter howitzers in Normandy on D plus 10 and went into action shortly afterward as a unit of the Eighth Corps. Their first mission was to fire in support of the 90th Infantry Division and take part in the bloody battles at St. Jores, Lessay, Hill 95, and Hill 122 in the Foret de Monte Castret.

This unit swept through the Avranches corridor with the Third Army and did considerable firing in Brittany at St. Malo and Brest. When the German counteroffensive in the Ardennes began, the 333rd had batteries staggered in Belgium and across the German border near Schoenburg.

Along with United States units like the 106th and 28th Infantry Divisions, the 333rd Field Artillery received the full fury of the spearhead thrust of Von Rundstedt's attack at the point of impact. Losses in men and equipment were severe. The battalion commander was captured and most of two gun batteries were casualties. Survivors of this action and liberated prisoners captured during the fight told of stubborn resistance and examples of high courage by the artillerymen that prolonged the battle after large groups of men had been surrounded.

The 969th Field Artillery Battalion, another medium howitzer outfit, was the only Negro artillery unit in Europe to receive a Presidential Unit Citation. It had fought through the Normandy, and northern France campaigns, providing artillery backing for infantrymen of a number of United States divisions. When the Ardennes break-through started, the 969th received orders to displace its guns and withdraw in the direction of Bastogne, Belgium. It reached that little city in time to be pressed into service, and to earn for itself a place in American military history as one of the units making up the gallant garrison that fought against overwhelming odds to save the strategically vital rail and road junction.

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[8]See also previous discussions.

The 969th Field Artillery Battalion received its Distinguished Unit Citation along with the 101st Airborne Division and other attached units which formed the garrison that fought the epic Battle of Bastogne. The citation read:

"These units distinguished themselves in combat against powerful and aggressive enemy forces composed of elements of eight German divisions during the period from December 18 to 27, 1944, by extraordinary heroism and gallantry in defense of the key communications center of Bastogne, Belgium.

"Essential to a large-scale exploitation of this break-through into Belgium and northern Luxembourg, the enemy attempted to seize Bastogne by attacking constantly and savagely with the best of his armor and infantry. Without benefit of prepared defenses, facing almost overwhelming odds, and with very limited and fast-dwindling supplies, these units maintained a high combat morale and an impenetrable defense, despite extremely heavy bombing, intense artillery fire, and constant attacks from infantry and armour on all sides of their completely cut-off and encircled position.

"This masterful and grimly determined defense denied the enemy even momentary success in an operation for which he paid dearly in men, materiel, and eventually morale. The outstanding courage and resourcefulness and undaunted determination of this gallant force is in keeping with the highest traditions of the service."

The 777th Field Artillery Battalion was the only Negro 4.5-inch gun unit in the ETO and fought with the Ninth Army. One distinction claimed by the 777th is that it fired the first American artillery round across the Rhine River near Munchen-Glacbach.

Other veteran ETO Negro artillery units were the 999th Field Artillery Battalion, which fired its 8-inch howitzers from lower Normandy to central Germany, and the 578th, another 8-inch howitzer unit that helped to stem the Nazi tide in the Ardennes in December and January.

In early November the 761st Tank Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Paul L. Bates, of Boonton, New Jersey, was committed an attached armor of the 26th Infantry Division in the Third United States Army, becoming the first Negro tank unit to go into action. The 761st fought in six European countries—France, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany, and Austria—and was at various times attached to the Third, Seventh, and Ninth United States Armies. During these campaigns the battalion furnished tank support for the 26th, 71st, 87th, 79th, 103rd Infantry Divisions, and the 17th Airborne Division during the Battle of the Bulge.

These Negro tankers spearheaded the famous Task Force Rhine, which crashed through the rugged mountain defenses of the Siegfried line in the Nieder Schlettenbach-Reisdorf-Klingenmunster area. Task Force Rhine consisted of the 761st Tank Battalion, the Second Battalion of the 103rd Infantry Division's 409th Regiment, a detachment of combat engineers, and a recon platoon from the 614th Tank Destroyer Battalion, a Negro outfit. In three days the task force opened up a big hole in the Siegfried defenses through which passed the 14th Armored Division on March 24th.

Another Negro tank unit, the 784th, arrived in Europe in time to assist the 35th Infantry Division in crossing both the Roer and Rhine Rivers and the subsequent fighting that followed these crossings.

The 614th Tank Destroyer Battalion moved into position with the 95th Infantry Division in front of Metz in November (1944), but soon after was transferred to the 102nd Infantry Division of the Seventh Army, where it remained as attached tank-destroyer support until the end of the war. For outstanding performance of duty in action against the enemy at Climbach, France, on December 14, 1944, the third platoon of company C of the 614th Tank Destroyer Battalion received a distinguished unit citation. The citation itself tells graphically the grim, heroic nature of the action:

"The Third Platoon was an element of a task force whose mission was to storm and capture the strategically important town of Climbach, France, on the approaches of the Siegfried line. Upon reaching the outskirts of the town, the task force was halted by a terrific hail of fire from an enemy force firmly entrenched in the surrounding woods and hills overlooking the route of approach. The only position available for direct fire upon the enemy was an open field.

"As the Third Platoon moved into position, its commander and several men were wounded. Undeterred by heavy enemy small arms, mortar and artillery fire, which was now being directed against their position, the men of the Third Platoon valiantly set up their 3-inch guns and delivered accurate and deadly fire into the enemy positions. Casualties were mounting; two of their four guns were knocked out; nevertheless, the remaining crew members heroically assisted in the loading and firing of the other guns. At the height of the battle, enemy infantry converged on the position from the surrounding woods, threatening to wipe out the platoon's position.

"While a few members of the gun crews remained firing the 3-inch guns, others manned machine guns and individual weapons, laying down a devastating curtain of fire which inflicted numerous casualties on the enemy and successfully repulsed the attack. During the fire fight an ammunition shortage developed, and gun crews were reduced to skeleton size, one man loading, aiming, and firing while the other men repeatedly traveled a distance of 50 yards through a hail of mortar and small arms fire, to obtain shells from a half-track which had been set on by a direct hit from an enemy mortar shell.

"Heedless of possible injury men continuously exposed themselves to enemy fire to render first aid to the wounded. In this engagement, although the platoon suffered over 50 per cent casualties and lost considerable materiel, its valorous conduct, in the face of overwhelming odds, enabled the task force to capture its objective.

"The grim determination, the indomitable fighting spirit and the esprit de corps displayed by all members of the Third Platoon reflect the highest traditions of the armed forces of the United States."

Infantry

In December, 1944 several thousand Negro soldiers answered a general appeal for volunteers for training as infantry riflemen. Some 2,500 volunteers from Negro units of communications zone were trained at a ground forces reinforcement command depot at Noyons, France, and committed to action with infantry and armored divisions of the First and Seventh Armies as assigned platoons and companies.

The setting of a quota for these Negro infantrymen resulted in the rejection of nearly 3,000 other Negro GI's who wanted to fight at the front. In a story carried in its Paris edition on March 19, the Stars and Stripes announced the presence in the line of Negro infantrymen and said: "Long contemplated, the plan of mixing white and colored doughboys in fighting units was launched not as an experiment in race relations but as an answer both to the needs of the military situation and repeated requests by Negro service troops for an opportunity to get into the war as combat men."

The men gave many reasons for having volunteered. Some were sick and tired of dull rear-echelon activity. Many went in for idealistic reasons, determined to disprove the myth that Negroes are poor combat soldiers and lacking in courage.

"If comments of white personnel of these divisions are any indication, the plan of mixing white and colored troops in fighting units, a departure from previous United States Army practice, is operating successfully," a Stars and Stripes staff writer reported in an article in the paper's April 6th issue.

Negro reinforcements reported a sincere, friendly welcome everywhere. They also spoke of excellent relations with their white fellow-doughs, of the making of interracial friendships. One company commander's comment was typical. "The integration of the Negro platoon into this unit was accomplished quickly and quietly. There was no problem."

In its first action the Negro platoon of K Company of the 394th Infantry Regiment of the 99th Division, led an attack on the town of Honningen across the Rhine River, cleared one-fourth of it and captured over 250 prisoners.

Another platoon with E Company of the 393rd Regiment of the same division got its baptism of fire on March 25th when it attacked German positions near Jahrfeld, Germany. Employing marching fire, they advanced, routing the Germans, knocking out a Mark IV tank and a flak wagon, killing 48 of the enemy and capturing 60. These men gained their objective, Hill 373.

The Negro platoon of Company G of the 273rd Infantry Regiment helped the 69th Infantry Division to become the first American unit to make contact with the Russian forces. During the platoon's first combat action at Hann Munden, Staff Sergeant Ames Shipper, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, took 118 prisoners from a barn.

One of the finest tributes paid these volunteer infantrymen came from Brigadier General Charles T. Lanham, assistant commander of the 104th Infantry Division, following the presentation of combat decorations of 11 of the men. "I have never seen any soldiers who have performed better in combat than you," General Lanham told the Negro doughboys.

Signal Corps

During the campaign against the German Army in Europe, 5,500 Negro Signal Corps troops belonging to 20 signal units participated in the vital battle of communications.

These Negro troops worked in two main types of Signal Corps units—light and heavy signal construction battalions and companies. Several of these units made communications history. Negro signal outfits laid wire from the hedgerowed fields of Normandy, across France, Luxembourg, and Belgium deep into Germany.

A recent estimate of communications wire put in by Negro troops released by the communications zone headquarters included these figures: Over 10,000 miles of open wire setup, over 500 miles of field wire, and over 500 miles of rubber and lead spiral 4 cable.

Chemical Warfare

Chemical Warfare Service headquarters in the European theater of operations has disclosed that of the 9,500 Chemical Warfare Service troops in the theater on VE-Day 2,442 of these were Negro enlisted men and officers. Other Negro Chemical Warfare Service units were the three chemical decontamination companies, the 25th, the 32nd, and 34th.

All of the smoke-generator units were not used in their primary function of manufacturing artificial fog, several being diverted to trucking operations under Transportation Corps supervision.

The record shows that the smoke-generator companies which saw action performed excellently, often under heavy enemy fire, winning praise from infantry commanders and chemical officers. One of the greatest artificial fogs in military history was created in December, 1944 by the all-Negro 161st Smoke Generator Company when it shrouded the upper Saar River Valley with a dense cloud of fog that completely obscured the movements of one entire division, the 90th Infantry Division.

Ordnance

Of the 6,000,000 tons of ammunition handled by ordnance ammunition companies on the Continent between D-Day and VE-Day, more than 4,500,000 tons passed through the hands of Negro ordnancemen, Major General Henry B. Sayler, chief ordnance officer of the ETO, said.

In releasing the figures on the amount of ammunition made available for use by United States fighting men, General Sayler paid high tribute to the 14,323 Negro enlisted men who accounted for 11 per cent of the total ordnance personnel on the Continent. "Not only did these Negro troops 'pass the ammunition,'" said General Sayler, "but on numerous occasions many of them fought the Germans, participated in patrols, and took prisoners."

Medical Corps

Negro personnel formed 2.2 per cent of the total European Theater of Operation medical service strength or 5,482. Negro officers were distributed as follows: Medical officers, 51; Dental Corps, 28; Medical Administrative Corps, 17; and Nurse Corps, 67. Sixty-five of the Negro nurses were attached to the 168th Station Hospital in England.

Working with divisions at the front, the performance of Negro medics was particularly outstanding.

Corps of Engineers

Of the 259,173 Negro troops in the European Theater of Operations as of May 15 (1945), a little more than one in every five was an engineer soldier. On May 31st there were 54,600 Negro engineer enlisted men, 320 officers, and 54 warrant officers, of a total of 337,000 in the theater's engineer command. This total includes personnel of general service regiments, engineer dump-truck companies, engineer fire-fighting units, aviation engineer battalions, and separate battalions. There were 165 engineer units of all types.

A survey of Negro engineer units showed that Negro engineers participated in all of the main operations by United States forces on the Continent which required engineering, from D-Day landings and beachhead operations of June, 1944, to the conquest of the Rhineland.

Dump Truckers

One unit, the 582nd Engineer Dump Truck Company, landed on Omaha Beach shortly after H-Hour on June 6th and worked continuously up until and after the crossing and bridging of the Rhine.

The 582nd was one of 58 Negro engineer dump-truck units in the ETO on May 31st. This outfit came ashore on D-Day with the 1106th Engineer Combat Group, performing its "primary mission"—hauling bridging equipment and explosives. Almost immediately these dump truckers were conscripted to taxi combat personnel of the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions and the Fourth Infantry Division to forward areas.

Silver and Bronze Stars were awarded to several men of the unit for bravery under fire. Not all of the work done by the engineer dump-truck units was in the rear areas, for several unit histories record front-line incidents.

General Service Regiments

According to paragraph 318 of FM 5-5, which is the Engineer Field Manual, the mission of an engineer general service regiment is defined: "The engineer general service regiment performs general engineer work—particularly that requiring most skilled labor—throughout the Army service area and communications zone of the theater of operations. A general service regiment . . . is capable of executing extensive and permanent work."

This general phrasing of a general service regiment's function provided sufficient latitude for Negro general service units to perform a wide variety of tasks on the Continent, from erecting tent camps and welding to repairing damaged rail lines and all purpose excavations.

By VE-Day 60 per cent of all engineer general service regiments assigned or attached to communications zone were Negro units, 30 out of 50 reported.

Transportation Corps

Negro troops made an impressive contribution to the operations of the Transportation Corps from D-Day to VE-Day, a survey compiled from information obtained from ETO Transportation Corps headquarters showed. The mission of the Army's Transportation Corps is to transport men and supplies. Of a total of 157,327 troops in the Transportation Corps in the ETO, reported on May 3, 1944, 69,914 of these were in Negro units—or 44.4 per cent. Thirty-two of the 41 port battalions reported were Negro, while out of 50 separate port companies in the theater 38 were Negro, making a personnel total of 31,763 in all Negro port units.

Port Battalions

When the first United States elements reached the French coast in June, Transportation Corps units were among them and the battle of the beaches merged with the vital and hard-fought battle of supply. Negro troops of the Transportation Corps were in the initial waves on D-Day, came ashore with the engineer brigades and helped start what eventually became the greatest supply operation in military history.

The Normandy supply battle was won by units like the 490th Port Battalion, which came in with the second tide on D-Day and unloaded crucial supplies of ammunition, food, and equipment to be used by the assault troops. These operations were constantly under fire. To keep the invasion moving, men and supplies had to be discharged with split-second timing, and men worked the ships until exhausted. Work shifts ran into one another and men continued to volunteer to unload ships under hazardous conditions that included direct artillery fire and strafing.

By May 8, VE-Day, total United States Army cargo arriving by water and discharged by port units amounted to 20,432,368 tons. How much of this was unloaded by Negro port units is not precisely known, but a general estimate can be obtained from the fact that 77 per cent of all port units operating during this period were Negro units.

The Negro contribution to the supply victory further can be gaged from the following facts. Progress of the campaign and the time factor would not permit development of the large Brittany ports as called for in the original plans. The military operations were supplied and supported by Cherbourg and the smaller Normandy ports. Through these small ports and Cherbourg, sufficient supplies were funneled to support the decisive break-through at St. Lo on July 25th. Negro port and DUKW units handled the bulk of these supplies.

There were 53 ports in all, exclusive of Utah and Omaha Beaches, used by United States forces between D-Day and VE-Day. The largest were Le Havre, Antwerp, and Marseilles. The major share of tonnage handled came through the hands of Negro stevedores and crane operators.

Amphibian Truck Companies

Six Negro DUKW companies, the 467th, 468th, 469th, 470th, 819th, and 821st Amphibian Truck Companies, had been attached to the 11th Port for Plan Neptune, the invasion operation. The first of these, the 468th, arrived on D plus 10. Others followed shortly after and helped importantly in the solution of the critical supply problem.

Truck Companies

As of May 30, 1944, 69 per cent of all truck drivers in Transportation Corps' motor transport branch in the ETO were Negro.

Some of these units operated continuously since D-Day. Negro cargo truck units landed vehicles and personnel on Omaha Beach on June 6th. The 363rd Quartermaster Truck Company had vehicles ashore on D-Day. The 370th Quartermaster Truck Company, a transportation unit, was scheduled to land 55 vehicles and 115 men on the beach on D-plus-1. Instead, it got 24 men and 12 trucks ashore as early as the morning of D-Day. These men went through unforgettable experiences.

The first motor express line—the famous Red Ball Express—was started on August 25, 1944. It was built on the one-way traffic principle. Trucks were kept operating 22 hours out of 24 with only 2 hours reserved for maintenance. Drivers worked an average of 36 hours on the road without sleep. At its peak Red Ball contained 67 per cent Negro personnel. Its initial target was to haul 4,850 tons daily from the ports and beaches to Army or forward destinations. Peak reached by the system was 6,000 tons daily. Between August 25th and November 13th, Red Ball's 132 companies hauled 412,193 tons from the beaches and Normandy ports to the First and Third United States Armies. An average Red Ball Express route round trip was 546 miles.

On behalf of General Eisenhower, Major General E. S. Hughes, decorated Corporal Robert E. Bradley, of Lynchburg, Virginia, Negro truck driver of the Army's famed Red Ball Highway, with a Bronze Star Medal, and lauded the work of the thousands of Negro quartermaster truck drivers hauling vital front-line supplies over this 400-mile one-way loop, day and night, to the fighting fronts. It was awarded in symbol of all drivers.

Major General Frank Ross, Chief of Transportation, Communications Zone, disclosed that the route is four times the length of the Burma Road, and that in its first 26 days of operation it hauled and delivered more than 200,000 tons of supplies to advance depots, where front-line units picked it up with their hauling units.

The most impressive testimony to the work of the drivers of the Transportation Corps, including the 35,839 members of Negro Transportation Corps truck units, is the tremendous total tonnage forwarded by Motor Transport Service in Europe between June 17, 1944, and May 31, 1945. It is 22,644,609 tons.

Pacific and Other Theaters

All through the Pacific campaign runs the story of the heroism of Negro soldiers. They were in at the start in the Philippines and at the finish, too. Ever since December 8, 1941, when Private Robert H. Brooks became the first member of the Armored Force, and probably the American Army, to lose his life at Fort Stotsenburg in the Philippines, Negro soldiers have contributed blood, sweat and tears to the cause of freedom in the Pacific.

The 96th Engineer Battalion—later the 96th Engineer Regiment—landed in Port Moresby, New Guinea, on April 29, 1942, the first American troops in New Guinea and probably the first American troops to face the enemy after Bataan.

In Alaska, the South, Southwest, and Central Pacific areas, and in the China-Burma-India theater, Negro troops played an important role in engineering activity. This included the construction of roads, airfields, ports, camps, and storage facilities and their maintenance.

Three of the seven Army engineer regiments—the 93rd, the 95th, and the 97th—which helped to build the Alcan Highway were Negro. The highway, 1,671 miles long, runs from Dawson Creek, northwest of Edmonton, Alberta, to Fairbanks, Alaska. Although most of the Negro soldiers in these regiments had never before been out of the South, only 140 men were incapacitated by the cold, and all except four recovered completely with no ill effects.

After helping to blast through the brutal terrain of Alaska, building the Alcan Highway, the 97th was transferred to the steaming jungles of New Guinea. There they struggled for a year or more in sweat, mud, and mire. While in Alaska this regiment adopted for its slogan: "No task too great." And it carried that slogan with it into the jungle.

A Negro aviation engineer battalion participated in the victory of the Battle of the Coral Sea, which was fought on May 7 and 8, 1942. It worked 24 hours a day to construct an airdrome in New Caledonia, which was effectively used by Army and Navy aircraft engaged in the battle. Their accomplishment was revealed in a commendatory report by Lieutenant General Alexander M. Patch.

Negro soldiers were engaged in combat in the Pacific in September, 1942.

One of the most amazing construction feats of the war was the Ledo Road. Negro soldiers christened it "The Road to Tokyo." This highway from India to China via Burma was begun on December 12, 1942. Though they were originally brought in to construct United States airfields in Assam, a battalion of Negro aviation engineers was pressed into service as road builders after they had finished their initial assignment of building runways and dispersal areas. The road had just been started by the British Army with Indian labor when the Americans took over.

Three companies of the battalion spearheaded the drive into Burma from the Assam jungles in northeastern India. A Company cleared the point cutting a road wide enough for heavy Army vehicles. B Company did the drainage work, installing pipes up to six feet in diameter to carry off the monsoon rains into the huge ravines that line the winding mountain road. C Company widened, backfilled, and graded the road.

It was a round-the-clock job, seven days a week. At night, drivers pushing their bulldozers into rock and dirt were always in danger of rolling too close to the edge of cliffs 500 feet high. In the weird light cast by smudge pots, gasoline-saturated bamboo or flaming 5-gallon fuel oil cans, they carved a road out of jungles and rock masses, 100 yards wide. They carried their highway up over mountain ranges, the Himalayas, that rise as much as 1,000 feet in two miles.

Ultimately these men succeeded in making the impossible possible. With blood and sweat, they vanquished both the swampy, disease-infested jungles, and the skulking Japanese to create a desperately-needed supply route.

In April, 1944, the 93rd Infantry Division had its first taste of action at Empress Augusta Bay on Bougainville Island in the Solomons. By the end of that month, the 93rd had secured the Saua River and a portion of the land east of the Torokina River. The Division next went to the Treasury Island Group, thence to Morotai Island in the Dutch East Indies, and to the Philippines. Several Negro soldiers received the Soldier's medal for heroism in the Pacific area.

THE WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS[9]

The bill for a Women's Army Auxiliary Corps was introduced in Congress by Mrs. Edith Nourse Rogers and passed in May, 1942. When the first class of 440 women reported, in July, 1942, to the WAAC Training Center, Fort Des Moines, Iowa for officer candidate training, there were 39 Negro women included. The first enlisted women reported for basic training there on August 20, 1942. On September 1, 1943 the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps became the Women's Army Corps, a part of the Army of the United States.

The women who joined the WAC came from all States of the union and had varied backgrounds and experiences. Negro WACs served on Army posts and camps and on Army air bases throughout the country, releasing men for active combat duty, wherever they served. They generally replaced white soldiers and not Negro soldiers. Many of these Negro WACs, both officers and enlisted women, were trained in specialists schools after completing basic training or Officer Candidate School.

A number of WACs (Negro and white) whose education was limited and whose civilian work experience had been confined to such jobs as maids, waitresses, etc. were assigned to such jobs as ward attendants, mess attendants, or to jobs working in their own company mess. In some cases there were mis-assignments, and again in other cases there were those who claimed mis-assignment, hoping for a better job. In too many instances, it was found that previous training and experience did not warrant re-assignment. An example of the types of jobs held by them includes: clerks, stenographers, Chaplain's assistants, journalists, technicians, photographers, nurse's aides, radio operators, chauffeurs, parachute riggers, post exchange workers, bookkeepers, cooks, bakers, dietitians, ward attendants, and of course, as mess and supply sergeants in their own companies.

The first WAAC unit to leave Fort Des Moines was assigned to Fort Huachuca, Arizona; this was a complete unit of Negro women, with their own officers and cadre.

During the peak strength of WACs there were 3,902 Negro women enrolled in the Corps, of which number 115 were officers; 1,048 were in the Air Forces; 2,000 in the Service Forces; and 854 in the European Theater of Operations, serving as a postal unit in Birmingham, England.

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[9] Abstract of an address by Major Harriet M. West, Office of the Adjutant General.

NEGRO STRENGTH OF THE ARMY[10]

Negro Strength of the Army, October 1, 1946

On October 1, 1946, the total Negro strength of the Army was 171,031, or 9.84 per cent of the total strength. Of this number, 115,303 were Regular Army personnel and 73,195 were stationed outside the Continental United States. The Negro strength constituted 10.03 per cent of the total Army strength overseas. At that time Negro troops in the European Theater numbered 31,408, or 11.26 per cent of the total strength in that theater.

A partial breakdown of Negro strength in the Army as of October 1, 1946 and the areas and theaters in which they were stationed follows:

CONTINENTAL			
Army Air Forces	29,226		
Army Ground Forces	16,589		
Army Areas and Military District of Washington	16,513		
Administrative and Technical Services	34,900		
War Department Groups	608		
Total Continental US		97,836	
OVERSEAS			
US Army Forces Pacific	31,416		
US Army Forces European Theater	31,408		
En Route US to Theaters	3,748		
US Army Forces Mediterranean Theater	3,269		
Alaskan Department	2,261		
Caribbean Defense Command†	598		
Commanding General, Army Air Forces*	495		
Total Outside Continental US		73,195	
Aggregate			171,031

†In the main Virgin Island and Puerto Rican Negroes.

*Physically overseas but charged to the CG Army Air Forces, Washington and not to theater strength.

Negro Officers in the Army, November 1, 1946

Out of a total of 1,569 Negro officers in the Army on November 1, 1946, 43 were members of the Regular Army. Thirty-one of this number were appointed in the Regular Army on July 3, 1946. They were among 9,800 chosen from more than 100,000 applicants. Seven of the remaining 12 Regular Army officers are graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. The remaining five were members of the Regular Army prior to the beginning of World War II. The names, grades, and branches of the Negro officers in the Regular Army follow:

Name	Grade	Branch
Prior to World War II		
Davis, Banjamin O.	Brigadier General	Inspector General's Department
Beasley, Walter D. S.	Lt. Colonel	Chaplain's Corps
De Veaux, John A.	Major	Chaplain's Corps
Griffin, James A.	Major	Chaplain's Corps
Long, Norman G.	Captain	Chaplain's Corps
Graduates of USMA		
Davis, Benjamin O., Jr.[11]	Colonel	Air Corps
Davenport, Clarence M.	Major	Infantry
Fowler, James D.	Major	Infantry
Francis, Henry M.	1st Lieutenant	Infantry
Davis, Ernest J., Jr.	1st Lieutenant	Air Corps
Rivers, Mark E., Jr.	1st Lieutenant	Signal Corps
McCoy, Andrew A.	1st Lieutenant	Air Corps
Appointed July 3, 1946		
Brooks, Nelson S.	Lt. Colonel	Air Corps
Reubel, Harry B.	Lt. Colonel	Infantry
Robinson, James H.	Lt. Colonel	Infantry

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[10] This section is based on releases of the Bureau of Public Relations, News Division, War Department.

[11] Also member of Regular Army prior to World War II.

Campbell, William A.	Major	Air Corps
Hopson, Brannon J.	Major	Chaplain's Corps
Johnson, Edward C.	Major	Infantry
Knox, George L.	Major	Air Corps
McDaniel, Armour C.	Major	Air Corps
Parsons, Norman W.	Major	Cavalry
Biggs, Bradley	Captain	Infantry
Bryant, Robert A.	Captain	Chaplain's Corps
Driver, Elwood T.	Captain	Air Corps
Durden, Lewis M.	Captain	Chaplain's Corps
Friend, Robert J.	Captain	Air Corps
Gott, William E.	Captain	Pharmacy Corps
Gray, George E.	Captain	Air Corps
Holsclaw, Jack D.	Captain	Air Corps
Johnson, Andrew L.	Captain	Chaplain's Corps
McWilliams, Alfred E.	Captain	Chaplain's Corps
Ormes, Melvin W.	Captain	Quartermaster Corps
Scott, Osborne E.	Captain	Chaplain's Corps
Smith, Robert L.	Captain	Air Corps
Sorrell, Roy W.	Captain	Infantry
Stanton, Charles R.	Captain	Air Corps
Archer, Lee A.	1st Lieutenant	Air Corps
Branch, Matthew D.	1st Lieutenant	Infantry
Iles, George J.	1st Lieutenant	Air Corps
Moore, Spurgeon A.	1st Lieutenant	Infantry
Morgan, Leonard S.	1st Lieutenant	Field Artillery
Parker, Albert J.	1st Lieutenant	Infantry
White, Cecil W.	1st Lieutenant	Infantry

Breakdown of Negro Strength of The Army, May 1, 1946[12]

On May 1, 1946, the total Negro strength of the Army was 187,383 or 8.64 per cent of the total Army strength. Of this number 123,132 Negro troops were Regular Army men, 20,145 having enlisted since March 1, 1946. Commissioned officers, flight officers and warrant officers numbered 2,626 of the total. Serving overseas were 68,253 troops. Also on May 1, 656 Negro women were serving in the WAC, of which only one, a WAC officer, was overseas.

A partial breakdown of Negro strength in the Army as of May 1, 1946, follows:

	Continental	Overseas	Worldwide
Infantry	7,057	2,076	9,133
Coast and Field Artillery	1,706	1,006	2,712
Engineers	7,429	13,450	20,879
Air Corps	31,605	3,401	35,006
Transportation Corps	12,501	5,307	17,808
Quartermaster Corps	19,135	24,213	43,348
All Others	39,697	18,800	58,497
TOTAL	119,130	68,253	187,383

Officers:	
Included in above totals	2,626
Including:	
Dental Corps Officers	29
Nurses	167
Other Medical Corps Officers	43
Chaplains	91
Serving Overseas	68,253
Including:	
Pacific Theater	35,398
China and India-Burma Theaters	1,392
Alaskan Department	1,144
European Theater	22,461
Mediterranean Theater	2,540
Caribbean Defense Command	721

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[12] One year prior, May 1, 1945, the Negro personnel of the Army numbered 700,304, or 8.49 per cent of the total Army strength. Overseas, or en route, were 511,493 Negro troops. Negro WAC strength at that time was 4,003.

Breakdown of Negro Strength of The Army, VJ-Day

On August 31, 1945, two days before V-J-Day, when the war ended in the Pacific, the total Negro strength of the Army stood at 695,264, or 8.67 per cent of the total Army strength. The total commissioned Negro personnel was then 7,768.

A partial breakdown of Negro strength in the Army as of August 31, 1945, follows:

Infantry	48,861
Coast and Field Artillery	19,819
Engineers	135,584
Air Corps	80,606
Transportation Corps	89,540
All Others	320,854
Total	695,264
Serving Overseas	475,950
Including:	
Pacific Theater	206,512
China and India-Burma Theaters	23,892
Alaskan Department	4,726
European Theater	181,620
Mediterranean Theater	43,747
Africa-Middle East Theater	585
Persian Gulf Command	80
Caribbean Defense Command	2,763
Including:	
Women's Army Corps	820

Comparison of Negro Strength of The Army, World War I and II

The following figures, given to the nearest hundred, represent the total number of Negroes who served in the Army of the United States from December 1, 1941, through August 31, 1945:

Male Officers	8,000
Female Officers	600
Male Enlisted Personnel	905,000
Female Enlisted Personnel	6,400
Total	920,000

By comparison, approximately 515,700 more Negroes were accepted by the Army in World War II than in World War I. Altogether, 404,348 individuals who claimed to be of the Negro race served in the United States Army during World War I: 1,353 were commissioned officers, 402,971 were enlisted men, 15 were Army nurses, and 9 were field clerks. Of the total number of these troops, approximately 840 officers and 194,000 enlisted men served in the American Expeditionary Forces.

NEGROES AT WEST POINT

Eleven Negroes have been graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, the highest-ranking Government school for the training of army officers. Henry O. Flipper, Georgia, was the first of these, having been graduated in 1877. Founded in 1802, the academy admitted its first Negro (James W. Smith, South Carolina) in 1870, and has accepted a total of 30. In attendance at the academy as of July, 1946 were:

Name	Appointed from	Date Admitted
Charles L. Smith	Missouri	July, 1944
Edward B. Howard	Illinois	July, 1945
David K. Carlisle	California	July, 1946
Robert W. Green	California	July, 1946

One graduate, Captain Robert B. Tresville, Jr., was a casualty of World War II. He was reported missing in action with the 332nd Fighter Group in Italy on June 22, 1944, and declared dead a year later.

Following is a list of Negro West Point graduates:

Name	Appointed From	Date Admitted	Date Graduated
Henry O. Flipper	Georgia	July, 1873	June, 1877
John H. Alexander	Ohio	July, 1883	June, 1887
Charles Young	Ohio	June, 1884	August, 1889
Benjamin O. Davis, Jr.	Illinois	July, 1932	June, 1936
James D. Fowler	Illinois	July, 1937	June, 1941
Clarence M. Davenport	Michigan	July, 1939	January, 1943
Robert B. Tresville, Jr.	Illinois	July, 1939	January, 1943
Henry M. Francis	Illinois	July, 1941	June, 1944
Ernest J. Davis, Jr.	Illinois	July, 1942	June, 1945
Mark E. Rivers, Jr.	New York	July, 1942	June, 1945
Andrew A. McCoy, Jr.	Pennsylvania	July, 1943	June, 1946

GILLEM REPORT ON UTILIZATION OF NEGRO MANPOWER

A Board of Officers on Utilization of Negro Manpower was directed by a memorandum dated October 4, 1945, to prepare a broad policy based on the lessons of past and present experience with a view to facilitating maximum efficiency in the event of another national emergency. The personnel of this Board was as follows: Lieutenant General Alvan C. Gillem, Jr., Brigadier General Winslow C. Morse, Major General Lewis A. Pick, and Brigadier General Alan D. Warnock, recorder without vote. All members of the Board of Officers were of the United States Army.

Following an intensive study of the issues involved, the report of the Board was accepted and approved by the War Department in March, 1946. While not entirely satisfactory to Negroes, the policy adopted is indicative of a desire on the part of the War Department to improve the status of the Negro in the Armed Forces of the United States.

"The policies prepared by the War Department," declares the report, "should be progressively flexible. They should envision the continued mental and physical improvement of all citizens. They should be implemented promptly. They must be objective in nature. They must eliminate, at the earliest practicable moment, any special consideration based on race. They should point toward the immediate objective of an evaluation of the Negro on the basis of individual merit and ability. They should point toward a long-range objective which visualizes, over a period of time, a still greater utilization of this manpower potential in the military machine of the nation."

Report Emphasizes General Implications of Citizenship

"The Negro is a bona fide citizen enjoying the privileges conferred by citizenship under the Constitution. By the same token, he must defend his country in time of national peril. Testimony presented to this Board has indicated that the Negro is ready and eager to accept his full responsibility as a citizen. It follows, therefore, that the Negro desiring to accept his legal and moral responsibility, as charged by the Constitution, should be given every opportunity and aid to prepare himself for effective military service in company with every other citizen who is called."

Responsibility, however, as conceived by the report, is not limited to the Negro who must cooperate in the defense of his country. Those charged with the utilization of manpower in the military establishment have an equal legal and moral obligation under the Constitution to take all steps necessary to prepare the qualified manpower of the nation so that it will function efficiently and effectively in time of war.

Assignment Difficulties Pointed Out in the Report

"In the placement of the men who were accepted, the Army encountered considerable difficulty. Leadership qualities had not been developed among the Negroes, due principally to environment and lack of opportunity. These factors had also affected his development in the various skills and crafts. . . . In the opinion of the Board, many of these difficulties can be overcome by forward planning, and by the development of a broader base of trained personnel, both officer and enlisted, than that which existed prior to World War II. This nucleus can assimilate a much larger proportion of the available manpower than was done heretofore."

Disadvantages Under Which the Negro Entered the Conflict

The Report stated: "A careful analysis of the combat service performed by the Negro in World War II indicates clearly that his participation was in many instances creditable and definitely contributed to the success attained by our military forces. No analysis would be complete, however, that fails to evaluate the disadvantages under which the Negro entered the conflict and which militated against his success." Cited among these disadvantages were: (1) inadequacy of plans prior to the War for mobilization and employment of major units of all arms, and for utilizing Negro manpower in supporting type combat units; (2) organization of units without general prescription as to missions for which organized, or ultimate utilization; and (3) shortage of trained subordinate leaders. In this leadership regard, the Report claimed that "environment and lack of administrative and educational advantages in pre-war days greatly handicapped the Negro in the performance of his wartime duties."

Advantages to the Negro Soldier

Briefly indicated in the report, as advantages to the Negro in combat, were the following: First-class equipment and materials available; favorable training areas and aids placed at disposal of commanders; experienced white commanders assigned to direct training and to lead the major elements into action; careful staging into the theater of operations; reorganization and regrouping of elements with the objective of increasing the chances of success. Most of these so-called advantages, however, would be expected to prevail in any well managed fighting units of whatever racial composition. Perhaps the significance of these claims stated in the report is that the immediate conditions preceding Negro combat were as nearly normal as possible and comparatively free from discrimination against the Negro soldier.

Conclusions of Gillem Report Relative To Utilization of Negro Manpower

The Report emphasized the need for speedy adoption and promulgation of a broad, comprehensive and progressive policy for the effective utilization of Negro manpower in the post-war Army, not only to stimulate Negro interest, morale and leadership, but also in the interest of national security. The conclusions of the Board were reached after consideration of factual and other official materials made available by the War Department, and the oral testimony of more than 60 military and civilian witnesses. Some of these conclusions are summarized below:

(1) A greater and more efficient use can be realized from the Negro manpower in the future military establishment, with elimination of many of the apparent deficiencies of the Negro soldier, if remedial action is taken now.

(2) Deficiencies of leadership attributed to the Negro soldier in the past can be eliminated by creating in the post-war Army a broader Negro base of both officers and enlisted men to assist in training of the peacetime Army, and to provide leaders in case of another national calamity. (The broader base would also include organization of appropriate elements of many female components).

(3) Establishment of a ratio of Negro to white manpower, in the post-war Army, to insure understanding and provide basis for planning purposes. (Recommended ratio, for the present, is that which exists in the civil population).

(4) In order to secure efficient results in utilization of Negro manpower, close cooperation and coordination within the War Department is needed, also the creation of a General Staff Group of selected officers to devote full time to problems involving minority racial elements. Throughout Army commands there should be, also, selected full-time officers to deal with such problems.

(5) In organizing and activating Negro units to create a broader base in the post-war Army, combat units should be stressed.

(6) Units composed largely of personnel classified in the lowest grades on the A.G.C.T. (Army General Classification Test) require more officer supervision in training and in the field during war conditions, or under a system of universal military training.

(7) Experience has demonstrated the most successful employment of Negro units when used closely associated with whites on similar units, and when small Negro organizations were so used.

(8) For economy and efficiency, men of low intelligence and education who have been proven incapable of developing into specialists or leaders should be eliminated from the service at termination of the first enlistment. Such policy should include all races.

(9) Experience, education, and tolerance on the part of all Army personnel will serve to rectify many difficulties inherent in mixed, or composite units.

(10) "Present War Department policies pertaining to the administration of educational, recreational, and messing facilities and of officers' clubs at posts, camps and stations where racial minority elements are located are considered adequate for the present and should be continued in effect."

(11) Troop locations should be selected after evaluating (with due regard to the large numbers of military personnel, regardless of race) the training advantages accruing from a favorable climatic or terrain condition against the factor of unfavorable community attitude with its resultant effect on both training and morale. (Exception to this principle may be necessary in event of universal military training, or in interest of national security).

(12) Equal rights and opportunities for appointment, retention, advancement, and professional improvement, as prescribed by law and regulation, should be accorded to all officers. With further reference to officers, it was pointed out that sources of potential officer material would be extended by a more comprehensive ROTC and an Army leadership school program.

(13) Proper assignment of individuals, as well as the promotion of Army efficiency, would be assured by processing all personnel entering the Army through reception and training centers.

(14) Periodic surveys at Army installations are necesary to determine in the framework of overhead units where Negro personnel with special skills can be utilized to advantage as individuals.

THE NEGRO IN THE NAVY

("The Negro in the Navy" was written by Lester B. Granger, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, who served as Special Adviser to the Secretary of the Navy from

July 1, 1945 to November 1, 1945. This material, here condensed, was published in *Common Ground*, Winter Issue, 1947, under the caption "Racial Democracy—The Navy Way." For exceptionally outstanding service to the United States Navy Mr. Granger was presented the Distinguished Civilian Service Award. Most of his recommendations have been incorporated into the inter-racial policies of the Navy Department.)

Navy's Inter-racial Policy Before Pearl Harbor

World War II started with the Navy presenting a dismal record and policy in the use of Negro personnel. Until the attack on Pearl Harbor, and for several months thereafter, Negroes were accepted in the Navy only in the Steward's Branch—a type of service to which only Negroes and Filipinos were assigned. This branch was composed of men who served the personal needs of commissioned officers in their living and eating. The policy had been inherited by our wartime Navy leadership. It was established during the administration of President Woodrow Wilson shortly after the close of World War I. This discriminatory policy temporarily closed a long chapter of naval history written by Negroes in service from the days of Commander Perry on Lake Champlain down to the close of World War I. The shift of policy was announced boldly by closing down all Negro naval enlistments and reopening them several months later only for service as steward's mates.

Navy Secretary Frank Knox held stubbornly to this policy even after the outbreak of World War II. Presumably backed by his ranking advisers, the Secretary insisted, in the face of strong protest, that the morale of the service would be disrupted if this racial policy were changed. Here was the "old regular Navy," so far as Negro service was concerned.

Changes Taking Place in The New Navy

A brand new regular Navy, in a racial sense, was one of the happier results of World War II. Something had happened in the four years between Pearl Harbor and the beginning of peacetime demobilization. A steady stream of tens of thousands of Negro men and women had marched in Navy induction lines, donned the uniform of the service, and received assignment in a vast variety of service duties. Practically all of these for the war's duration were in the naval reserve. But within a few months after the war's end, Navy policy had progressed to the point where Negro enlistments in the regular Navy were being accepted without hindrance of discrimination. Their service in the Steward's Branch continued, but by April 30, 1946, 19,102 Negroes had enlisted in the regular Navy and 2,887 of their number were classified in general service, including skilled and combat categories. Of this latter number, 24 held ratings as chief petty officers. It was the first time since 1921 that the regular Navy had opened its general service to enlistments without regard to race.

Factors Contributing to Changing Policy

A great deal had happened in a quarter-century span radically to change the Navy's racial policy. For instance, the manpower needs of America-at-war drew approximately one million young men and women of the Negro race into the Armed Forces and nearly 20 per cent of these were assigned to Navy service. Once they were assigned to the service, the Navy was faced with the driving need for efficiency in the use of these thousands of Negro personnel. The Bureau of Naval Personnel and other ranking service leadership were faced with serious questions concerning the morale of their Negro troops. This question became all the more serious as overwhelming criticisms and protests were voiced by Negro spokesmen and a large number of white liberals against the Navy's initial refusal to accept Negroes except for what they termed "menial service" in a branch of our armed forces.

All of these factors were heavy determinants in the change of the Navy's racial policy. But the final, and possibly the most important, factor was the personal conviction of the new Secretary of the Navy, James Forrestal, who assumed office after the death of Mr. Knox in 1944. It was under Mr. Forrestal's leadership that formal Navy policies which had already begun to change were carried faster and farther than most observers would have deemed possible during the acrimonious discussions of the first three years of war.

The Army was condemned as a reactionary Jim Crow institution. But the Navy was especially condemned, for not only were Negroes segregated in their service, but they were restricted to a branch which was intensely unpopular because of the civilian associations connected with it. "Waiters and bellhops going to sea" was the scornful way in which one irate Negro critic described the Steward's Branch. As a matter of fact, this description did less than justice to the Negroes who served as steward's mates. They are not menials; they are fighters first and stewards second. They are trained for battle duties, and when the ship goes into action, steward's mates take their places at guns, are exposed to the same risks, and carry out the same duties as their white shipmates. When action is concluded, carpenters go back to their regular duties and machinists to theirs; stewards return to the galley, the officer's mess, and the ward room. Dorie Miller, the heroic steward's mate who won the Distinguished Service Medal through conspicuous gallantry during the attack on Pearl Harbor, is a standing reminder of the fact that the Steward's Branch, like the rest of the Navy, is a fighting branch. Nevertheless, it was natural and proper for Negroes to protest against restriction of Negroes to service in this one type of activity alone. The resentment of the public only reflected the angry discontent of the men actually in service. Some of these were college students, skilled mechanics, men with professional training, and others of superior education and experience.

Navy Department Compromised Only Slightly At First

A reluctant Navy Department early in 1942 retreated slightly in the face of this criticism and announced that Negroes would be accepted for general service. Even this announcement failed to stem the tide of protest. But a limited number of Negro recruits immediately enlisted, and the number increased rapidly. In February 1943, when the regular recruiting program was discontinued, large numbers of personnel began to be inducted in Navy service through Selective Service procedures. By the end of 1943, there were 101,573 Negro enlisted personnel on active duty. This number continued to increase as long as the war lasted; 142,306 by the end of June, 1944; 152,895 by the end of that year; and a high of 165,466 on October 31, 1945, nearly three months after the war's end. But Negro critics soon found that "general service" as announced by Secretary Knox did not mean free service opportunity. They noted an overwhelmingly large proportion of the Negroes assigned to duty at ammunition and supply depots, performing the strenuous and unromantic laboring work involved in handling ammunition and loading ships. Thus while Negroes continued to pour into the Navy, bitter argument waxed stronger and morale noticeably waned.

Impaired Morale and Mass Demonstrations Followed

Dramatic evidence of impaired morale was seen in three mass demonstrations, widely separated: one a mutiny, one a race riot, and the other a hunger strike. The mass mutiny took place at Mare Island, California, as an aftermath of a mammoth ammunition explosion at the Port Chicago Ammunition Depot nearby. At this depot, practically the entire personnel were Negroes, and 300 enlisted men were killed in the explosion. Some days later a detachment of 250 of the survivors, assigned to loading an ammunition ship at Mare Island, refused to work, claiming inadequate training and safety provisions for this hazardous job. In the face of repeated warnings, fifty persisted in their refusal to work. They were court-martialed for mutiny and sentenced to long prison terms.

On Guam, in the Pacific, an even more serious disturbance took place, for here arguments and fights carried on for several months between Negro seamen, members of naval base companies, and white Marine guards of the Island, resulted in a Christmas season race riot. After a Negro sailor was killed by a white serviceman, a group of the dead man's comrades broke into the barracks armory, seized weapons, commandeered trucks and headed for the Marine Guard barracks. They were intercepted enroute, covered by machine guns, and arrested. They were court-martialed on several charges, including illegal possession of government property, rout, and incitement to riot; found guilty, and sentenced to terms ranging from five to twenty years.

The third demonstration, a hunger strike of Negro Seabees, took place at Port Hueneme, a naval supply base in California. The battalion had been overseas for months, and after meritorious performance had been returned for rest and reassignment. Charging unfair and racially discriminatory treatment by the white commanding officer, they refused to report to chow lines and went on a hunger strike that lasted several days. When news of the strike hit the front pages of Negro weeklies and the inside pages of metropolitan dailies, civilian organizations interceded in behalf of the strikers. The strike ended with the transference of the commanding officer in question, and the battalion was shortly shipped back overseas to Okinawa to resume meritorious performance.

Disturbances Hastened Improvements Already Underway

These developments served to speed steps already underway to remove the worst aspects of segregation and discrimination in the service. The Bureau of Naval Personnel had initiated increased assignment of Negroes to advanced training schools and to ratings as petty officers; establishment of special officers' class and commissioning of a dozen Negro officers; assignment of Negroes to service on auxiliary and shore patrol craft; and reduction of the over-heavy proportion of Negroes in supply base and ammunition depot activities. Negro machinists and other technicians made their appearance in naval air stations, at ship repair establishments, and in Navy offices. Indoctrination courses were established for white officers assigned to command of Negro naval troops. Efforts were made to weed out from such assignment white officers who were emotionally unsuited for association with Negro troops. A unit was established in the Bureau of Naval Personnel to police administration of regulations dealing with the integration of Negroes in naval service.

Still, progressive changes moved too slowly to silence the clamor of angry argument and recrimination which broke out afresh after the series of incidents referred to above. Therefore, Secretary Forrestal took steps to accelerate the improvements already underway and to initiate new ones aimed at invalidating any charge that the Navy was discriminating against any member of the service because of his race. Mr. Forrestal conferred in December, 1944, with a group of Negro newspaper publishers, and early in the spring of 1945, acting upon their advice, he decided to appoint a civilian aide to give him guidance and counsel in this important program.

"Guide to the Command of Negro Naval Personnel"

The views of the Department were set forth in the publication of a service manual entitled, "Guide to the Command of Negro Naval Personnel," issued by the Bureau of Naval Personnel on February 12, 1945. This manual was part of the indoctrination material provided white officers responsible for Negro troops. In simple language, it set forth high departmental policy and practical administrative suggestions. It established four basic principles, guiding racial policies:

(1) As a fighting machine, the Navy is concerned first of all with developing its services to the highest possible level of fighting efficiency;
(2) To attain such efficiency all personnel must be employed at the highest level of their individual training and capabilities;
(3) No theory can be accepted which assumes differences in ability based upon race;
(4) Racial differences of performance are generally caused by improper command practices or previous civilian experience which can be corrected through wise command policies.

The manual was of real help even though few officers gave evidence of having read it. As the "new testament" of Navy policy, however, it was a much needed reference, effectively discouraging any questions which the unindoctrinated might otherwise have raised regarding the wisdom and practicability of the newer point of view. From month to month, after the manual came into use, new progressive changes were noted. Negroes in service on auxiliary and combat vessels increased steadily, both in number and variety of assignment. By the war's end, auxiliary ships in both Atlantic and Pacific operations were carrying Negro complements up to 10 per cent of their total crews. As was inevitable on vessels of small and medium size, Negro and white crewmembers worked, ate, and slept together with a minimum of racial separation—and, indeed, in most cases with a total absence of racial separation. The number of Negro commissioned officers increased from an original 12 to 52 at the war's close, the highest ranking of these holding a reserve commission of Lieutenant Commander. Separate training schools were abolished, as was racial segregation within regular schools. At the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, Negro "boots" entered, were classified, and were assigned to quarters and duty together with their white fellows without any sign of segregation. Hundreds of Negro petty and commissioned officers were given responsibilities for commanding racially mixed working details. Negroes served in such capacities as carpenters, radiomen, machinists, aviation machinists, motor machinists, radar operators, storekeepers, yeomen, and all through the whole spread of Navy rates; 13,000 Negroes were in Seabee outfits and 10,000 in the Marines, with two Negro Marine battalions given anti-aircraft assignments. All of these changes were carried forward under the active direction of Admiral Randall Jacobs, Chief of Naval Personnel, and, later, by Admiral Louis Denfield, his successor. They had the explicit endorsement of Fleet Admirals Ernest King and Chester W. Nimitz, who succeeded Admiral King after the war's close.

The final test of the lasting nature of the Navy's revised policy was made, however, in the fall of 1945, when Admiral Nimitz expressed agreement with those who recommended that the wartime advances in racial policy be secured as a permanent policy in the regular as well as the reserve Navy, and that specific directives be issued by the Department. With Admiral Nimitz's endorsement, therefore, the Secretary received a recommendation that enlisted Negroes be accepted without hindrance in the regular Navy, Marines, and Coast Guard; that Negro reserve officers applying for regular Navy commissions be given full consideration, regardless of race; that service of Negroes on vessels be extended to general service on all combat ships up to and including battleships and aircraft carriers; and that the number of Negroes in any vessel or activity be reduced to such a low proportion that the question of separate housing provisions would become purely academic.

It is now a matter of history and public record that these recommendations have been accepted and put into practice practically in their entirety. An official directive from the Bureau of Naval Personnel, dated February 28, 1946, declared as follows: "Effective immediately, all restrictions governing the types of assignments for which Negro naval personnel are eligible are lifted. Henceforth they shall be eligible for all types of assignments in all ratings in all activities and all ships of the naval service. . . . In the utilization of housing, messing, and other facilities, no special or unusual provisions will be made for the accommodation of Negroes."

Evidences of Progress

The latest figures of the number of Negroes classified for general service in the regular Navy are not available. However it is certain that the number has considerably increased since the last date of record-taking on April 30, 1946. In the New York recruiting office alone, after violations of recruiting orders were corrected, 600 Negroes were sworn in during a 60-day period. These figures are encouraging, but neither their presentation nor this report as a whole is intended to offer the United States Navy as an example of perfectly operating racial democracy. The important point to remember is that an admirable policy has been established officially and effectively and that tremendous progress has been made toward effective administration of that policy. The Navy granted clemency last December to all of the mutineers at Mare Island and to all but one of the rioters on Guam. These men have been released from confinement and returned to duty in the Pacific. If their subsequent records so warrant, they will receive honorable discharges upon leaving the service. Perfect conclusion of the Navy's efforts will not be noted until patient and skillful education, consistently exerted disciplinary controls, and constant reference to the basic needs of the service have produced a smoothly working practice that conforms at every point with official policy.

In spite of frequent lags and subtle resistance, the Navy Department has forged ahead on a bright new path that leads toward complete racial democracy in an armed service of the world's greatest democracy. Today for the first time in history a Negro midshipman is making a good record as a third-year classman in the Naval Academy at Annapolis. Recently on the battleship *North Carolina*, this young man was on his training cruise with 600 of his classmates. On the same vessel, 100 Negro enlisted men, of whom half were in general service, moved about the ship with their white shipmates, working and fraternizing. There was no sign of racial strain—in fact, the situation had been produced so quietly as a natural development of Navy policy that the public was unaware of the changes and the men themselves were unconscious of the fact that they were making modern history.

This and similar changes have been accomplished with a minimum of friction and confusion and with a maximum of efficiency in a service which prides itself, above all things, on efficiency. The Navy's wartime experience in racial democracy provides a lesson which can teach much to every leadership group in America.

The Marine Corps

Negroes were admitted to the Marine Corps in June, 1942 (the Navy then lifting its 167 year-tradition), shortly after which Montford Point Camp, North Carolina, under the Marine base at Camp Lejuene, was designated for the training of Negro marines.

Some of the Negro marines saw service in the Pacific, an early contingent rendering heroic action at Saipan.

On August 31, 1945 there were 16,964 Negro enlisted men in the Marine Corps. The first Negro officer in the corps, commissioned in November, 1945 when the corps was being reduced, was placed on inactive duty along with many white officers. There were no Negroes accepted for the corps' women's reserve.

It is estimated that out of a total of 250,000 men in the Merchant Marine, approximately 25,000 were Negroes.

The Coast Guard

The Coast Guard was the first branch of the naval service to commission Negroes as officers. A relatively large per cent of Negroes were warrant and petty officers. In the Coast Guard, August 31, 1945, there were 3,727 Negro enlisted men, 4 Negro officers and 5 Negro women SPARS.

An all-Negro gun crew on the cutter *Campbell* rammed and sank a Nazi U-boat in the North Atlantic, February, 1943. Negro Coast Guardsmen participated in action on Iwo Jima, Okinawa, Majuro, Eniwelok, Saipan, Tinian, Leyte, Luzon and other landings. Lieutenant Clarence Samuels, Navy veteran, was on assignment during the War as skipper of the L. S. 115, Coast Guard patrol vessel in the Panama Canal. He served over a predominantly white crew.

SPARS, the Women's Reserve of the United States Coast Guard, was established November 23, 1942, the name derived from the Coast Guard motto, "Semper Paratus," and its translation, "Always Ready." The ban against Negro women was dropped October 19, 1944 and the first Negro women were sworn in the next month. These enlistees took "boot" training, along with whites, at the Manhattan Beach, New York, Coast Guard Training Station.

The Waves

The WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service), the Women's Reserve, United States Naval Reserve, was authorized by Congress, July, 1942, that women might fill jobs in the shore establishments and release officers and men of the Navy for duty at sea.

Negro women were banned from this service until October 19, 1944. The Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority Non-Partisan Council was prominent among pressure groups seeking removal of the Navy's color bar against women. The first Negro enlistees were sworn in, November, 1944. The Negro WAVES took "boot" training, along with whites, at Hunter College, New York, and officer-candidate training at Smith

College, Northampton, Massachusetts. As of August 31, 1945, there were 68 Negro WAVES, with 2 Negro officers and 38 officer candidates.

Negro Strength of the Navy

The total Negro enlisted peak strength of the Navy was 166,915, on August 31, 1945.

The total Negro strength of the Navy, December 7, 1941—December 31, 1946, according to the Bureau of Naval Personnel, is indicated below:

Enlisted Men (Estimated total)	205,738
Officers (Rank shown is highest held)	
Male—54	
Lieutenant Commander	1
Lieutenant	4
Lieutenant, Junior Grade	19
Ensign	25
Chief Warrant Officer	3
Commanding Officer	2
Female—6	
Lieutenant, Junior Grade	1
Ensign (includes 4 nurses)	5

NAMING AND LAUNCHING OF SHIPS

There were 18 Liberty ships, primarily ocean-going cargo ships, around 10,500 tons, under the Maritime Commission, named and launched for outstanding Negro Americans and seamen who lost their lives in the war. Four Victory ships were named for Negro colleges. In addition, the destroyer escort *U. S. S. Harmon* was named in honor of Leonard R. Harmon, mess attendant, posthumously decorated for heroism against the enemy in the Solomon Islands.

Those so honored were: Robert S. Abbott, founder and publisher of The Chicago Defender; George Washington Carver, scientist; Frederick Douglass, abolitionist leader and editor; Paul Laurence Dunbar, poet; John Hope, educator; James Weldon Johnson, poet, author and diplomat; John Merrick, insurance executive; John H. Murphy, founder and publisher of The Afro-American. Also included were Toussaint L'Ouverture, Haitian independence hero; Edward A. Savoy, confidential messenger for 22 secretaries of State; Harriet Tubman, abolitionist and "underground railroad" leader; Robert L. Vann, founder and publisher of The Pittsburgh Courier; Booker T. Washington, educator and founder of Tuskegee Institute; Bert Williams, comedian. Named for Negro seamen were the S. S. ROBERT J. BANKS; S. S. WILLIAM COX; S. S. GEORGE A. LAWSON; and S. S. JAMES KYRON WALKER.

The Victory ships derived their names from Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Lane College, Jackson, Tennessee; and Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

These ships had racially mixed crews and officers.[13] Negro captains of Victory ships were: John Godfrey, Clifton Lastic, Hugh Mulzac, and Adrian T. Richardson.

The first of the Negro-named ships, the S. S. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, (mastered by Captain Hugh Mulzac of Brooklyn, N. Y.) was in active service continuously from the fall of 1942. Lost through enemy action were the S. S. FREDERICK DOUGLASS and the S. S. ROBERT L. VANN. The greatest territory was covered by the S. S. JOHN HOPE which operated in the Pacific.

NEGROES AT THE NAVAL ACADEMY

No Negroes have been graduated from the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland. There have been 6 in attendance:

Name	Appointed From	Date Admitted
John Henry Conyers	South Carolina	September, 1872
Alonzo C. McClellan	South Carolina	September, 1873
Henry E. Baker	Mississippi	September, 1874
James L. Johnson	Washington, D. C.	June, 1936
George J. Trivers	Chicago, Ill.	June, 1937
Wesley A. Brown	New York City	June, 1945

Midshipman Wesley A. Brown successfully completed his first year at the academy in 1946, and is the only Negro enrolled.

DECORATIONS AND CITATIONS

Awards to Individuals

Negro heroes won citations in every combat area, on land, on sea, and in the air. Among the first heroes of World War II was Dorie Miller, mess attendant first class, of Waco, Texas, who manned a machine gun against the Japanese when they strafed his ship at Pearl Harbor, and who dragged his mortally wounded captain to safety, at the cost of his own life. For "distinguished devotion to duty, extreme courage, and disregard for his own personal safety during the attack," Dorie Miller received the Navy Cross. He was the first Negro to be decorated for heroism by the Navy in World War II.

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[13] No vessel under War Shipping Administration control had ever sailed with an entire Negro crew, and the good relations which existed among mixed crews were a surprise to many.

The first Amercian soldier of the armored force killed in the Pacific Theater was Private Robert H. Brooks, son of a Kentucky sharecropper, who died on the battlefield near Fort Stotsenburg, in the Philippines on December 8, 1941. The main parade ground of the armored forces at Fort Knox, Tennessee was named Brooks Field in memory of Private Brooks.

One of the outstanding heroes of the Coast Guard was Charles V. David, Jr., New York, a mess attendant who gave his life rescuing his executive officer and others from the icy waters of the Atlantic during rescue operations of a torpedoed transport. The Navy and Marine Corps Medal, one of the highest naval awards, was presented to the Coast Guard man's widow in appropriate ceremony.

Among the "winged" heroes of the War was Captain Leonard M. Jackson, Ft. Worth, Texas. Pilot of a P-40 Warhawk and a P-51 Mustang, Captain Jackson was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal with seven clusters. Serving for 15 months in the Mediterranean area, he is officially credited with destroying three German planes. The hero, a member of the 99th Fighter Squadron, the first all-Negro unit to go into flying combat, flew 142 missions with the 12th Tactical Air Force and the 15th Strategical Air Force. Courage and combat ability won for Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., Washington, D. C., the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Silver Star, the Legion of Merit, and the Air Medal with four Oak Leaf Clusters.

George Watson, Private, Quartermaster Corps, Birmingham, Alabama, was the first Negro to win the Distinguished Service Cross for extraordinary heroism in World War II. The award, granted posthumously, was for bravery shown at Pordoch Harbor, New Guinea, in assisting several men to safety on a raft from their sinking boat. Overcome by exhaustion, he was pulled under and drowned by the suction of the craft.

A complete official list of awards for outstanding service during the War has not been issued. A random selection of 273 Army awards authorized for Negro personnel was released by the War Department, October 1, 1945. This collection made no reference to awards of the Purple Heart (given to those wounded in enemy action) and the Good Conduct Medal, and did not represent total presentations. These 273 awards were as indicated:

Distinguished Service Cross, 3. (For "extraordinary heroism . . . against an armed enemy")

Distinguished Service Medal, 1. (For "exceptionally meritorious service to the Government in a duty of great responsibility")

Legion of Merit, 12. (For "exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services")

Silver Star, 17. (For "gallantry in action in orders," not warranting the award of the Medal of Honor or the Distinguished Service Cross)

Distinguished Flying Cross, 4. (For "heroism or extraordinary achievement while participating in an aerial flight.")

Soldier's Medal, 68. (For "heroism not involving actual conflict with the enemy.")

Bronze Star Medal, 164. (For "heroic or meritorious achievement or service, not involving participation in aerial flight.")

Air Medal, 4. (For "meritorious achievement while participating in an aerial flight.")

A partial listing is made below of some of those who received high awards for gallantry or meritorious service. (The highest award, Congressional Medal of Honor, has not been awarded a Negro in World War II).

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS

Vernon J. Baker, First Lieutenant, Infantry, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Edward A. Carter, Jr., Staff Sergeant, Infantry, Los Angeles, Calif.
Charles L. Thomas, Captain, Field Artillery, Detroit, Mich.
Jack Thomas, Private, first class, Infantry, East Albany, Ga.
*George Watson, Private, Quartermaster Corps, Birmingham, Ala.

NAVY CROSS

Eli Benjamin, Steward's mate, second class, Norfolk, Va.
*Leonard Roy Harmon, Mess Attendant, Cuero, Texas.
*Dorie Miller, Mess Attendant, Waco, Texas.
William Pinckney, Cook, third class, Beaufort, S. C.

DISTINGUISHED FLYING CROSS

George H. Allen, Technical Sergeant, Columbus, Ga.
William N. Alsbrook, First Lieutenant, Kansas City, Kans.

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*Awarded posthumously.

Lee A. Archer, Lieutenant, New York, N. Y.
John A. Bailey, First Lieutenant, Wellington, Kans.
Alton F. Ballard, Lieutenant, Pasadena, Calif.
Howard L. Baugh, Captain, Petersburg, Virginia.
Maurice R. Bourchosne, Private, Lewiston, Me.
John F. Briggs, First Lieutenant, St. Louis, Mo.
Milton R. Brooks, Captain, Glassport, Pennsylvania.
Roscoe C. Brown, Lieutenant, New York, N. Y.
William A. Campbell, Major, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
Anthony Caputo, Technical Sergeant.
Arnold W. Cisco, Captain, Chicago, Ill.
Lester G. Coleman, Staff Sergeant, Baltimore, Md.
Hannibal M. Cox, First Lieutenant, Chicago, Ill.
Samuel L. Curtis, Captain.
John Daniels, Captain, Harvey, Ill.
Alfonza Davis, Captain, Omaha, Neb.
Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., Colonel, Washington, D. C.
Lawrence E. Dickson, First Lieutenant, New York, N. Y.
Charles W. Dort, First Lieutenant, Elmira, N. Y.
Elwood T. Driver, Captain, Trenton, New Jersey.
Spurgeon N. Ellington, First Lieutenant, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Joseph D. Elsberry, Captain, Langston, Oklahoma.
Richard L. Fannin, Second Lieutenant, Racine, Wis.
John W. Foyle, Jr., Technical Sergeant, Philadelphia, Pa.
Robert M. Geer, Technical Sergeant, Cleveland, Ohio.
Edward C. Gleed, Captain, Lawrence, Kansas.
Claude B. Goran, Captain, Newark, New Jersey.
William W. Green, First Lieutenant, Staunton, Va.
George E. Grey, Captain, Welch, West Virginia.
†Charles B. Hall, Captain, Brazil, Ind.
Richard S. Harder, First Lieutenant, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
Milton S. Hays, First Lieutenant, Los Angeles, Calif.
Vernon L. Haywood, Captain, Raleigh, North Carolina.
Jack D. Holsclaw, First Lieutenant, Spokane, Wash.
Freddie E. Hutchins, Captain, Donalsonville, Ga.
Leonard M. Jackson, Captain, Fort Worth, Texas.
Melvin T. Jackson, Captain, Warrenton, Virginia.
Felix J. Kirkpatrick, First Lieutenant, Chicago, Ill.
Philip W. Keller, Jr., Staff Sergeant.
Robert E. Koutsky, Staff Sergeant.
Earl R. Lane, Captain, Cleveland, Ohio.
James Lanham, First Lieutenant, Philadelphia, Pa.
Clarence D. Lester, First Lieutenant, Chicago, Ill.
Armour G. McDaniels, Captain, Martinsville, Va.
Charles E. McGee, Captain, Champaign, Ill.
Albert H. Manning, Jr., Captain, Hartsville, S. C.
Robert I. Martin, First Lieutenant, Dubuque, Iowa.
Dempsey W. Morgan, First Lieutenant, Detroit, Mich.
Henry B. Perry, Captain, Thomasville, Georgia.
William S. Price, III, First Lieutenant, Topeka, Kans.
Wendell O. Pruitt, Captain, St. Louis, Mo.
Richard C. Pullam, Captain.
Lee Rayford, Major, Washington, D. C.
George M. Rhodes, First Lieutenant, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Robert M. Rick, Staff Sergeant, Milwaukee, Wis.
Frank E. Roberts, First Lieutenant, Boston, Mass.
George S. Roberts, Major, Fairmont, West Virginia.
Roger Romine, Lieutenant.
George M. Rose, First Lieutenant, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Harold E. Sawyer, Captain, Columbus, Ohio.
Sherman R. Smith, First Lieutenant, Hamilton, Ohio.
Lowell C. Steward, Captain, Los Angeles, Calif.
Harry T. Stewart, First Lieutenant, Corona, L. I., N. Y.
Charles Tate, First Lieutenant, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Edward Thomas, First Lieutenant, Chicago, Ill.
William H. Thomas, First Lieutenant, Los Angeles, Calif.
Reed E. Thompson, Second Lieutenant, New Rochelle, N. Y.
Edward L. Toppins, Captain, San Francisco, Calif.
Andrew D. Turner, Captain, Washington, D. C.
Leonard F. Turner, First Lieutenant, Washington, D. C.
Quitman C. Walker, First Lieutenant, Indianola, Miss.
Dudley M. Watson, Captain, Frankfort, Kentucky.
Luke J. Weathers, Jr., Captain, Memphis, Tenn.
Shelby F. Westbrook, First Lieutenant, Toledo, Ohio.
Laurence D. Wilkins, First Lieutenant, Los Angeles, Calif.
Bertram W. Wilson, First Lieutenant, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Willard L. Woods, First Lieutenant, Los Angeles, Calif.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL

Benjamin O. Davis, Brigadier General, Washington, D. C.
Campbell C. Johnson, Colonel, Executive Assistant to Director of Selective Service, Washington, D. C.

AIR MEDAL

Darryl C. Bishop, First Lieutenant, Army Air Forces, Houston, Ohio.
Sidney P. Brooks, First Lieutenant, Army Air Forces, Cleveland, Ohio.

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†First Negro to receive the award.

*William G. Meares, Technical Sergeant, Army Air Forces, Greensboro, North Carolina.

*Paul G. Mitchell, First Lieutenant, Army Air Forces, Washington, D. C.

MERCHANT MARINE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL

Fred Carlos Archibald, San Francisco, California.

NAVY AND MARINE CORPS MEDAL

Elvin Bell, Mess Attendant, Third Class, Jamaica, N. Y.

Joseph Cross, Steward's Mate, First Class, New Orleans, La.

*Charles C. David, Jr., Mess Attendant, New York City.

LEGION OF MERIT

Samuel M. Baker, First Sergeant, Quartermaster Corps, Jersey City, N. J.

Joe Louis Barrow, Technical Sergeant, Detroit, Mich.

M. O. Bousfield, Colonel, Medical Corps, Chicago, Ill.

Elmer P. Gibson, Chaplain, Infantry, Philadelphia, Pa.

Jesse Harris, Private, Infantry, Tuskegee, Ala.

Dennis Holt, Staff Sergeant, Infantry, Birmingham, Ala.

Henry J. Johnson, Corps of Military Police, Newark, N. J.

John M. Lewis, Jr., Staff Sergeant, Antiaircraft Command, Camden, New Jersey.

Claude McDade, First Sergeant, Quartermaster Corps, Jersey City, N. J.

Isaac McGrew, Jr., Staff Sergeant, Infantry, Yazoo City, Miss.

J. P. Mays, Sergeant, Infantry, Tallulah, Louisiana.

Verna C. Neal, Private, Infantry, Ruleville, Miss.

Homer B. Roberts, Major, Bureau of Public Relations, War Dept., Washington, D. C.

Henry Smith, Jr., Private, Infantry, Good Pine, La.

Oscar J. Thomas, Technician Fourth Grade, Transportation Corps, Palmetto, Fla.

Harold W. Thatcher, Lieutenant Colonel, Medical Corps, Kansas City, Kansas.

DISTINGUISHED CIVILIAN SERVICE AWARD

Lester B. Granger, special Adviser to the Secretary of the Navy, New York, N. Y.

MEDAL FOR MERIT FOR CIVILIANS

Truman K. Gibson, Jr., Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, Chicago, Illinois.

MEDAL OF FREEDOM (For meritorious service to the armed forces)

Malcolm Colton, Red Cross Club Program Director, New York City.

Millard Woods, Red Cross Club Director, Lincoln, Nebr.

FOREIGN AWARDS

Among foreign awards granted American Negro soldiers were those indicated below:

British Distinguished Service Medal

Norman Day, First Sergeant, Danville, Illinois.

Croix de Guerre (French)

George W. Edwards, Corporal.

Arthur Jackson, Jr., Technical Sergeant, Detroit, Mich.

Ernest A. Jenkins, Private, First Class.

Steve Rodriguez, Technical Sergeant, New York City.

W. P. Terrell, Washington, D. C.

Order of the Soviet Union

Macon H. Johnson, Sergeant, Charleston, S. C.

Partisan Medal For Heroism (Yugoslavia)

William W. Green, First Lieutenant, Staunton, Va.

Companies Cited

Gallantry was not confined to individual Negroes during the war. Negro units frequently received citations or commendation for outstanding performance. For example, Corporal Robert E. Bradley, Lynchburg, Virginia, Negro truck driver of the Army's famed Red Ball Highway, received the Bronze Star Medal, an award made in symbol of all drivers. Prominent among company awards are those mentioned below which do not, however, represent the total number.

THE MERITORIOUS SERVICE UNIT PLAQUE

(Awarded for "superior performance of duty in the performance of exceptionally difficult tasks.")

The 703rd Medical Sanitary Company, serving in England, received the first such award given a unit of this type "for actively participating in the evacuation of battle casualties from the Continent from 6 June 1944 through 6 August 1944, in an exemplary manner."

The 392nd, General Service Regiment, received the Meritorious Unit Service Plaque for work performed between September 23-December 31, 1944. The citation stated: "Despite numerous difficulties, including inclement weather and limited supplies, this unit efficiently accomplished several difficult and hazardous projects."

Two Negro port companies serving in the Hawaiian Islands, (one under First Lieutenant Lewis L. Koppitch, Detroit, Mich., and the other commanded by First Lieutenant Glenn E. McCreary, Willoughby, Ohio) received the award for helping to prepare port installations in support of the Kwajalein invasion and for efficiency in ship load operations in the port of Honolulu.

The 666th Quartermaster Truck Company which served with the 82nd Airborne Division after the Holland campaign, September, 1944, received the Meritorious Service Unit Plaque in recognition of its superior rating and "outstanding devotion to duty."

DISTINGUISHED UNIT CITATION

The only Negro artillery unit in Europe to receive a Presidential Distinguished Unit Citation was the 969th Field Artillery Battalion which fought through the Normandy, and Northern France campaign in December, 1944.

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*Awarded posthumously.

The 614th Tank Destroyer Battalion, Negro combat unit in Europe, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Frank S. Pritchard, a white officer from Michigan, and officered mainly by Negroes, received the Distinguished Unit Citation and achieved a brilliant record, "both in terms of consistently outstanding performance in battle and excellence of morale."

The all Negro 332nd Fighter Group, won the Distinguished Unit Citation for its "outstanding courage, aggressiveness and combat technique" displayed in action during March, 1945.

Two Army Transportation Corps port companies, the 311th and 539th, were awarded the coveted Unit Citation by the Navy for heroic services with the Fourth Marine Division, Reinforced. (This was the second time the Navy Unit Citation was presented to Army units and the first time that an Army Service Forces unit in any theater had received the award).

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Among the Negro units receiving special commendation from high ranking Army officials were: the 320th Anti-Aircraft Balloon Battalion, serving with the First Army in the invasion of France; the 440th Quartermaster Service Company, with the Third Army during the Nazi breakthrough in Belgium, December, 1944; and the 450th Anti-Aircraft Artillery (the first Negro combat unit to land in North Africa, and the first Negro combat unit to go into action on European soil). The 95th, general service regiment which had worked on the Alcan Highway to Alaska and in Wales, was commended for its work in constructing communications zone headquarters at Valognes, France. A Negro service unit was the first to receive the Fifth Army Placque, an award of merit given in recognition of the unit's activities at an important Italian harbor, during December, 1943. As early as January, 1943, ten Negro units, ranging from Engineer to Chemical Warfare Service outfits, had been commended by General Douglas MacArthur for their "courage, spirit and devotion to duty" in expelling the enemy from Papua, New Guinea.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS[14]

American Red Cross work by and for Negroes has increased through the war years, both in the United States and overseas. Emphasized even more than in the war period is recreation among occupation troops. Additional Negro workers have been sent to replace those who have come home on rotation leave, and successful consolidation of white and Negro-staffed clubs has been effected in Italy and other places where fewer troops are being used.

Hundreds of Negroes throughout the war served as club directors, assistant club directors, program directors and assistants, personal service directors, field directors, recreation workers, psychiatric social workers, and on clerical staffs.

Millions of dollars continue to be given to servicemen, veterans, and their families, who are in need of financial assistance. Chief among the veterans' needs has been help while awaiting employment or settlement of claims.

Negro participation in the "health" services of the Red Cross—Home Nursing and Nutrition classes, First Aid, Water Safety and Accident Prevention—has been increased. Two Negro physicians and a Negro nurse were appointed December 5, 1945, to an Advisory Board on Health Services to coordinate activities of the Red Cross in the health field. This Board is expected to meet at least once a year.

A nutritionist was appointed for special consultant work in various Red Cross chapters in 1946, and more than 100 Negroes were qualified the same year as Red Cross instructors following training in national aquatic schools staffed by Negroes in Brevard, N. C., and Institute, West Virginia. In addition to skills, these schools emphasized community leadership and Red Cross chapter service.

An outstanding Red Cross program is the Disaster Service, which in times of flood, fire, tornado and other catastrophes, is given to all races indiscriminately. Negro volunteers participate in this as well as other Red Cross services.

[Editor's Note: During World War II, the American Red Cross established blood plasma banks. The original policy was not to accept Negroes as blood donors. Later Negroes were accepted as donors, but their blood was separately labeled and segregated from that of whites despite the fact that there is no scientific basis for the practice of plasma segregation. After considerable objection on the part of Negroes, the War Department eventually admitted responsibility for this segregation policy, stating the majority of whites desired it.]

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[14] Contributed by Jesse O. Thomas, Assistant to Vice Chairman, Domestic Services, American Red Cross.

THE USO[15]

(United Service Organizations)

"Service to all involved in the war effort" has been the goal of USO since its organization in 1941. Member agencies include: the Young Men's Christian Associations, the National Catholic Community Service, the National Jewish Welfare Board, the Young Women's Christian Associations, the Salvation Army, and the National Travelers Aid Association. USO's basic purposes were three-fold: "(1) To aid in the war and defense program of the United States of America by serving the religious, spiritual, welfare, and educational needs of the men and women of the armed forces, and of workers of the war industries; (2) to contribute to the maintenance of the morale in American communities; and (3) to afford a means and organization in which its Member Agencies may cooperate in serving these purposes."

Between 1941-1946, USO served a Negro constituency (military and/or war workers) in practically every State in Continental U. S. A. as well as in off-shore bases and the Caribbean area. The contingents of Negro troops have ranged from 100 to approximately 20,000. With few exceptions where USO has agreed that it had a clear responsibility for rendering services, a club has been established.

USO has sought to set up the necessary organizational structure on all levels that facilitates the bringing together of community leaders (representatives of the major religious faiths, racial groups and other key persons) for the purpose of studying, analyzing and making plans to meet USO's total accepted responsibility. These services have been provided under two major plans. On the one hand, where circumstances indicated that a club established especially for Negroes was the practicable approach, separate clubs have been established and staffed by Negro personnel, either under the auspices of one of the USO member agencies or under the auspices of the local USO Council. On the other hand, in certain sections of the country it was possible to render most of the basic services through USO Clubs established without any particular reference to the racial identity of the constituents.

In the peak period of USO history, there were approximately 300 clubs staffed by Negro personnel, serving a predominantly Negro constituency. These clubs were distributed in all parts of the Continental U. S. A.

USO provided a diversified plan of program, services and activities—with emphasis placed on spiritual guidance, personal counsel, personal services and recreational activities—the particular range of services and activities determined in the light of the needs and the interest of the constituency (members of the armed services, war production workers through February, 1946, women and girls, and associated civilians).

USO-CAMP SHOWS[16]

The USO-Camp Shows project was set up in November, 1941, a branch of USO, under support of the National War Fund, for the specific purpose of aiding the morale of the armed forces. More than one-tenth of the performers on the roster were colored, which meant that there were about 400 Negro artists, representing practically every type of specialty, travelling throughout the country and overseas to provide entertainment to men and women in service. These troupers, under direction of Dick Campbell, covered an aggregate of more than 5,000,000 miles as they staged approximately 10,000 shows.

The first Negro unit for overseas toured the islands of the Caribbean in 1943. "Porgy and Bess," produced and directed by Dick Campbell with music direction by Eva Jessye, was the first and largest production of its type to be sent overseas.

Outstanding artists who contributed their talents, but who were never on Camp Shows payroll included: Paul Robeson, baritone; Marian Anderson, contralto; Dorothy Maynor, soprano; Muriel Rahn, soprano; and Aubrey Pankey, baritone.

NEGROES SERVE WITH UNRRA

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was set up November 9, 1943 as an "international agency established by

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[15] Data supplied by Henry W. Pope, Director of Services to Negroes, USO.

[16] Data furnished by Dick Campbell, formerly Co-ordinator of Colored Talent, USO-Camp Shows.

44 United and Associated Nations to help organize the resources of the United Nations so that all liberated nations may have the same opportunity to relieve the sufferings of their people, and start rebuilding for peace." Negroes were employed in various capacities on the UNRRA staff—as welfare workers, administrative assistants, clerks, directors and deputy directors of assembly center teams, medical officers, and stenographers.

In 1945 Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier (formerly acting President of Hampton Institute) was an Assistant Administrator in the Bureau of Areas, a coordinating policy bureau. Dr. Robert C. Weaver, economist, in 1946 was second in command of the UNRRA mission in the Ukraine, and attended the fifth session of the Council in Geneva, Switzerland. Among those on UNRRA assignments overseas were the following:

Name and Assignment

Blanchard A. Baker, New York City, Deputy director, DP (Displaced persons) program, Germany
Norman M. Baker, Cincinnati, Supply officer, Germany.
Leo Bohannon, Minneapolis, Principal welfare officer, DP program, Germany.
John Bond, Washington, D. C., Welfare worker, Italy.
Ligon Buford, Chicago, Rehabilitation, Germany.
Joan E. Curtis, Grand Rapids, Mich., UNRRA staff, China.
Ernest Dawson, Reading, Pa., Principal welfare officer, DP program, Germany.
Dorothy Doyle, New York City, Health Mission Nurse, China.
Harry F. V. Edward, Princeton, DP specialist, Germany.
Ernest C. Grigg, Washington, D. C., Principal welfare officer, Germany.
Malcolm Jackson, Virgin Islands, Assembly director, Germany.
Harold T. Johnson, Oberlin, Welfare officer, China.
A. L. Kidd, Tallahassee, Assistant quartermaster, Holland.
Dr. Catherine D. Lealtad, New York City, Medical officer, Central Europe.
George W. Lee, Burlington, N. J., Assistant to chief medical officer, Italy.
Vinita V. Lewis, Washington, D. C., Child welfare worker, China.
Helen C. Lonewolf, Washington, D. C., Stenographer-clerk, DP program, Germany.
Dr. Jerome S. Peterson, Brooklyn, Medical specialist, China.
J. Francis Price, Washington, D. C., Administrative assistant, DP program, Germany.
Earl E. Pruitt, Louisville, Finance officer, France.
J. Jerome Robinson, Washington, D. C., Assistant personnel director, Germany.
Herman Washington, Washington, D. C., Principal welfare officer, Germany.

THE NEGRO VETERAN[11]

About 1,150,000 Negroes served in the Armed Forces in World War II. More than 95 per cent of these men have now been discharged as veterans, around 650,000 being located in the thirteen Southern States.

The problems faced by these veterans may be listed under claims, housing, medical attention, civil rights, employment, and educational training. Particularly in the Southern States, the efforts of the veterans to obtain their rightful benefits in these fields have been hampered by the refusal of the various veterans' servicing agencies to employ Negro personnel.

In the matter of claims for pensions, leave pay, insurance, record adjustments, etc., the rule of all-white servicing officers, although vexing has not been a barrier to the unravelling of the services needed by the majority of Negro veterans.

The Nation's effort in housing for veterans has been gravely disappointing to all veterans, and especially to Negro veterans.

Negro veterans, having fought in a war for democracy, returned in a spirit of quiet determination to improve democratic practices in their own communities. The personal courage and sense of strategy with which many of them have engaged themselves in this task is perhaps the most noteworthy feature of their return to civilian life. Their efforts have frequently been met with demagoguery and brutality, but notwithstanding this they have in innumerable instances opened the way for broader exercise of the franchise and greater respect for the civil liberties of their people.

In the prevailingly good labor market of the post-war period, Negro veterans in the South have not found it difficult to get employment, but it cannot be said that any noteworthy advance has been made in the fields of employment open to them. This is due partly to the complacency of the United States Employment Service, which is generally believed to have done less than it might have in finding opportunities for Negro veterans to use their highest skills. This, again, is partly the consequence of the refusal of all but a few southern offices of the Employment Service to use qualified Negro personnel, who might have been expected, had they been employed, to exert themselves with diligence and successful contrivance on behalf of the Negro veterans. The Veterans' Administration itself might fairly have been counted upon by Negro veterans to use them in administrative work without discrimination. In point of fact, the southern offices of the VA have been all but complete in their refusal to take on qualified Negro veterans, and the northern offices have not been notably better.

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[11] Contributed by Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director, Veterans' Service Division, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Unemployment compensation, the readjustment allowance, and the self-employment benefit have been made available to Negro veterans in a somewhat "spotty" way. Field inquiry yields the view that while in most southern areas these benefits have been available, they have often been less readily available to Negro claimants, and for shorter periods, than for white claimants.

The master benefit of the veterans' legislation is educational training. In southern communities Negro veterans have had a particularly hard time finding on-the-job training opportunities, and for many of those drawing the benefit, the actual training is less desirable than that received by white veterans. The on-the-farm training benefit has been developed quite unequally in the various Southern States, but generally speaking, where developed, it has been open to established Negro farmer-veterans. The program may be criticized for the extreme caution with which it has opened itself to croppers and laborers wishing training in some specialized farm activity.

Partly because of the difficulty in getting on-the-job training, Negro veterans have shown a particular interest in full-time trade school training, but this has been made available to them only in the most limited way. Thus far, the public has thought of the GI educational benefit mainly in terms of college-level training. Yet the great bulk of the veterans stopped school in the later grammar grades or early high school years, and among the Negro veterans, the general level probably would be between the fourth and eighth grades. It would be surprising if, the South over, in four or five years time, as much as 12 per cent of the veterans had taken even one year of college work.

Negro vocational training schools offer only a narrow range of subjects, most of them in lines accepted as those in which Negroes most easily find skilled or semi-skilled employment. In many local communities Negro leadership has pressed successfully for additional full-time trade training schools for Negro veterans. It may well be that out of the ambitions of these men to obtain the training that will fit them for secure employment, the South will equip itself with a network of trade training schools. These schools should prove highly successful as the area pushes ahead with industrialization in the very decade in which mechanization of agriculture foreseeably will release a million or more untrained laborers.

In the matter of self-organization, the Negroes who have come out of World War II have been more enterprising than the men from World War I. The American Legion in the States in the lower South refused to charter Negro posts for all the years until 1946, but with only one or two exceptions the various State departments of the Legion all over the country are now admitting Negroes in separate Negro posts. The Veterans of Foreign Wars has accepted Negro members on similar terms straight along, and has had a substantial growth of Negro posts since World War II. It is generally recognized that the two most vigorous strictly World War II organizations are the AMVETS and the American Veterans Committee. The first has only here and there shown interest in Negro membership. The AVC has made it a rule to charter only chapters that agree to accept Negro members without qualification. Their chapters have already become influential in many southern cities. The United Negro and Allied Veterans and the National Council of Negro Veterans have each put on organizing campaigns in the South, and local posts of each organization can usually be found in the large cities. In addition, many local clubs of Negro veterans have been formed. Many of these groups are currently negotiating with established national veterans organization for entrance into them.

DIVISION XVI

THE NEGRO PRESS

By Vera Chandler Foster and Jessie P. Guzman

Tuskegee Institute

THE FUNCTION OF THE NEGRO PRESS

Two distinguished present-day Negro editors have ably set forth the function of the Negro press.

P. L. Prattis, Executive Editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, in an article entitled, "The Role of the Negro Press in Race Relations," which appears in the third quarter, 1946 edition of *Phylon*, characterizes the Negro press as follows:

The first function of the Negro press is "the promotion of the welfare of Negroes and the fighting of their battles. . . . The chief function of the Negro newspaper, along with other forces in Negro life, is to fight for first class citizenship and full opportunity for growth for Negroes. . . . It fights against the restrictions imposed upon Negro citizens by other Americans of the dominant majority. In general, it is against this dominant majority that it levels its attacks. It is an instrument of the embattled minority in action against the repressive majority.

"So far as the Negro press and its primary function are concerned, the nation is divided into two groups, a majority group and a minority group, and the Negro press is a device specially fashioned for the use of the minority group in its battle for survival and status against the majority group.

"The Negro press is seriously engaged in the job of stimulating Negro achievement, increasing the Negro's pride in himself and respect for himself, and cultivating within him the desire and willingness to shake hands and work with the other fellow. The Negro press believes this can best be done by helping the Negro to keep his head lifted high, by helping to dispel and destroy all notions that he is an inferior of any kind, by encouragement of his virtues and talents and criticism of his vices, by continuous assault on all artificial barriers which separate white from black, Jew from Gentile, or any kind of American from any other kind of American and through recognition and appreciation of what all Americans, regardless of race or religion, do to advance the cause of common brotherhood and humanity."

Frank L. Stanley, editor of the *Louisville Defender* and President of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, in a radio broadcast during National Negro Newspaper week, sums up the function of the Negro press as follows:

"The chief function first is to objectively report the news, as and when it happens, and as it affects all people without any special regard to race, color or creed. The second function, which is inseparable, with respect to a class publication, and that is the category in which all Negro newspapers are classified, that function is to fight oppression, to give expression to the desires of those citizens of minority groups in these United States, who seek full citizenship rights."

That these functions have been faithfully adhered to is clearly evident by studying the growth and development of the Negro press.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO PRESS[1]

The year 1946 marked the 119th anniversary of the Negro press. Prior to World War II, there have been three rather clear-cut periods in its development. They coincide to a large extent with the growth and development of Negro life generally and with epoch making events in American history.

The Negro Press and Slavery

The first Negro newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, was published in New

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[1] See Detweiler, Frederick G., The Negro Press in the United States, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1922. Chapters II and III; Ottley, Roi, New World A-Coming, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943. Chapter XIX; Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, New York, Harper & Bros. 1944. Vol. 2, Chapter 42; Negro Year Book, 1918-1919 and 1921-22 editions.

York City in 1827 by John B. Russwurm and Samuel E. Cornish. Russwurm, having finished Bowdoin College in 1826, was the first Negro college graduate in the United States. The journal grew out of a meeting of Russwurm, Cornish and others to consider "the vilest attacks on the Afro-Americans." Its purpose was the freedom of the slaves, and it went so far as to call upon the slaves of the South to revolt.

The *North Star*, established by Frederick Douglass, the great abolitionist, and later renamed and published as *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, was operated by him until emancipation. Douglass felt that "the greatest hindrance to the adoption of abolition principles by the people of the United States was the low estate . . . placed upon the Negro as a man. . . . A tolerably well conducted press in the hands of persons of the despised race, would by calling out and making them acquainted with their own latent powers, by enkindling their hope of a future and developing their moral force, prove a most powerful means of removing prejudice and awakening an interest in them." The *North Star* was published at a cost of $80. per week and had a circulation of 3,000. *Frederick Douglass' Paper* reached a circulation of 4,000 copies.

There were 24 Negro periodicals between 1827 and the Civil War, many of which existed for only a short time. All of them came into being as a protest against slavery. They also protested "against discrimination in the North and advocated full civil liberties."

The oldest Negro newspaper in the United States is the *Christian Recorder*, the organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, established in 1848.

The Negro Press During and After Reconstruction

The problems after emancipation were many. With the end of the war and the lifting of the ban against the distribution of Negro papers in the South as well as against Negroes learning to read and write, the Negro press saw its opportunity for development, also the necessity of combating growing anti-Negro sentiment and of unifying Negroes to cope with it.

The first paper started in the South was the *Colored American* at Augusta, Georgia, in 1865. It was a "vehicle for the diffusion of Religious, political and General Intelligence . . . to keep before the minds of our race the duties and responsibilities of freedom; and to call attention to the wants and grievances of the colored people." It lasted only six months.

Frederick Douglass started the *New National Era* in Washington after the Civil War, but this paper cost him so much that he decided to give up newspaper work permanently, stating he had learned an expensive but valuable lesson.

The 1870's and the 1880's saw the rise of many of the church papers that are still in existence, for these were years of much church building and denominational expansion, the Church being the center of the social and community life of the Negro. Fraternal papers also grew rapidly after the Civil War. In 1922, 45 such papers were known to exist. Of these, the *Independent*, Atlanta, Georgia, started in 1903, had the greatest circulation and was the most influential because of the personality of its editor, Benjamin Jefferson Davis, head of the Odd Fellows.

The *Washington Bee* came into existence in Washington, D. C., 1879, the editor being William Calvin Chase, a well educated lawyer with fearless personality. About this same time, the *Indianapolis World* appeared; in 1883, the *Cleveland Gazette*; in 1884, the *Philadelphia Tribune*. The editor, Chris J. Perry, was a successful investor in securities and real estate. In 1885 came the *Savannah Tribune*; and the *Richmond Planet* about the same time. The *Elevator* of San Francisco, edited and published by Philip A. Bell and W. J. Powell, was allied to this group, as was also the *Progressive American* of New York City, which lasted from 1871 to 1887.

The *New York Age* was first published in 1887. It started as the *Rumor*, became the *Globe*, then the *Freeman*. When taken over by T. Thomas Fortune, a man of considerable ability, and Jerome B. Peterson, it became the *New York Age*. Fortune's editorials were not only widely read, but drew forth comments from the white press. In 1907, Fred R. Moore purchased the *New York Age* and became its editor and publisher. Other noted editors of the *New York Age* during its earlier years were James Weldon Johnson, author, diplomat, musician; and Lester B. Walton, diplomat.

John H. Murphy, an outstanding churchman, established the Baltimore *Afro-American* in 1892. His first publication was the *Sunday School Helper*, which ante-dated the *Afro-American*.

Some other early editors were: Harry C. Smith of the *Cleveland Gazette;* George L. Knox, editor of the *Freeman;* Nick Chiles of the *Topeka Plaindealer;* John Mitchell, Jr., of the *Richmond Planet*.

In 1870 there were 10 Negro journals in America; in 1880, 31; in 1890 there were 154.

Although definitely fighting for the rights of the Negro, in this period the Negro press, as a whole, had not yet taken on its present-day belligerency, though such belligerency was becoming apparent. The *Boston-Guardian*, launched in 1901 by William Monroe Trotter, as an uncompromising militant organ, was widely read by educated Negroes and was a powerful force; also, the *Chicago Defender*, started by Robert S. Abbott in 1905, and *The Crisis*, begun in 1910 as the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with W. E. B. DuBois, as editor.

The Negro Press During World War I

The slogan of World War I, "Make the world safe for democracy," was the signal for a decided change in the tone and character of the Negro press. The aims of America for the world and the treatment of Negroes at home were so inconsistent that immediately the Negro press took up this slogan and used it to make Negroes conscious of these inconsistencies. Not only did they concern themselves with the problems of Negroes in America, but also with the problems of colored minorities everywhere.

William Monroe Trotter of the *Guardian* was the most aggressive of the Negro editors. When a passport was denied him to attend the Paris Peace Conference, he worked his way across the Atlantic to Paris as a cook, at least to observe the conference. The *Guardian* had a nation-wide circulation, and Trotter was a hero in the minds of his reading public.

The *Chicago Defender* was the beginning of a new type of journalism among Negroes. It had grown from a few copies of handbill size which Robert S. Abbott the editor himself distributed, into a great metropolitan institution.

Harvard-trained DuBois of *The Crisis* was the most penetrating and trenchant editor of this period. These three—Trotter, Abbott and DuBois—were a trio to be reckoned with in themselves, had no other editors existed; but they had adequate support in the rest of the Negro press. The *Messenger*, one of the most radical and most widely circulated, edited by A. Philip Randolph, advocated change of the Negro's condition by the revolutionary action of Negro and white labor. The *New York Age* advocated orderly change through the Republican party. The Government, believing some of the Negro papers to be dangerous for the morale of the country and the war effort, felt impelled to confer with 31 editors and other Negro leaders. This group drew up a set of recommendations embodied in a "Bill of Particulars" which set forth all of the grievances and needs of the Negro. This singling out of the Negro press afforded more and better headlines, and in no way changed the attitude of the press.

As well as fighting for the rights of the Negro as American citizens, the Negro newspapers were the channels through which Negroes kept informed about events affecting their personal interest. After having turned the mass migration of Negroes from the South to the North to enter industrial plants and other jobs into a protest movement, they kept the public informed about job opportunities; about what was happening to persons who had already gone North for work. They told of the efforts that were being made to keep Negro labor in the South and to keep northern Negro newspapers from circulating in the South. They gave information about the soldiers who were with the American Expeditionary Force, as well as those at home. They told of riots that were taking place and other adverse conditions affecting the Negro public. The Negro press created a bond with its constituency that had not existed previously.

In the 1920's and the 1930's the momentum gained during the emergency period did not wane, for the quickened racial consciousness of the Negro was kept alive with the reports of the revival of the Ku Klux Klan; of further lynchings and riots. The Garvey Movement (advocating return of Negroes to Africa) was a big topic for the newspapers as was the continued migration and the great depression, with its attendant ills and new forms of discrimination growing out of the administering of the Government's welfare programs.

Much copy was provided the Negro press, and it did not fail to capitalize on it. These occurrences kept the interest of the public alive and enhanced the value of the press.

THE NEGRO PRESS DURING WORLD WAR II

When World War II came, the power of the Negro press was unchallenged. It had gained great prestige with both the Government and the people between 1917 and 1941. The same grievances that existed during World War I were played up with more intensity. The Negro press not only published the Negro's grievances, but stirred up and organized them.

> "Again the inconsistency between expressed war aims and domestic policy becomes glaring. Again there is discrimination in the Army, Navy and Air Force, and in the war industries. Again there are Negro heroes, unrecognized by the whites, to praise. And again the low war morale of the Negro people becomes a worry to the government. Again white leaders come out with declarations that justice must be given to Negroes. The administration makes cautious concessions. Negro leaders are more determined. All this makes good copy."[2]

The War Department, having become more aware of the role of the Negro press, kept its top executives informed weekly with a "Report of Trends in the Colored Press."

In addition to the routine job of disseminating information, the Negro press cooperated 100 per cent in the war effort. Newspapers promoted bond drives, scrap metal drives, salvage programs of all kinds, victory garden projects and Civilian Defense programs. They campaigned for and won wider employment for Negroes and then conducted "hold your job campaigns" to maintain that employment.

In addition to *The Crisis* (Roy Wilkins, editor) and the *Chicago Defender* (John H. Sengstacke, nephew of the founder, editor-publisher), there had grown up a battery of other strong newspapers, all working for a common cause—to secure for Negroes first class citizenship in America and human dignity for oppressed peoples everywhere. This effort was dramatized as a Double V program, Victory at home and abroad by *The Pittsburgh Courier* (P. L. Prattis, executive editor; started in 1910; Mrs. Robert L. Vann, widow of one of the founders, publisher and treasurer).

Other strong papers were: *The Afro-American* (Carl Murphy, formerly a teacher of German at Howard University, editor, having succeeded his father, the founder); the *Amsterdam News* (Dr. C. B. Powell, member of the New York Athletic Commission, editor); the *Journal and Guide*, Norfolk, Virginia (P. B. Young, Jr., editor, having taken over from P. B. Young, Sr., who established the paper in 1899).

There were, also, the *Kansas City Call*, Missouri (C. A. Franklin, editor; established, 1919); the *Louisiana Weekly* (C. C. DeJoie, Jr., editor; established, 1926); the *Los Angeles Sentinel* (Loren Miller, editor; established, 1932); the *Philadelphia Tribune* (Eustace Gay, editor; established, 1884); the *Louisville Defender* (F. L. Stanley, editor; established, 1933); the *Michigan Chronicle*, Detroit (L. E. Martin, editor; established, 1936); the *People's Voice*, New York City (Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., outstanding churchman, editor until he resigned in 1946 because of heavy duties as Congressman and as pastor of Abyssinia Baptist Church); the *Cleveland Call and Post* (William O. Walker, editor; established, 1921); the *Houston Informer* (Carter W. Wesley, editor; established, 1893); and the *New York Age* (L. W. Werner, editor; established, 1885).

With this group should be mentioned the *Atlanta Daily World*, only Negro daily, edited by C. A. Scott. Founded in August, 1928 by W. A. Scott, it was published weekly until the spring of 1930 when it became a semi-weekly. In January, 1931, the Southern Newspaper Syndicate was formed as an outgrowth of the *Atlanta World*. Semi-weeklies were established in Birmingham, Alabama; Columbus, Georgia; and Chattanooga, Tennessee. On March 13, 1932, the *Atlanta World* changed from a tri-weekly to a daily.

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[2] Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, Vol. II, p. 915.

Established in 1923, *Opportunity* (Journal of Negro Life), the organ of the National Urban League, Elmer A. Carter, editor, has been outstanding during this period. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University, was editor from 1923 to 1929.

Editorial Policy of Negro Newspapers 1917-18 and 1941-42 Compared

A comparison of the editorial policy of Negro editors during World War I and World War II by Lester M. Jones, appearing in the *Journal of Negro History*, January, 1944, shows that there was "no change in the fundamental loyalty and patriotism of Negro editors. The two periods are alike in their editorial protests against racial discrimination in the armed forces and in war jobs; and in their denunciation of race riots and abusive treatment of colored soldiers."

The editors of 1917-18 felt that the "walls of prejudice would crumble before the onslaught of comon sense and racial progress," and that the colored soldier "will hardly be begrudged a fair chance when the victorious armies return."

World War II editors were "more wary, less trustful of high sounding slogans and bounteous promises." They had "learned caution from the unfilled editorial expectations of 1917-18." While still striving to keep their readers loyal to America and to the cause for which they were fighting, they encouraged them to improve their status while the war was going on, rather than wait patiently for the war to be over before doing so. The experiences after World War I had taught them that they could not expect too much once arms were laid aside.

Almost twice as much space was devoted to the significance of the war for the Negro in the editorials of World War II as was the case in World War I.

The editors of World War II devoted more space to the effects of the war on the Negro than did those of World War I. The editors of World War II saw that the adjustment of domestic matters in the United States "is part of a larger whole involving all races of men everywhere. . . . Leading editorial writers realize(d) that the post-war status of minority groups, colored colonial dependencies, and other subject peoples on the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa will be . . . indubitably reflected . . . in the treatment of the American Negro."

War Correspondents

Among war correspondents awarded theatre ribbons and the area in which they served were:

Frank E. Bolden, Pittsburgh Courier and NNPA correspondent, India-Burma
Deton J. Brooks, Chicago Defender, China
Arthur M. Carter, Afro-American, Mediterranean
Haskell Cohen, Pittsburgh Courier, Mediterranean
Lemuel E. Graves, Journal and Guide, Mediterranean
O. W. Harrington, Pittsburgh Courier, Mediterranean-European
John Q. Jordan, Journal and Guide, European
Max Johnson, Afro-American, Mediterranean-European-Pacific
Theodore A. Stanford, Pittsburgh Courier, European
Ollie Stewart, Afro-American, African-Mediterranean-European
Edward Toles, Chicago Defender, European
Vincent Tubbs, Afro-American, European-Pacific

Other war correspondents and the theatres which they covered are:

*Trezzvant W. Anderson, ANP, England
Edward Baker, Pittsburgh Courier, European
Randy Dixon, Pittsburgh Courier, England
Rudolph Dunbar, ANP, European
Collins George, Pittsburgh Courier, Italy
Peyton Grey, Afro-American, European
Frank D. Godien, ANP, Italy
Elgin Hychew, Houston Informer, European
*J. M. Jones, Jr., ANP, Pacific
Charles H. Loeb, NNPA, European-Pacific
Fletcher P. Martin, Louisville Defender and NNPA, Pacific
George Coleman Moore, ANP, European
*Evelio Griffo, ANP, India
David Orro, Chicago Defender, England
Mrs. Elizabeth B. Murphy Phillips, Afro-American, first colored woman certified as war correspondent overseas. Became ill and had to return without reporting war activities.
*Will V. Neely, ANP, Pacific
Billy Rowe, Pittsburgh Courier, Pacific
Edgar T. Rouzeau, Pittsburgh Courier, European
*James A. Sanders, ANP, Italy
Enoc P. Waters, Chicago Defender, Pacific
*Robert G. Washington, ANP, African
Francis Yancy, Afro-American, Aleutians, Alaska, Pacific
P. Bernard Young, Jr., Journal and Guide, toured British West Africa
T. W. Young, Journal and Guide, North Africa, Sicily, England, Scotland

Chatwood Hall was the only Negro correspondent in Russia. He was there before the war began.

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*An asterisk indicates members of the armed forces.

Special News Gathering Agencies During World War II

It is important to note that the flow of war news was greatly facilitated by the forming of a pool for this purpose by a number of Negro newspapers in 1943. Papers making up this pool were: the *Afro-American*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Chicago Defender*, the *Louisville Defender*, the *Michigan Chronicle*, the *Detroit Tribune*, the *Journal and Guide*, Norfolk, Virginia, the *Kansas City Call*, Kansas City, Missouri, the *Amsterdam News*, New York City, the *Houston Informer*, the *Atlanta Daily World*, the *Philadelphia Tribune*, the Cleveland *Call-Post* and the *Chicago Bee*.

Following the visit in 1944 of Major Homer B. Roberts of the War Department's Bureau of Public Relations to the European Theatre of Operations, a program for co-ordinating the flow of news about Negro troops was inaugurated. A special news agency staffed by Negro reporters and officered by Negroes was created to serve as a clearing house for reports from Negro units.

There was also a Negro correspondent on the staff of *Stars and Stripes*, Army newspaper published in the European theatre.

SURVEY OF NEGRO NEWSPAPERS[1]

Number and Location of Negro Newspapers

In the period July 1, 1944 to June 30, 1945, there were 155 Negro newspapers in the United States, 146 of which bore a price. Those bearing a price were published in 14 Northern States, all of the Southern States, except Delaware, and 3 Western States. In the North these papers numbered 58, with a count of 75 in the South, and 13 in the West.

Among the individual States, Texas with 11 priced newspapers ranked first, and the States of California, New York, and Pennsylvania with 10 priced newspapers each, ranked second. The northern cities of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis had 28 newspapers; the Southern cities of Atlanta, Baltimore, Birmingham, Dallas, Houston, Jacksonville, Memphis, New Orleans, Richmond, and Washington, D. C. had 25 newspapers; and Los Angeles in the West had 5 Negro newspapers.

Circulation of Negro Newspapers

The combined average net circulation (1945) for 137 newspapers bearing a price was 1,809,060, about one-half (952,864, or 52.7 per cent) of this circulation being accounted for by 20 Negro newspapers in the Audit Bureau of Circulations.

Out of 98 newspapers, 41 had no out-of-State circulation, and 57 had a combined average net out-of-State circulation of 356,079. Four newspapers with out-of-State circulations of 220,073; 30,729; 12,212; and 10,000, respectively, had somewhat more than three-fourths (76.7 per cent) of total out-of-State circulation.

The combined average net circulation of 106 Negro newspapers increased from 1,293,261 to 1,643,311, or 350,050 (27.1 per cent) between 1943 and 1945.

Ownership and Number of Employees, Negro Newspapers

In 1945, individual proprietorships, partnerships, and corporations accounted for all except 16 of 136 newspapers. There were 59 individual proprietorships, 21 partnerships, and 40 corporations.

Information on number of employees on pay rolls as of June 30, 1945 furnished by 130 newspapers shows that 23 newspapers were conducted without any employees and that 107 had a total of 1,727 employees. Nineteen of the newspapers in the latter group had more than 12 employees each. Their workers numbered 1,250, of which 695, or 55.6 per cent, were employed by 4 newspapers with from 121 to 211 employees.

Negro Periodicals

In 1945 there were 100 Negro periodicals. Out of 98 periodicals reporting, 24 were established between 1942 and 1945. More than one-third (34.1 per cent) of the combined average net circulation of 85 periodicals (749,025) was for 14 general periodicals with a combined average net circulation of 255,294. The next highest proportion (30.6 per cent) was for 13 religious publications.

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[1] Extracted from Negro Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States: 1945. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, August 29, 1946.

Combined Average Net Circulation Per Issue For Selected Negro Periodicals: 1945
(Includes all periodicals which reported average net circulation)

CLASSIFICATION	Number of periodicals	Combined-average net circulation
Total	85	749,025
Advertising, business, and trade	9	16,400
Alumni and collegiate	15	24,428
Educational	20	126,691
Fraternal	6	28,750
General	14	255,294
Religious	13	228,962
Miscellaneous	8	68,500

ADVERTISING AND THE NEGRO MARKET

Citing the importance of giving heed to under-developed markets, a leading advertising journal (*Tide*, March, 1947) points out that the largest and most important of these markets—and the greatest unrealized opportunity, perhaps, is among Negroes. "In population and in buying power, they are growing rapidly and give every sign of continuing to do so. For advertisers, there are two alternatives: to by-pass this market, as they tended to do before the war, or to study, appraise and set out to develop it. . . . The two factors which hindered pioneers and all their successors are the absence of adequate statistics on the market and the limitations of the available Negro media. . . .

"The other (latter) part of the advertiser's problem in reaching Negroes has two subdivisions: what media are available? and what is the best way to appeal to the market? . . . Even the pitifully small amount of research made so far shows that Negroes often as not 'buy the best,' or at least the expensive.

"The established Negro media most available to advertisers are the newspapers and magazines. Until now, and to some extent even now, the Negro press . . . still lacks even the most basic research. . . . A scant 22 . . . Negro newspapers belong to the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC). The rest of the field . . . is sold on everything from publishers' sworn statements to imaginary circulation."

About 99 per cent of the Negro newspaper field, *Tide* reveals, is shared by two newspaper representatives, Associated Publishers, Inc., and Interstate United Newspapers, Inc., both with headquarters in New York. Interstate represents six of the 22 Negro ABC papers and sells space in more than 150 others, plus a dozen or more magazines. These ABC papers and their circulation are: the *Pittsburgh Courier*, its various editions with circulation over 286,000; the New York *Amsterdam News*, 111,000; *Kansas City Call*, 41,000; the New Orleans *Louisiana Weekly*, 19,000; *Los Angeles Sentinel*, 10,000; and the *Philadelphia Tribune*, 11,000.

Entering the field in 1944, the Associated Publishers handles the rest of the ABC Negro papers, excepting the *Chicago Defender* (with its national and local editions having circulation of 202,915). Included are the *Afro-American*, (with total circulation of 229,138 for its national weekly Baltimore edition and local editions in Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, Newark and Richmond; the *Louisville Defender*, 17,723; New Orleans *Informer and Sentinel*, 4,130; *Detroit Chronicle*, 24,835; New York *People's Voice*, 28,076; *Cleveland Call and Post*, 25,912; *Houston Informer*, 30,524; *Dallas Express*, 11,990; *San Antonio Informer*, 2,010; and the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, 68,039.

The securing of national advertising constitutes one of the major difficulties of the Negro press. Lacking this profitable source of income, the chief revenue of the Negro newspapers is derived from the sale of papers themselves, price usually ranging from 5 to 10 cents per copy.[4] With almost complete absence of regular commercial advertising, half or more of such advertising as there is carried is usually about "hair-straighteners," "skin-bleachers," patent medicines, dream books and the like. The Census Bureau reports that advertising linage printed in 80 Negro newspapers (July 1, 1944—June 30, 1945) amounted to 2,967,230 inches with 2,211,373 inches of this volume carried by 15 newspapers. When, as an experiment, in the summer of 1941, the Philip Morris cigarette company advertised in three of the large Negro papers, another Negro weekly editorialized "if that campaign goes over, not only those newspapers but many Negro newspapers will be used by cigarette companies who are interested in the Negro market."

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[4] According to the Bureau of the Census, of 139 Negro newspapers studied (July 1, 1944—June 30, 1945) the price range for all except 6 was from 5c to 10c: 71 cost 5c per copy; 38, 10c per copy; 6, 6c per copy; 17, 7c per copy; 1, 8c per copy. More than one-half (or 20 of 38) papers priced at 10c per copy were located in the North.

EXPANSION IN COVERAGE OF NEWS BY THE NEGRO PRESS

Before World War II, the *Afro-American* had Chatwood Hall in Moscow and Ollie Stewart in Rio de Janeiro. *The Crisis* received regular dispatches from George Padmore from London. Such free-lance writers as Roy De Coverly, stationed in Copenhagen, corresponded with a number of papers in the United States. Today, alert to the Negro's concern about all matters not only on the color problem but on world affairs, numerous correspondents work on the international aspects of the news. Additional interest was stimulated not only by World War II itself, but by the fact that in World War II every facility was given Negro newspapers to send correspondents to Europe, Africa, Alaska and into the Southwest Pacific. This privilege did not exist during World War I. The activities of war correspondents greatly stimulated the interest of the press and the public in post-war developments.

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference, August 21 to October 7, 1945 was the subject of much speculation. Two issues especially were of interest to the Negro press; i.e., whether the Mandates system would be touched and whether the matter of racial equality would be gone into.

Of much news value was the San Francisco Conference, opened April 25, 1945, where Walter White, W. E. B. Du Bois and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune had been certified by the State Department to serve as consultants to the American delegates at the conference. The larger newspapers sent their correspondents to cover this assemblage and some forty-two national organizations sent representatives.

George Padmore, *Chicago Defender* foreign correspondent, kept in close touch with the news as D-Day approached in Europe, writing many behind the scene stories. He sent in "on-the-spot" accounts of the crucial Paris Peace Conference. A longtime writer and champion of colonial peoples, Mr. Padmore gave inside information as the complex of colonies, empire, and world power unfolded, also side lights about delegates and other personalities.

Robert Moton Williams' accounts of what took place at the Luxembourg Palace, Paris Peace Conference, gave colorful pen pictures of the colored delegates, describing among other things the native attire of such personalities as Haile Selassie and an attractive dark-skinned woman, Miss J. Heckford, who "stands out in the audience like a black pearl."

Headlines about the United Nations show the interest and coverage of that organization. Headings of news items are descriptive of this keen interest: "No Black Nations on Top UNO Committees"; "New Deal for Belgian Congo Overlooked on UNO Agenda"; "Smuts Loses UN Approval for Southwest Africa Annexation"; "India Wins Moral Victory in Union of South Africa Trial"; "Soviets to Demand Race Equality at Peace Table"; "What Stake Have the Darker Nations in the Coming Peace"; "African Natives Send UN Delegates"; "Equality Biggest Little Word at World Conference."

Henry Lee Moon covered the World Trade Union Conference in London for the *Chicago Defender* in February, 1945. George Padmore also covered it for the *Pittsburgh Courier*. Roi Ottley, special correspondent of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, was granted the first private audience to an American Negro correspondent by Pope Pius XII and reported the same. Ollie Stewart reported the pomp and splendor of the Ceremony of Consistory in February, 1946 at St. Peter's Cathedral, Rome. "Operations Crossroads," the atomic bomb tests at Bikini Atoll, in the Central Pacific, were covered by Vincent T. Tubbs and P. Bernard Young, Jr. They gave eye witness accounts of atomic bomb power, plus other impressions of their trip to attend this momentous event. Young, of the *Journal and Guide*, was a member of the Kwajalein group flying from San Francisco; and Vincent Tubbs, of the *Afro-American* Newspapers, Inc., was a member of the Appalachian group, which took three weeks to reach the Bikini area, journeying aboard a joint Army-Navy task force transport, the *U.S.S. Appalachian.* Ralph Matthews, *Afro-American* writer, was at the inauguration of William H. Hastie as Governor of the Virgin Islands.

The *Pittsburgh Courier* has an adviser on foreign affairs in Dr. Rayford W. Logan, head of the Department of History, Howard University; and John Robert Badger conducts a column, "World View," for the *Chicago Defender*. Luther P. Jackson, historian, writes a special column for the *Journal and Guide* and W. E. B. Du Bois' column entitled, "The Winds of Time," appears in the *Chicago Defender*.

A point to be noted here is that while news about world happenings was available in the white press, the special interpretations of such events by Negro reporters gave added interest.

PRESS ASSOCIATIONS

American Newspaper Guild

Generally excluded by race from white press organizations, Negro newsmen have their own counterparts but continue to try to break down the barriers. The *Louisville* (Ky.) *Defender* in June, 1946, was denied membership in the Kentucky Press Association by a decision based on social grounds. The constitution of the American Newspaper Guild (begun by Heywood Broun in 1933, a C. I. O. affiliate since 1937) protects newsmen from being barred "by reason of sex, race, or religious or political conviction," yet Negro newspapers have been slow to sign Guild contracts.

First to sign such a contract was the New York *Amsterdam News.* The *Amsterdam News* Guild Unit voted strike action against the management in 1946, charging that contract provisions having to do mainly with inter-office relationships were ignored. Also Guild members are the *People's Voice* the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, the *Chicago Defender* and the *Afro-American* group of papers. In 1946, Lowell Lomax, chairman of the Guild unit of *Afro-American* employees, was one of a 10-man District of Columbia delegation to the national convention at Scranton, Pennsylvania. He was the first Negro newsman ever delegated to represent a southern chapter at the convention.

The Capitol Press Club

The Capitol Press Club, outstanding among urban press groups, is an organization of "topflight" Negro newsmen and women in Washington, D. C., and includes the Negro press corps and public relations men in government service. Its annual awards for the best news story and photography are widely publicized.

Delta Phi Delta

Delta Phi Delta, organized in 1937 at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, as a national intercollegiate journalistic society, in 1939 extended its membership to include professional journalists, college publicity directors, editors and publishers. More active prior to the War, the group's project, "National Negro Newspaper Week"[5] (designed primarily to familiarize America with accomplishments and possibilities of the Negro newspaper, and its contributions to American life) is now sponsored by the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, (NNPA).

The National Negro News Distributors Association

The National Negro News Distributors Association is an independent newsdealers' organization, set up in February, 1946 in New York City, with Carroll M. Ellis, National News Company, Chicago, as President.

The Negro Newspaper Publishers Association

The Negro Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA) organized in Chicago in March, 1940 by 28 publishers and executives representing 21 weekly papers from New York to Nebraska, is today one of the most influential of Negro organizations. The first President was John H. Sengstacke, then general manager of the *Chicago Defender.* From the very outset, NNPA has conducted an active program, designed not only to improve and promote the Negro press, but to increase the status of the Negro. It enjoys a strategic position with reference to Negro affairs. The growth and activities of NNPA represent a new phase of development of the Negro press.

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[5] Originally designated "Bigger and Better Negro Newspaper Week," when first celebrated February 27-March 5, 1939.

Prominent among NNPA activities is the annual observance of National Negro Newspaper Week during which celebration there are programs, exhibits, and essay contests. The chief feature, however, is a nation-wide broadcast with outstanding personalities and celebrities of the stage and screen participating. During the War these broadcasts included reports from Negro war correspondents and dramatization of heroic exploits of Negro soldiers.

In 1943, the executive committee of NNPA held a two-day series of conferences in Washington, D. C. with the Vice-President, the Attorney-General and important War Department officials to consider problems of operation, news-gathering and race morale confronting both the Negro press and people as a result of the War. The body urged action to prevent the spread of racial clashes, such as had occurred in Detroit in June, 1943.

When 13 Negro editors visited President F. D. Roosevelt, February 5, 1944, it marked the first time that any President had formally received representatives of the organized Negro press. The NNPA officials in a plea for an end to "second-class citizenship" made a 21-point statement of war and post-war aspirations. This statement, made on behalf of all colored Americans, opened with a declaration of "unlimited and unsullied allegiance to the nation," deploring any and all forms of disunity. Among the aims set forth were:

(1) Abolition of the color bar in industry;
(2) Equal opportunity for employment;
(3) Equality in all public educational facilities;
(4) Unrestricted suffrage in national, State and municipal elections, including primaries;
(5) Full government protection of all civil rights and liberties;
(6) Government refusal to impose, enforce or sanction patterns of racial segregation;
(7) Full protection and equality of treatment and opportunity for colored members of the U. S. Armed Forces;
(8) Extension of the Social Security plan;
(9) Application of the Atlantic Charter to all colonial and other exploited peoples.

The effort to have an accredited Negro newsman admitted to the White House press conferences was finally realized on February 8, 1944, when Harry S. McAlpin became White House Correspondent for the NNPA.[6]

On March 2, 1944, NNPA members met at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, Illinois, to confer with Navy officials on a new program for integration of Negroes into the United States Navy.

The matter of advertising has been given continued study by the group. The general program of the fifth annual meeting, held in New York City, 1944, aimed at raising the standards of the Negro press by rejecting fraudulent advertising and taking "dollar mark implication" out of news. An outstanding feature of this convention was the "Credo for the Negro Press" written by P. B. Young, Jr., editor-in-chief of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*. The credo states, among other things:

> "I shall crusade for all things that are right and just and I will, with equal fervor, expose and condemn all things that are unjust. I shall be a Crusader but I will not permit my fervor nor the rightness of my cause to provoke abandonment of the cardinals of journalism, accuracy, fairness, and objectivity . . . I shall advocate for my country, my state, my city, and my race, but I shall ever be on guard that I will not forget the greatest good for the greatest number while seeking deserving benefits for those who are disadvantaged by denials of them. . . ."

Late in 1944, the NNPA designated an African mission; namely, P. B. Young, Jr., Vincent Tubbs (war correspondent for the *Afro-American* newspapers) and James B. Cashin (of the *Chicago Defender*). This group, interested in matters of post-war readjustment, made an unofficial visit to Africa, primarily to study colonial administration and to acquaint Negroes with more information about Africa in general.

With the close of the War, NNPA in 1945 sought closer cooperation between publishers and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in attacking discrimination against the Negro. Set up in 1945, the first in Negro journalism, was the NNPA news service, a national non-profit newsgathering agency, modeled after the Associated Press and similar services. Principal offices of the news service were set up in Washington, D. C., with branches initially in New York City and Chicago.

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[6] Editor's Note: Louis R. Lautier, correspondent for the Atlanta Daily World was admitted to the Senate Press Gallery on March 18, 1947 and Percival L. Prattis, correspondent for Our World was admitted a week earlier. The Congressional Press galleries are divided into three groups, daily newspapers, magazines and radio. These are the first Negroes to win Senate news seats.

In connection with the 119th anniversary of the Negro press, NNPA representatives visited the White House, March 1, 1946, to present resolutions urging more safeguards against racial discrimination. The delegation commended President Harry S. Truman for supporting permanent Fair Employment Practices legislation and appointing Negroes to responsible government posts.

At the request of Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson, NNPA officials in June, 1946, toured United States Army installations in Europe to inspect housing, recreational facilities and other matters affecting troop morale. The delegation included Frank L. Stanley, President of NNPA and editor of the *Louisville Defender;* William O. Walker, past NNPA President and editor of the Cleveland *Call and Post;* and Dowdal H. Davis, NNPA Vice-President, of the Kansas City *Call.*

Represented at the seventh annual convention of NNPA, in New York City, June 20-23, 1946 were 54 weeklies and the one Negro daily paper, the *Atlanta Daily World.*[7] Frank L. Stanley, re-elected President, in his annual report cited lack of sufficient budget as a handicap toward a more efficient news service. The association was urged to consider establishment of a central office with paid personnel. He advocated assignment of a correspondent to Europe (versed in history, politics and economics) declaring that there were new opportunities for the Negro press abroad. NNPA members were advised to consider creating subsidiary organizations to develop and administer an improved foreign and domestic news service; a bureau of advertising, or certification and market research; a bureau for public relations and governmental contact; a standing committee on labor; mechanical research; supplies and distribution. Also listed were a study of the relations of the association to its own history and to schools of journalism; a press library; a standardization of circulation rates and labor policy; and a survey of editorial policy.

Local and State Organizations

Local and State organizations of the Negro press, usually fostering some unified aim, are generally quite inclusive in membership. For instance, 10 of Alabama's Negro newspapers formed the Alabama Negro Press Association in 1946. The same year marked the organization of the North Carolina Newspaper Network, comprising Negro weeklies in Asheville, Fayetteville, Raleigh, Wilmington and Winston-Salem, for the promotion of national advertising sales.

PRESS AWARDS[8]

The Wendell L. Willkie Awards

Set up in 1944 in honor of the late Wendell L. Willkie (Republican presidential nominee in 1940), as a tribute to his work in inter-racial relations, the Wendell L. Willkie award honors writers of the best articles, reportorial or editorial, published in the Negro press each year. Mrs. Eugene Meyer, wife of the publisher of the *Washington Post,* a sponsor of the award, is donor of the prizes amounting to $750. The award aims to promote higher standards in the Negro press and inter-racial amity. First Chairman of the committee of nationally known journalists making final selections of the prize winners was Mark Ethridge, publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal.* Announcement of awards is made during National Negro Newspaper Week.

The first Wendell L. Willkie Award went to Miss Almena Davis, editor and co-founder of the *Los Angeles Tribune.* Miss Davis, winner of the $500. first prize, was selected for "admirable" feature writing, possessing rare humor, "delicious without being malicious." Her prize-winning article was entitled, "Dissipated Life of the Negro Male." The second prize of $250. was awarded to two persons: P. Bernard Young, Jr., editor of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* for his coverage of the United Nations conference in San Francisco and John H. Young, III, correspondent for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, for a series of articles on the South.

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[7] The Bureau of the Census, reporting on NNPA membership, 1945, noted that nearly one-half the newspapers represented were published in cities with Negro population of more than 50,000.

[8] Many of the Negro newspapers regularly feature annual honor rolls and conduct various contests. Included here, however, are some of the awards made to Negro press and newsmen.

The Wendell L. Willkie awards for Negro journalism in 1946, three cash prizes of $250., gave recognition for objective reporting, for public service and for the best example of writing in columns, features, or editorials. President Harry S. Truman conferred the awards to:

The Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, edited by P. Bernard Young, Jr., for the best example of public service by a Negro newspaper. The award was based chiefly on a series of illustrated articles on the deplorable condition of the Negro school buildings in Princess Anne County.

Ralph Matthews, of the Washington bureau of the *Afro-American* newspapers, for the best example of objective newspaper reporting. This award was based on his stories about the Haitian revolution and the new administration of the Virgin Islands.

William O. Walker, editor and columnist of the Cleveland, Ohio, *Call and Post* for the best example of writing other than news reporting. His pieces dealt with inter-racial harmony.

The *Chicago Defender* and Radio Station WBBM, Chicago, received special merit certificates for a series of weekly programs entitled, "Democracy, U. S. A."

Other Honors and Awards

An unusual tribute to a Negro newspaper was the inclusion in the third annual Virginia Honor Roll (1940) by the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, outstanding white daily, of P. Bernard Young, Sr., Editor of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, among eleven persons who have "reflected credit upon the State of Virginia and who have done their jobs 'superlatively well.'" The citation of Mr. Young declared:

> That he had "contributed much to the improvement of interracial relations in Virginia, and in the South, during the year 1939. The Journal and Guide which has been voted one of the best edited Negro papers in America and is generally considered the best in the South, has served as an important interpreter of 'what the Negro thinks' to the white press of the United States. At the same time, it has carried on a systematic campaign for increasing opportunity for Negroes, with a fine discernment of practical goals."

The first Negro to receive a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard University was Fletcher P. Martin, city editor and Pacific war correspondent for the *Louisville Defender*, named among 14 winners in 1946. The Nieman Fellowships were set up in 1938 for a year of individually selected study at Harvard by a bequest of Agnes Wahl Nieman in memory of her husband, Lucius W. Nieman, late publisher of the *Milwaukee Journal*.

Leo Washington, Jr., Los Angeles *Sentinel* publisher, received the George Washington Carver Citation certificate of the Phi Beta Sigma fraternity in 1946 in recognition of his outstanding contributions to the community civic welfare.

The Robert Sengstacke Abbott Memorial Scholarship in Journalism was established by the *Chicago Defender*, honoring its founder, at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri, June 3, 1946. The $400. annual scholarship for a student in the School of Journalism at Lincoln was the first of its kind set up by a Negro newspaper.

Nell Dodson Russell, news editor and columnist for the Minneapolis *Spokesman*, in 1946, became the first Negro to receive a $2400. University of Minnesota regional writing fellowship to write a book.

The Capitol Press Club of Washington, D. C. gave its 1944 certificate of merit for outstanding reporting to Harry S. McAlpin, NNPA correspondent. Selected as "Newsman of the Year," in 1945 was Alvin E. White, information specialist of the office of marketing service, United States Department of Agriculture, while the second award for proficient reporting and the best story went to Ernest Johnson of the Associated Negro Press. In 1946, Sherman Briscoe, former news editor of the *Chicago Defender* who wrote "School Marm Turns Dairy Maid and Succeeds" (*Newspic*, February, 1945), was named the outstanding news reporter, while the award for the year's best news photography went to Fred Harris of the *Pittsburgh Courier*.

The *Chicago Defender* was voted the 1945 award for meritorious service on behalf of Civil Liberty and Democracy by the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee. It was felt by the Committee that more than any other paper the *Defender* had fought for the civil liberties of all people.

In 1944, **Wilbert H. Blanche, *PM's*** Negro photographer, won an award of the National Headliners Club in its 10th annual listing of journal prizes. However, he refused the award when the Knickerbocker Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J., denied him housing accommodations that had been made for him by the managers of the Club, unaware of his color, and when the Club appeared unconcerned that the hotel would not honor their reservation.

Jay Jackson, *Chicago Defender* cartoonist, was named among 16 Chicago newspaper guildmen by the Chicago Newspaper Guild for Page One Awards, for outstanding newspaper work during 1945.

NEGRO-WHITE PRESS RELATIONS

Negro Reporters On White Papers

The trend of employing Negro reporters on white papers is rather recent, but **T. Thomas Fortune, founder** of the *New York Age*, is reported to have written editorials for the *New York Sun* in the 1880's. Starting out as a printer for the *Sun*, he began to write letters on various subjects. Their unusual style attracted the attention of Charles A. Dana, who promoted him to the editorial department. Later, he was made assistant editor under Amos Cummings, serving as acting editor-in-chief on the *Evening Sun* while Cummings was running for Congress. John S. Durham, a contributor to the New York Age, also served in the 1880's on the editorial staff of the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin.*

Carey Lewis worked for the Louisville *Courier-Journal* about the year 1906. R. S. Darnaby, Associate Executive Secretary of the Tuskegee Institute Alumni Association and associated with the publicity program of Tuskegee Institute, served as guest columnist on the *Montgomery Advertiser*, August 11, 1935 for the sports editor, being the first and only time that a Negro has been so honored. Judge Joseph H. Rainey of Philadelphia was at one time reporter for the *Philadelphia Record.* There are others who reported for the white press before 1941.

Negroes working on white papers as reporters, special correspondents or columnists, 1941-1946, are those who have had training or experience in newspaper work and their employment is on the basis of ability to do the job. This means that they enjoy a broader field in their chosen occupation. Among such persons are:

Edward Q. Adams, who covers sports news among Negroes for the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and has signed articles on the sporting page; Wilbert H. Blanche, press photographer for *PM*, New York City; D. Wayman Bradshaw, reporter on the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch;* Earl Brown, reporter for *Life* magazine since 1940; James M. Burr, a member of the editorial staff of the Chicago *Herald-American.* Benjamin Jefferson Davis, Jr., son of "Ben" Davis of Atlanta *Independent* fame, contributes to the *Daily Worker*, New York City, as do also James W. Ford, Eugene Gordon, Alphaeus Hunton, and Claudia Jones, who became editor of Negro affairs in 1945. Larry Douglas is a feature writer with the Long Island (N. Y.) *Daily Press.*

Beulah Miller is a full time reporter for the *Post-Tribune*, Gary, Indiana; George Anthony Moore is employed on the editorial staff of the *Press*, Cleveland, Ohio; Roi Ottley, author of the best-seller, *New World A-Coming*, went abroad in 1944 as a foreign correspondent for *PM* and for *Liberty* magazine. Ottley's assignment was to cover all phases of the color problem, politically and socially as it will affect the post-war world internationally, including the peoples of India, China and other nations.

Theodore R. Poston writes for the *Evening Post*, New York City; Edgar T. Rouzeau is connected with the New York *Herald-Tribune;* George Streator is the only Negro on the staff of the *New York Times;* and Walter White, NAACP Secretary and writer, covered the Pacific theatre of war for the New York *Post*, visiting all areas where Negro troops were centered. He also began a nationally syndicated column on October 1, 1946, the first of its kind in American journalism. Papers cited as carrying his column are: The Detroit *Free Press;* the Chicago *Daily News;* the Akron, Ohio *Beacon*

Journal; the *Philadelphia Bulletin;* the *New York Herald-Tribune;* the *Trenton, New Jersey Times;* the *Mansfield, Ohio News-Journal;* the *Newark, New Jersey Star-Journal.* Although writing as a Negro, he presents his views on politics, economics, race relations and literature.

There are also Negro reporters on the *Cleveland, Ohio Plaindealer* and the *Brooklyn Eagle.*

White and Other Non-Negro Reporters On Negro Papers

The purpose underlying the employment of white persons by the Negro press seems to be the broadening of the view point of the paper rather than that of giving white persons jobs—not that economic benefits are absent. White columnists working on Negro newspapers, as a whole, are those interested in inter-racial relations and the improvement of the status of the Negro. Their writing gives a white man's point of view of problems as they relate to Negro-white relations. They are usually broad in their thinking and can ferret out some background events not available to Negroes. Such persons working on Negro newspapers include:

Ted Le Berthon, whose column, "White Man's View," appears in the *Pittsburgh Courier* and James Edward Boyack, writer for the *Pittsburgh Courier.* Haskell Cohen relieved Ollie W. Harrington and covered the 92nd Division and the 332nd fighter group in Italy for the *Pittsburgh Courier.* Earl Conrad has a column, "Yesterday and Today," which is a regular feature of the *Chicago Defender;* Kumar Goshal, an East Indian, writes a column for the *Pittsburgh Courier,* entitled, "As An Indian Sees It"; S. I. Hayakawa, a Japanese, has a column, "Second Thought" in the *Chicago Defender.* Rose Wilder Lane's column in the *Pittsburgh Courier* carried the title, "Rose Lane Says." Harold Preece wrote syndicated columns on various subjects relating to the Negro in this country as well as in the West Indies; also syndicated were Ruth Taylor's columns. Irene West writes for the *Afro-American,* giving her impressions of the inter-racial situation encountered mainly in her travels.

The *Los Angeles Tribune* has announced that it is an inter-racial paper with a staff composed of white and colored persons, and that three of its columnists are white.

Negro Columns and News In White Papers

The editor of *The Weekly Review,* Birmingham, Alabama, in November, 1942 wrote to the President of the Birmingham *News-Age Herald* expressing the feeling that "with so many folk who are not Negroes, expressing so many opinions on the Negro at the bar of public opinion, plus the total absence of any consistent hearing on this vital question by the Negro himself . . ., the *News-Age Herald* . . . would be rendering a great service if it employed some capable, fair-minded Negro writer to give expression daily through those newspapers on what the Negro really is thinking to the end that better understanding and appreciation may obtain all around."

The suggestion made by the editor of *The Weekly Review,* if carried out, would be similar to that of Negro weeklies who employ white newsmen for the point of view that they bring to their papers. While there are numerous white dailies and weeklies that employ Negro reporters, in the main, they are not trained reporters initially, but are persons who because of their status in the colored community are in a position to report the happenings of the community.

There is a difference however, in the responsibility which is placed upon these reporters by the papers with which they are connected. Mrs. Minnie D. Singleton, of the Macon, Georgia *Telegraph* and *News,* in her work on these Macon papers, and also the editor of the news concerning Negroes for the *Times-Union,* Jacksonville, Florida, gather the news, edit it and arrange their own pages. Usually these reporters simply gather the news and send it in to the papers.

Papers having special sections for Negroes are concentrated in the South. They include those published in metropolitan centers as well as in small towns. The news about colored people is printed in separate columns from the other news; that is, all Negro news is carried in one or more columns. Sometimes they circulate only among Negroes and lack features that the same edition for white people carries. As for example, the financial page in the Montgomery, Alabama, *Advertiser* is missing from the copies of the paper circulated among Negroes.

Some of the papers in which columns or pages especially for Negroes appeared between 1941 and 1946 are: the *Birmingham News;* the *Times-Union*, Jacksonville, Florida; the Jacksonville *Journal;* the *Daily Times*, Chattanooga, Tennessee; the *Press*, Savannah, Georgia; the *Leader*, Roanoke, Alabama; the *Journal*, Seneca, South Carolina; the *Herald*, Dickson, Tennessee; the *Tuskegee News*, Tuskegee, Alabama; the *Advertiser*, Montgomery, Alabama; the *News-Leader*, Richmond, Virginia.

That this arrangement does not meet the general approval of all whites or of all Negroes is manifested by the fact that the Beaufort, South Carolina *Times*, a local weekly, which had carried a colored page announced after several months that it had been suspended because the furor it produced made it difficult to sell advertising space. On December 14, 1945 it said:

> "We lost national advertising because local business concerns refused to allow their names to appear on the advertisements because we were giving the colored people this page."

A news item in the *Atlanta Daily World* of August 13, 1944 gives another point of view:

> "The Gary, Indiana Post-Tribune, the city's daily newspaper contemplated abandoning its jim crow column, 'News of Negro Citizens.' "
>
> "In announcing the discontinuance of this column, the editor stated that the Tribune was actuated by the changing trends and a desire of the institution to keep pace with progressive trends and that he felt that the sun has set on kitchen reporters for the paper. . . ."
>
> "Experience has simply demonstrated, even in the Deep South, that jim-crow pages, for practical purposes, have not been satisfactory, either from the point of view of white people whom the papers serve, or to colored readers for whom the columns are published. The more advanced thinking among Negro people has frowned upon these columns, which for the most part, are limited to an account of Negro house guests, dinner parties and church announcements."

Editor Robert Durr of *The Weekly Review*, Birmingham, Alabama again has this to say about Negro sections in white newspapers:

> "Purely mercenary white journalism in the South are capitalizing on the growing interest of Negroes in news by and about Negroes, by employing Negroes to conduct columns or sections entitled: 'Concerning Negroes,' or 'What Negroes Are Doing' or 'Negro Activities.' Some of these white-controlled newspapers which started off with one such column . . . are now carrying as much as four columns.
>
> "The opposition's technique now is to bore into existing Negro newspaper setups with a view to enlarging the 'jim-crow' sections conducted by local Negro reporters reporting news of local Negro activities and get the Negro newspaper dollars without having to give Negro mechanics, columnists, editorial writers, circulation and advertising executives employment."[9]

There is another side to the picture. Negroes have only one daily, the *Atlanta Daily World*. Were it not for the sections concerning Negroes in the white southern dailies, timely news could not reach the readers for which it is intended. Such news cannot wait for the weekly press. It would then have no news value. Items in this class concern deaths and funeral notices, lodge meetings, church meetings, and the like. At one time, there was no medium for disseminating this information except notices which were read in churches or which were passed around by word of mouth.

In the case of the large dailies and perhaps others, people away from their home communities would have no dependable medium for keeping in touch with home town daily happenings, unless they received the daily papers, as many do through the mail. It is reported that the Jacksonville *Times-Union* has an enormous circulation among Negroes, many of whom are out-of-town subscribers.

Social news, as marriages, parties, balls, except in the special Negro sections, are not reported in the white press, North or South. News about general Negro progress is acceptable. Nor are Negroes made heroes of by the white press except in a Negro-white relationship. A good example of this is the treatment of the five Sullivan brothers, who were lost on a warship in the Pacific. Everyone knew about them through the white press. But there were also five Negro men, the Holden brothers, who died on the Battleship Arizona, at Pearl Harbor. The story was uncovered 15 months later and headlined by the *Chicago Defender*. In southern papers write-ups about faithful servants, whether personal or public, i. e., a janitor of a court house, a law library, a post office, when he becomes aged or dies or is especially dutiful, make good copy and are favorable subjects. So are stories about former slaves. These may even be featured with pictures.

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[9] Norfolk Journal and Guide, March 9, 1946.

The activities of Negroes in sports are not segregated. They appear in the regular sports news in both the northern and southern newspapers.

While the racial pattern of segregating news about Negroes follows the same pattern of segregating Negroes in the South, all southern papers cannot be placed in the same category. There are exceptions. The Alabama *Mobile-Press-Register* seems to have a policy of non-segregation of news about Negroes. The news items in this paper are likely to be found anywhere in the paper.

The Louisville *Courier-Journal* has the policy "if it is news, we will print it" including even pictures of Negroes.

Just as the number of Negro reporters is increasing on the white northern papers, it is possible for them to break into similar jobs on the southern papers. As the situation now stands, this will take a long time, but changing attitudes in the South toward liberalism should in time reach even the southern press.

In 1942 the Negro press was under fire by Westbrook Pegler, writer of a syndicated column for the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain and Warren H. Brown (Negro), Director of Negro Relations for the Council for Democracy, whose article appeared in *The Saturday Review*, December 19, 1942. Criticizing the Negro press as being exploitive and creating racial friction, both writers declared that it represented sensational and biased journalism. The cudgel was taken up by liberal whites as well as Negro editors who, while recognizing the fact that Negro newspapers are money-making businesses, declared that the Negro press exists only because of the racial pattern followed by the white newspapers, and that it serves to vocalize the Negro's aspirations as well as his grievances.

The editor of the *Louisville Defender*, Frank L. Stanley, declares: "Almost every Negro editor realizes that the very thing he is fighting for will ultimately destroy the separate press, and that is to be desired. In short, when true democracy arrives, there will be no occasion for a class publication representing a particular segment of our population."

THE NEGRO PRESS A SOURCE OF HISTORICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL DATA

Negro Newspapers and Periodicals Valuable Source Data For Historians and Sociologists

The Committee on Negro Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D. C., in 1946 appointed Armistead S. Pride, Director, Lincoln University School of Journalism, Jefferson City, Missouri, to prepare microfilm copies of Negro newspapers published before 1900, thus making microfilm positives available to libraries and educational institutions. It is estimated that altogether 500 or more Negro journals appeared before that date. This systematic microfilming of early newspapers and making them available is a fundamental step toward the collection of adequate historical source data on the Negro.

One of the reasons for the scarcity of data on the contributions of Negroes to the early history of America is the fact that there were no Negro correspondents or reporters to write these stories. Aside from governmental documents and statistics, the achievements of the Negro soldier in the Revolutionary War, the Civil War and the Spanish-American War have been largely spread by word of mouth and legend; and history has been written without the full account of the role which Negroes played.

The most comprehensive record of the Negro's participation in any of America's wars to date is that by Dr. Emmett J. Scott concerning World War I, entitled, "Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War." Mr. Scott's position as Special Assistant to the Secretary of War gave him access to data not generally available.

In World War II, intelligent and courageous war correspondents on the various battlefields recorded the day by day accomplishments of Negro service men and women for a definite place in history. They observed at first hand their valor, loyalty and service, and collectively gathered the most significant war record yet written.

Nor was the press less active on the home front. White and Negro writers recorded the activities of soldiers and of civilians as well. These records will give an authentic documentary account of the war years and provide an educational and thrilling story for future generations.

In addition to their historical value, no source is better as an index to Negro culture than the present group of Negro newspapers, magazines, and journals. One reading them obtains information not only about the way Negroes think and feel, their aspirations, hopes and achievements, but also what they do in their homes, in their churches, in their lodges, in their schools and colleges; in fact, their entire social and institutional way of life.

LEADING NEGRO PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

Most popular of Negro newspapers, according to circulation, are: The *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Afro-American*, the *Chicago Defender*, the New York *Amsterdam News* and the *Journal and Guide*, Norfolk, Virginia.

Three quarterlies are outstanding among periodicals: *The Journal of Negro History* (which dates from 1916), *The Journal of Negro Education* (first issue, April, 1932), and *Phylon*. First appearing in 1940, it is the Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture. Widely read are two monthly house organs: *The Crisis*, representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and *Opportunity* (Journal of Negro Life), representing the National Urban League.

Since August, 1943, The Social Science Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, has published *A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations*.

Though many are short-lived, today there are more Negro magazines circulating on a national scale than ever before in newspaper history. Perhaps the most popular of Negro magazines currently appearing on newsstands throughout the country are the *Negro Digest*, dating from 1940 and *Ebony*, first issued in 1945. The *Negro Digest* is a pocket-sized journal presenting much of the best material written by or about Negroes in leading newspapers, magazines and books; while *Ebony* is patterned after *Life* magazine and features Negroes.

NEGRO NEWS-GATHERING AGENCIES, NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES AND BULLETINS[10]

Negro News-Gathering Agencies

Amalgamated News Agency, 407 Columbus Ave., Boston, Mass.
Associated Negro Press, 3507 So. Parkway, Chicago, Ill.
Calvin's News Service, 101 West 46th St., New York City
Continental Press Association, 2703 East 22nd St., Kansas City, Mo.
Continental Features and News Service, 507 Fifth Ave., New York City
Hampton Institute Press Service, Hampton Institute, Virginia
Howard News Syndicate, 515 Mulberry St., Des Moines, Iowa
National Negro Features, 501 East First St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Negro Digest News Service, 5619 So. State St., Chicago, Ill.
Negro Labor News Service, 312 W. 125th St., New York City
Negro Newspaper Publishers News Bureau, 2904 Park Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Negro Press Bureau, 4255 Central Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Press Service of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 W. 40th St., New York City
Progress News Service, 80 Wickliffe St., Newark, N. J.
Reciprocal News Service, 1600 13th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Tuskegee Institute Press Service, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
World Newspaper Syndicate Inc., 423 Reid Bldg., 138 Cadillac St., Detroit, Mich.

Negro Newspapers in the United States

(Issued weekly, general in scope, unless otherwise indicated)

ALABAMA

Birmingham
Baptist Leader (rel.), 1621 Fourth Ave. N.
Birmingham World, 312 17th St., N.
Weekly Review, 1622 Fourth Ave., N.

Mobile
Mobile Weekly Advocate, 559 St. Michael St.

Montgomery
Alabama Tribune, 123½ Monroe St.

Tuskegee Institute
Campus Digest (coll. mo.)

ARKANSAS

Fort Smith
Arkansas Baptist Flashlight (rel. semi-mo.) P. O. Box 873

Little Rock
Arkansas Survey-Journal, 1516 West 16th St.
Arkansas World, 905 Gaines St.
Baptist Vanguard (rel. tw. mo.) 1605 Bishop St.
Panther Journal (coll. mo.), Philander Smith College
State Press, 912 West Ninth St.

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[10] Data used from Negro Statistical Bulletin No. 1, Bureau of the Census, August 29, 1946; Ayers' Newspaper Directory, 1946; Year Book of American Churches, 1945; The Department of Records and Research compilation.

CALIFORNIA:

Los Angeles:
California Eagle, 4071 S. Central Ave.
Los Angeles Sentinel, 1050 E. 43rd Place
Los Angeles Tribune, 4225 S. Central Ave.
Neighborhood News, 5000 S. Central Ave.
[illegible], 1601 Compton Ave.

Oakland:
California Voice, 5284 San Pablo Ave.
Herald, 1570 Seventh St.
Oakland Light, 707 Clay St.

Sacramento:
Sacramento American (adv.), 907 Sixth St.
[illegible] (adv.), 907 Sixth St.

San Bernardino:
Tri-County Bulletin, 822 Harris St.

San Diego:
[illegible], 2738 Imperial Ave.

San Francisco:
San Francisco Reporter, 1034 Fillmore St.

COLORADO:

Denver:
Colorado Statesman, [illegible] 27th St.
Denver Star, [illegible] 20th St.

Pueblo:
[illegible], 110 West First St.

DELAWARE:

Dover:
Hornet (coll. bi-mo.), Delaware State College

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:
[illegible], 1325 You St., N. W.
Hilltop (coll.), Howard University
Negro Sporting News (sports bi-weekly), [illegible] 11th St., N. W.
[illegible], [illegible] Georgia Ave., N. W.
[illegible], [illegible] 12th St., N. W.
Washington Afro-American, 1800 11th St., N. W.
Washington Eagle (bus. wkly.), 1345 [illegible] St., N. W.
Washington Tribune, [illegible] You St., N. W.

FLORIDA:

Jacksonville:
Florida Tattler, 715 Broad St.

Miami:
Miami Times, [illegible] N. W. Third Ave.
Miami [illegible], [illegible] N. W. [illegible] Ave.
Miami Whip, [illegible] N. W. Second Ave.

Pensacola:
Pensacola Courier, [illegible] Pensacola St., S.

Tallahassee:
Famuan (coll. mo.), Florida A. and M. College

Tampa:
Tampa Bulletin, 1224 Orange St.

GEORGIA:

Albany:
Albany Enterprise, [illegible] South Jackson St.

Atlanta:
Atlanta Daily World, [illegible] Auburn Ave., N. E.
Georgia [illegible] ([illegible]), [illegible] Auburn Ave., N. E.
[illegible] (coll. [illegible]), Morehouse College

Augusta:
[illegible], [illegible] Gwinnett St.

Macon:
Sunday-School Worker (bi-mo. rel.), 971 [illegible] St.

Rome:
Rome Enterprise ([illegible]), [illegible] Ave.

Savannah:
Savannah Tribune, 1009 West Broad St.

ILLINOIS:

Chicago:
Chicago Bee, 3655 South State St.
Chicago Defender, 3435 Indiana Ave.
Chicago World, 111 East 35th St.

Robbins:
Herald, P. O. Box 119

Springfield:
Illinois Chronicle (bi-wkly.), 120 South 11th St.
Illinois Conservator (bi-wkly.), 725 East Washington St.

INDIANA:

Gary:
Gary American, 1865 Broadway

Indianapolis:
Indianapolis Recorder, 518-520 Indiana Ave.

IOWA:

Des Moines:
Iowa Bystander, 221½ Locust St.
Iowa Observer, [illegible] Mulberry St.

KANSAS:

Kansas City:
People's Elevator, [illegible] N. Sixth St.
Plaindealer, [illegible] North Fifth St.
Wyandotte Echo, [illegible] N. Sixth St.

Wichita:
Negro Star (rel.), 1201 Wabash St.

KENTUCKY:

Frankfort:
Kentucky Thorobred (coll. bi-mo.), Kentucky State College

Louisville:
American Baptist (rel.), 1715 West Chestnut St.
Louisville Defender, [illegible] West Walnut St.
Louisville Leader, 930-932 West Walnut St.
Louisville News, [illegible] South Seventh St.

LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge:
Southern University Digest (coll. bi-wkly.), Southern University

New Orleans:
Louisiana Weekly, 640 Dryades St.
New Orleans Informer-Sentinel, [illegible] Dryades St.
Sepia Socialite (wkly.), [illegible] Dryades St.
Xavier Herald (coll. mo.), Washington & Pine Sts.

Shreveport:
Shreveport Sun, 1003 Pierre Ave.
Shreveport [illegible], 1009 Texas Ave.

MARYLAND:

Baltimore:
Baltimore Afro-American (bi-wkly.), 628 North Eutaw St.
National Afro-American, 628 North Eutaw St.
Spokesman (coll. mo.), Morgan State College

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Boston Chronicle, 794 Tremont St.
Boston Times, P. O. Box 187, Astor Station
Guardian, 977 Tremont St.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Detroit Tribune, 2146 St. Antoine St.
Michigan Chronicle, 268 Eliot St.

Hamtramck

Detroit World Echo, P. O. Box 58
Hamtramck Echo, P. O. Box 58
Hamtramck North Detroit Echo, P. O. Box 58

Lansing

Lansing Echo, 2071 North Velor St.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

Minneapolis Spokesman, 314 Third Avenue, S.

St. Paul

Recorder, 312 Newton Bldg.

MISSISSIPPI

Greenville

Delta Leader, 1513 Alexander St.

Jackson

Jackson Advocate, 125½ North Farish St.
Mississippi Enterprise, 143 East Monument St.

MISSOURI

Jefferson City

Lincoln Clarion (coll.), Lincoln University
The Lincoln Journalism Newsletter, Lincoln University

Kansas City

Kansas City Call, 1715 East 18th St.

St. Louis

Pine Torch, 2846 Pine St.
St. Louis American, 11 North Jefferson Ave.
St. Louis Argus, 2312 Market St.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Omaha Guide, 2420 Grant St.
Omaha Star, 2216 North 24th St.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

New Jersey Afro-American, 128 West St.
Telegram, 126 West St.

NEW YORK

Buffalo

Buffalo Criterion, 367 William St.
Buffalo Spokesman, 295 Jefferson Ave.
Buffalo Star, 234 Broadway

New York

New York Age, 230 West 135th St.
New York Amsterdam-News, 2340 Eighth Ave.
People's Voice, 210 West 125th St.

Brooklyn

Brooklyn Tribune, 170 Gates Ave.
Long Island Tribune, 170 Gates Ave.

Syracuse

Progressive Herald, 815 East Fayette St.

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville

Southern News, 121 Southside Ave.

Charlotte

Star of Zion (rel.), 329 South Brevard St.
Post, 624 East Second St.

Durham

Carolina Times, 117 East Peabody

Greensboro

Register (coll. mo.), A and T College

Hendersonville

Mountain News

Wilmington

Cape Fear Journal, 412 S. 7th St.

Winston-Salem

People's Spokesman, 721 East 7th St.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Union, 238 East Fourth St.

Cleveland

Cleveland Call and Post, 2319 East 55th St.
Cleveland Gazette, 2323 East 30th St.
Cleveland Guide, 2279 East 90th St.
Cleveland Herald, 1255-61 East 105th St.

Columbus

Ohio State Informer, 681 East Long St.
Ohio State News, 112 Mt. Vernon Ave.

Dayton

Forum, 414 W. Fifth St.
Daily Express, 1007 Germantown St.

Hamilton

Butler County American, 422 South Front St.

Wilberforce

Wilberforce Student (coll. occ.), Wilberforce University

Youngstown

Buckeye Review, 423 Oak Hill Ave.

OKLAHOMA

Muskogee

Oklahoma Independent, 325 North Second St.

Oklahoma City

Black Dispatch, 325 N. E. Second St.

Okmulgee

Okmulgee Observer, 411 East Fifth St.

Tulsa

Appeal, 419 North Greenwood St.
Oklahoma Eagle, 123 North Greenwood St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Chester

Chester Flash News, P. O. Drawer 622

Cheyney

Cheyney Record (coll.), State Teachers College

Lincoln University

Lincolnian (coll. tw. mo.)

Philadelphia

Christian Recorder (rel.), 716 South 19th St.
Christian Review (rel.), 1428 Lombard St.
Philadelphia Afro-America, 427 South Broad St.
Philadelphia Independent, 1708 Lombard St.
Philadelphia Tribune, 524-526 South 16th St.
Picture News Weekly, 24 North 59th St.

Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh Courier, 2628 Centre Ave.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston

Messenger (bi-mo.), Box 851

Columbia

Lighthouse and Informer, 1022½ Washington St.
Palmetto Leader, 1310 Assembly St.

Sumter
Samaritan Herald and Voice of Job, 16½ West Liberty St.

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga
Chattanooga Observer, 124½ East Ninth St.

Jackson
Christian Index (rel.), 109 Shannon St.

Knoxville
Aurora (coll. bi-mo.), Knoxville College
Flashlight Herald, 1306 College St.

Memphis
Memphis World (semi-wkly.), 388 Beale Ave.
Whole Truth (rel.), 820 North Montgomery St.

Nashville
Nashville Globe and Independent, 403 Charlotte Ave.
National Baptist Voice (rel. bi-mo.), 412 Fourth Ave.
Southern Christian Recorder (rel.), 414 Eighth Ave.

TEXAS

Dallas
Dallas Express, 2604 Thomas Ave.

Fort Worth
Fort Worth Defender, 910 Grove St.
Fort Worth Mind, 915½ Calhoun St.
Sport News (mo.), 952 East Rosedale Blvd.

Houston
Houston Defender, 1423 West Dallas St.
Houston Informer and Texas Freeman, 2418 Leeland Ave.
Negro Labor News, 419½ Milam St.
Texas Examiner, 4520½ Lyons Ave.

Marshall
Wiley Reporter (coll. mo.), Wiley College

Prairie View
Panther (coll. mo.), Prairie View University

San Antonio
San Antonio Guard, 809 Virginia Blvd.
San Antonio Informer, 322 South Pine St.
San Antonio Register, 207 North Centre St.

Waco
Waco Messenger, 109 Bridge Ave.

VIRGINIA

Ettrick
Virginia Statesman (coll. bi-wkly), Virginia State College

Hampton Institute
Hampton Script (coll. semi-mo.)

Norfolk
Journal and Guide, 719-723 East Olney Road

Richmond
Richmond Afro-American, 504 North Third St.

WASHINGTON

Seattle
Northwest Enterprise, 662½ Jackson St.

WEST VIRGINIA

Bluefield
Bluefieldian (coll.), Bluefield State Teachers College

Institute
Yellow Jacket (coll.), West Virginia State College

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee
Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade, 715 West Somers St.

Negro Magazines and Bulletins

(Issued monthly, unless otherwise indicated)

ALABAMA

Birmingham
Newspic, 1630 Fourth Ave., N.

Montgomery
Harmony, The Inspiration Magazine, Hudson Press Publishing Co.
The Bulletin, (Organ, American Teachers Association), Alabama State Teachers College

Selma
Missionary Lutheran (rel.)

Talladega
Talladega Student (coll.), Talladega College

Tuskegee Institute
Negro Worker, Box 278
The Negro Farmer
Pulling Together
Service Magazine
Tuskegee Messenger

ARKANSAS

Nashville
Zion Trumpet (rel.)

Pine Bluff
Sphinx (frat. qu. of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity), A. M. and N. College

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles
Sepia Hollywood
Silhouette Pictorial
Truth Messenger, National Publishing House
Western Christian Recorder (rel.), 672 East 51st St.

COLORADO

Denver
American Woodmen Bulletin, 2130 Downing St.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Aframerican Woman's Journal, 1318 Vermont Ave., N. W.
Barrister, 1922 13th St., N. W.
Bronze
The Easterner, 634 S. St., N. W.
Howard University Bulletin, Howard University
Journal of the National Association of College Women, 2645 15th St., N. W.
Journal of Negro Education, Howard University
Journal of Negro History, 1538 Ninth St., N. W.
Lott Carey Herald (rel.), 1501 11th St., N. W.
National Negro Health News, U. S. Public Heath Service, Bethesda Station
Negro History Bulletin, 1538 Ninth St., N. W.
New Voice (rel.), 1727 18th St., N. W.
News Photo, 1937 11th St., N. W.
Oracle (frat. qu.), 1937 Alabama Ave., S. E.
Pulse (gen.), 2627 Bowen Road, S. E.
Scholarship

FLORIDA

Miami
Bronze Confessions, 221 N. W. Ninth St.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Atlanta University Bulletin (alumni qu.), Atlanta University
Bethlehem Star (rel.), 170 N. Ashby St.
Black and White (ed.), 685 Greensferry Ave., S. W.
Campus Mirror (coll.), Spelman College
Colored Morticians Bulletin, 322 Houston St., N. E.
Foundation (rel. qu.), Gammon Theological Seminary
Journal of Science (ed.), 223 Chestnut St., S. W.
Morehouse Alumnus, Morehouse College
Phylon (coll. qu.), Atlanta University
Spelman Messenger (coll.), Spelman College
True Witness (rel.), 556 Houston St.

Augusta

Pilgrim's Progress (bus. wkly.), 1143 Gwinnett St.

Industrial College

Georgia Herald (coll. qu.), Georgia State College

Macon

Sunday School Worker (rel.)

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Bronzeville Magazine (gen. wkly.), 418 East 47th St.
Child Play (edu. bi-mo.), 4019 Vincennes Ave.
Co-operation, 3506 Indiana Ave.
Crescent, 4853 Forestville Ave.
Dynamite, 112 E. 35th St.
Ebony (picture), 5619 So. State St.
Expression, 3640 S. Lake Park Ave.
Headlines and Pictures (gen.), 3522 So. State St.
Negro Digest (gen.), 5619 So. State St.
Negro Business, 3104 So. Michigan Blvd.
Negro Story (edu. bi-mo.), 4019 Vincennes Ave.
Negro Traveler (edu.), 6314 Cottage Grove St.
New Vistas Magazine (gen.), 366 East 47th St.
Postal Alliance, 5178 Indiana Ave.
Pyramid (frat. qu.), 3526 Indiana Ave.
Railroad Review (gen.), 417 East 47th St.

Peoria

The Bronze Citizen, 207 S. Globe St.

IDAHO

Boise

The People's Soul Saving Radio Magazine (rel.), 124 Broadway

IOWA

Iowa City

Eyes, 116 E. Burlington St.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Kentucky Negro Education Association Journal, 2230 W. Chestnut St.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Central Christian Advocate (rel. wkly.), 631 Baronne St.
The Negro South, 1241-43 Dryades St.
Twinkle Magazine (rel.), 1934 Annette St.

Shreveport

Negro Teacher (edu. mo.), 1942 Perrin St.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Colored Harvest (rel.), 1130 North Calvert St.
Morgan State College Bulletin, Morgan State College

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Trade Association News, 80 Humboldt Ave.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Postal Alliance, 3762 Seyburn St.

MISSISSIPPI

Bay Saint Louis

Saint Augustine's Messenger (rel.), St. Augustine's Seminary

MISSOURI

St. Louis

National Bar Journal, 2103a Market St.
The Negro, 4405 Enright Ave.
Negro Life, 11 N. Jefferson St.
Western Christian Recorder (rel.)
Western Index (rel.)

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City

Apex News, Indiana and Arctic Ave.

Paterson

A. M. E. Zion Quarterly Review (rel.), 326 Ellison St.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Enterprise, Bulletin of Negro Business, 162 Decatur St.
Memo, 456 Grand Ave.
Responsibility (edu. tw. yr.), 142 Quincy St.

New York

The African, 101 W. 125 St.
Caterer, Gazetteer & Guide (gen. qu.), 413 West 147th St.
The Crisis (gen.), 20 W. 40th St.
Eastern Index (rel.)
Harlem Block News (bus.), 205 West 135th St.
Harlem Digest, 27 East 133rd St.
Interracial Review, 20 Vesey St.
Journal of the National Medical Association, 30 Rockefeller Plaza.
Krinon, (frat. ann.), 409 Edgecombe Ave.
National Medical News, 2376 Seventh Ave.
Negro Quarterly (gen. qu.), 308 Lenox Ave.
New Sign, 180 West 135th St.
Opportunity, Journal of Negro Life (edu. qu.), 1133 Broadway
Our World, 1140 Broadway
Spotlighter, 2370 Seventh Ave.
Tan Town Stories, 101 W. 125th St.
Voice of Missions (rel.), 112 West 120th St.

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte

Johnson C. Smith University Bulletin (coll. bi-mo.), Johnson C. Smith University
Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes, Johnson C. Smith University

Durham

Whetstone (bus. qu.), 114 Parrish St.

Greensboro

Campus Life (coll.), P. O. Box 2137

OHIO

Cleveland

Cedar Y. M. C. A. Informer (edu. wkly.), 7615 Cedar Ave.

Columbus

National Negro Insurance Association, Service Bulletin (bus. tw. yr.), 1183 East Long St.

Hamilton

National Negro Printer and Publisher (bus.), 422 So. Front St.

Toledo

The Entertainer, 905 Jefferson Ave., Room 324

Wilberforce

Negro College Quarterly (edu. qu.), Wilberforce University

OKLAHOMA

Langston

Southwestern Journal (edu. qu.), Langston University

Oklahoma City

Journal of Negro Business, Box 1254

PENNSYLVANIA

Downingtown

Downingtown Bulletin (edu. mo.), Industrial School

Philadelphia

A. M. E. Review (rel. qu.), 716 South 19th St.

Adolph's Beauty Briefs (bus.), 330 North 55th St.

Bronze Housekeeper, 34 So. 17th St.

Brown American, 716 South 19th St., Suite 600

Co-Ordinator (rel.), 716 South 19th St.

Kappa Alpha Psi Journal (frat. qu.), 1520 North 17th St.

Mission Herald (rel. bi-mo.), 701 So. 19th St.

New Era, 2034 Mervine St.

Philadelphia Informer (gen.), 1644 So. St.

Political Digest, 24 No. 59th St.

Young People's Willing Worker Quarterly (rel. qu.), 5617 W. Girard St.

Pittsburgh

Advance, 2621 Centre Ave.

Informer (social service bi-mo.), 1300 Fifth Ave.

Sight

Y'er (gen.), 2621 Centre Ave.

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga

New Advance (rel.), Box 888

Jackson

Bible Band Topics (rel. qu.), 130 Madison St.

Memphis

LeMoynite (coll.), LeMoyne College

News Review (rel.), 1050 Woodlawn St.

Omega Bulletin (frat.), 388 Beale Ave.

Oracle (frat. qu.), 388 Beale Ave.

Nashville

Advanced Sunday School Quarterly (rel.), 523 Second Ave. N.

American Negro Mind

Beginner Sunday School Quarterly (rel.), 523 Second Ave. N.

Broadcaster (ed. qu.), A. and I. State College

Bulletin, A. and I. State College

Christian Plea (rel.), 449 Fourth Ave. N.

Fisk Herald (coll. mo.), Fisk University

Fisk News (coll. qu.), Fisk University

Hope (rel.), 523 Second Ave. N.

Intermediate Sunday School Quarterly (rel.), 523 Second Ave. N.

Junior (Sunday School Quarterly), 523 Second Ave. N.

Junior B. Y. P. U., 523 Second Ave. N.

Message (rel.), 2119 24th Ave. N.

Metoka and Galeda Sunday School Quarterly (rel.), 523 Second Ave., N.

Missionary Messenger (rel.)

Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations (ed.), Social Science Institute, Fisk University

Negro School News (edu.), P. O. Box 445

Primary Sunday School Quarterly (rel.), 523 Second Ave., N.

Senior Sunday School Quarterly (rel.), 523 Second Ave., N.

Senior B. Y. P. U. (rel.), 523 Second Ave., N.

Teacher (rel.), 523 Second Ave., N.

Union City

Cumberland Flag (rel. mo.), 630 East Matthews St.

TEXAS

Fort Worth

Beauticians Digest (bus. qu.), 919 East Humboldt St.

The World's Messenger (true stories), 1200 East Tenth St.

Opinion (gen.), 1205 Missouri Ave.

Houston

Ivy Leaf (frat. qu. of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority), 2842 McGregor Ave.

Negro Life (gen.), 2312 Elgin Ave.

Prairie View

Standard (coll.), Prairie View University

VIRGINIA

Hampton Institute

Virginia Teachers Bulletin (edu. qu.)

Lawrenceville

C. I. A. A. Bulletin (athletic ann.), Box 455

Richmond

Afro-American

The Domestic Worker, Quality Employment Service

St. Luke Fraternal Bulletin (frat.), 900-2-4 St. James St.

Virginia Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company Weekly Bulletin, 214 East Clay St.

Virginia Union Bulletin, Virginia Union University

Progress Record (edu. qu.), 214 East Clay St.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Pacific Northwest Bulletin (gen. tw. mo.), 302 Sixth Ave., S.

Tacoma

Pacific Northwest Review (gen. tw. mo.), 932 Commerce St.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Color, 1032 Bridge Road

DIVISION XVII

SOME OUTSTANDING NEGRO ATHLETES

By CLEVE L. ABBOTT

Tuskegee Institute

American Negroes over a long period of years have held prominent places in the field of sports and preeminent places in boxing and track. They participate in all types of athletics, though there are a few, such as golf, in which they are relatively newcomers. Previous to the period, 1941-46, they were not accepted without reservation into professional sporting events except boxing. During this period, professional baseball has made a beginning in using expert players who previously had been confined almost exclusively to Negro professional teams.

Negro athletes have been ambassadors of good-will not only for the Negro race, but for all Americans. They have exhibited true sportsmanship whether in professional, college, amateur or Olympic games.

TENNIS

Men

Cohen, Richard: Denver, Colo.; graduate of Xavier University; co-holder of American Tennis Association National Doubles Championship, 1941-42.

Graves, Louis: Former student of Xavier University; co-holder of 1945 Men's Doubles Championship of the American Tennis Association.

McDaniel, Jimmie: Attended Xaxier University; won National Singles Championship of the American Tennis Association, 1941-45; co-holder of National Doubles Championship, 1941-45; won Singles Championship, 1946.

Minnis, Howard: Tuskegee Institute, Ala.; co-holder of National Doubles Championship of the American Tennis Association in 1942; winner of National Intercollegiate Singles Championship, 1942.

Scott, Lloyd: Graduate of Prairie View University; won National Singles Championship of the American Tennis Association, 1944-45; runner-up in 1946.

Women

Gibson, Althea: New York; National Girl's Singles Champion, 1945.

Irvis, Katherine Jones: Boston, Mass.; graduate of Prairie View College; National Singles Champion, 1945.

Lomax, Flora: Detroit, Mich.; National Singles Champion, 1941-42.

Peters, Margaret: Washington, D. C.; graduate of Tuskegee Institute; co-holder National Doubles Championship, 1941, 1943, 1945, 1946.

Peters, Roumania: Washington, D. C.; graduate of Tuskegee Institute; co-holder National Doubles Championship 1941, 1942, 1945, 1946; National Singles Champion, 1944; National Singles Championship, 1946.

Van Buren, Lillian: Detroit, Mich.; Runner-up in Singles Championship, 1944-45; co-holder of Doubles Championship, 1944.

TRACK AND FIELD

Men

Berry, Adam: Student at Southern University; made record breaking leap at Penn Relays of 6 ft., 7½ in. in 1942.

Bolen, David: Student at Southern University; winner of Junior A. A. U.[1] 400 Meter Run, 1946.

Borican, John: Born in Elberon, N. J.; attended Virginia State College and Columbia University; holder of World's record at 1,000 yards, time 2 min. 8 seconds.

Culp, Edward: Student at Xavier University; best miler developed in the South.

Dilliard, Harrison: Student at Baldwin-Wallace College; born in Cleveland, Ohio in 1923; National A. A. U. High and Low Hurdle Champion, 1946.

Dixon, Frank: Student at New York University, first track star in America to make National All-America track team, all-college and all-scholastic, in one year, 1945; best time for mile run, 4 min. 9.6 seconds.

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[1] Amateur Athletic Union of the United States.

Douglas, Herbert: Former Xavier University student; 1945 A. A. U. Broad Jump Champion.

Ellerbe, Mozelle: Born in Hastings, Fla.; student at Tuskegee Institute, Ala.; only sprinter in history to win Kansas Relay; Drake Relay and Penn Relay 100 yard run in one calendar year, 1938-39.

Ewell, Henry Norwood: Born in Lancaster, Pa.; student at Pennsylvania State College; winner of 200 meter run, National A. A. U. Championship, 1946.

Farmer, William: Student at Xavier University; holder of Tuskegee Relays pole vault record at 13 ft. 6 in.

Harris, Archie: Born in Ocean City, N. J.; bettered the world record in the discus throw with 174 ft. 8¾ in.

Harris, Elmore: Born in Normal, Ala., 1924; former student at Alabama A. & M. College; winner of 400 meter run National A. A. U. Track and Field Championship, 1946.

Herbert, James: Former New York University student; 1941 Indoor Champion at 600 yards in 1 min. 12 seconds.

Jones, John: Student at Alabama State Teachers College; tied for first place in the 1946 A. A. U. Junior High Jump.

McKenley, Herbert: Student at University of Illinois; set new World's record of 46.3 seconds for 440 yard run in 1946 at N. C. A. A.[2] meet held at Minneapolis, Minn.

Peacock, Eulace: Former Temple University student; one of the four men in the world to go over 26 ft. in broad jump. He defeated Jesse Owens by jumping 26 ft. 3 in.

Scisco, Allen: Former student at Tuskegee Institute; won 3rd place in National Decathlon Championship, 1941.

Slade, Charles: Student at Lincoln High School, Jersey City, N. J.; winner of Junior A. A. U. 400 Meter Hurdles 1946.

Tarrant, Leo: Born in Birmingham, Ala., in 1919; former student of Alabama State College; in 1940 at S. I. A. C.[3] ran 100-yard dash in 9.5 seconds.

Thompson, Frazier: Born in Philadelphia, Pa. in 1926; attended Notre Dame University in 1944; first Negro to take part in any sport for Notre Dame; ran 100 yard dash at Drake Relays, 1944.

Watson, William: Former University of Michigan student; all around track and field athlete winner of A. A. U. Decathlon Championship.

Williams, Lilborn: Former Xavier University student; holder of Tuskegee Relays shot put record of 48 ft. 7½ in. made in 1938.

Williamson, Joshua: Former Xavier University student; co-holder with Adam Berry of 1942 Indoor A. A. U. High Jump Championship.

Young, Claude: Born in Chicago, Ill. in 1926; former student at University of Illinois; 1943 A. A. U. 100 Meter Champion in 10.5 seconds.

Women

Bradford, Elaine: Born in Biloxi, Miss., Dec. 31, 1926; winner 2nd place in shot put in National A. A. U. Track and Field Championship, 1946 at Buffalo, N. Y.

Coachman, Alice: Born in Albany, Ga., 1922; attends Tuskegee Institute; National Indoor and Outdoor A. A. U. High Jump Champion; 100 Meters Champion; co-holder of World 50 meter dash record; voted outstanding woman athlete in 1945; member of U. S. Track and Field Team that defeated Canada in August, 1946.

Hall, Hattye: Born, 1919; graduate of Tuskegee Institute; shot put and discus thrower, 1941-42.

Harrison, Rowena: Born at Tuskegee Institute, Ala., Dec. 22, 1922; member of Tuskegee Relay team that set new World's indoor record at National A. A. U. Women's Championship in April, 1941, at Atlantic City, N. J.; the time, 50.2 seconds.

Jackson, Nell: Born at Tuskegee Institute, Ala., 1929; won second place winner in the National A. A. U. Championship in the 200 meter run at Harrisburg, Pa. in 1945 and at Cleveland, Ohio, 1946; member of indoor championship 400 meter relay, 1945 at Buffalo, N. Y.

Lane, Jean: Born in Wilberforce, Ohio; graduate of Wilberforce University with major in Physical Education; won the 200 meter event and defeated Stella Walsh indoor at Atlantic City, and outdoors in 1941 at Women's Nationals A. A. U. Championship at Ocean City, N. J.

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[2] National Collegiate Athletic Association.

[3] Southern Inter-Collegiate Athletic Conference.

Newell, Lucy: Born January 30, 1922; graduate of Tuskegee Institute; National A. A. U. Indoor Standing Broad Jump Champion and was member of Tuskegee team that set a new world's indoor relay record of 50.2 seconds for 400 meters at Atlantic City, April, 1941.

Perry, Lelia: Born in Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 8, 1921; graduate of Tuskegee Institute; National A. A. U. 80 meter hurdle champion Ocean City, N. J., 1940.

Petty, Christine: Born at Tuskegee Institute, 1912; graduate of Tuskegee Institute; piloted the Tuskegee Institute Girls' Track and Field team to National Championships 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941 and 1942.

Purifoy, Lillie: Born in Mobile, Ala., September 11, 1924; attends Tuskegee Institute; National A. A. U. 80 Meter Hurdle Champion at Harrisburg, Pa. 1945; and National A. A. U. Indoor Hurdle Champion 50 yards in 1946 at Cleveland, Ohio.

Turner, Hattie: Born at Glendale, Ohio, May 29, 1922; National A. A. U. Discus and Baseball Champion at Harrisburg, Pa.; member of the All-American team, 1944.

Young, Lillian: Chicago, Ill.; second place in the 50 meter run; National A. A. U., Track and Field Championship, 1945.

BASEBALL

Campanella, Roy: Born in Philadelphia, Pa. in 1921; formerly with Baltimore Elite Giants; was signed April, 1946, by Brooklyn Dodgers for its Nashua Farm Team in the New England League.

Gibson, Josh: Plays with the Homestead Grays of the Negro National League; in 1928, he connected for four home runs in a single game; in 1930 in Moness, Pa., he smashed a homer 513 feet.

Paige, Leroy Satchel: Born in Birmingham, Ala., in 1912; greatest Negro pitcher with Kansas City Monarchs.

Partlow, Roy: Born in Philadelphia, 1915; former pitcher with Philadelphia stars; was signed by Montreal Royals in April, 1946.

Robinson, Jack Roosevelt: Born in Cairo, Ga. in 1919; attended Pasadena Junior College and University of California at Los Angeles; first Negro to crash baseball's color line in modern times by being signed up in January, 1946 with the Montreal Royals; leading batter of International League, 1946.

Wright, Johnny Richard: Born in New Orleans, La. in 1918; played with Homestead Grays; in February, 1946 was signed by the Montreal Royals.

FOOTBALL

Ellerbe, Mozelle: Born June 17, 1913 in Hastings, Fla.; attended Tuskegee Institute; played on All-Star Negro Football Team against the professional New York Yankees at the Polo Grounds Nov. 30, 1941.

Pierce, Sam B.: Born in Glen Cove, N. Y. in 1923; attends Cornell University; one of the few Negroes to make first string on this team.

Robeson, Paul, Jr.: Born in New York City in 1927; attends Cornell University; won four letters in high school football; played end on Cornell first team, 1944-45.

Robinson, Jack Roosevelt: Born in Cairo, Ga. in 1919; attended Pasadena Junior College and the University of California at Los Angeles; won All-American mention as halfback at University of California at Los Angeles in 1942.

Tarrant, Leo: Born in Birmingham, Ala., in 1919; attended Alabama State Teachers College; was all around player at Alabama State Teachers College.

Washington, Kenny: Graduated from University of California at Los Angeles; was greatest half back at University of California at Los Angeles; now with Los Angeles (Rams) Professional Football Team of the National League.

Young, Claude: Born in Chicago, Ill., in 1926; attended University of Illinois; tied record made by Red Grange in 1925 of 13 touchdowns in a season in 1943.

BASKETBALL

Swift, Jay: Born in New York; attends Yale University; first Negro to win a varsity letter at Yale, 1946; averaged 21 points a game and played in every game of that season.

Wilson, Arthur: Born in Chicago, Ill., 1923; attends Princeton University; attended Southern University; first Negro to play basketball at Princeton; became captain in 1946;

only member to play all 19 games with 137 points including 50 field goals.

Younger, Dan Eddie: Born in New York City, 1924; attended Long Island University; star man on the team for 1946.

BOXING

Armstrong, Henry (real name Henry Jackson): Born in St. Louis, Mo. in 1912; he was the only boxer to hold three titles at one time—featherweight, lightweight and welterweight.

Barrow, Joe Louis: Born in Lafayette, Ala., May 12, 1914; heavy weight champion of the world; became a professional boxer July 4, 1934.

Jackson, Beau (real name Sidney Walker): Born in Augusta, Ga. April 1, 1921; in 1943, lost and regained lightweight championship.

Robinson, Ray: Born in Detroit, Mich., 1922; was named "boxer of the year" by the *Ring Magazine*, December, 1942.

DIVISION XVIII

THE NEGRO IN ART

By Charles C. Dawson

Tuskegee Institute and Chicago, Illinois

THE AFRICAN HERITAGE

Contrary to popular impression the Negro has contributed largely to the development of the fine arts. Architecture is known as the mother of the arts. This is due to the fact that anciently the arts of painting and sculpture were used entirely for the enhancement of architecture. In the Egyptian palace temple we find a monument at once political and religious, upon the production of which were concentrated all the energies and faculties of all the artificers of this people. With its incised and pictured walls, its half detached colossal figures of sculpture, its open and its colonnaded chambers, the forms of its columns and their capitals recalling the lotus and the papyrus; its architecture everywhere taking on the characters of and covering itself with the adornments of sculpture and painting, this one structure exhibits within its single fabric the origin of the whole group of the shaping arts.

At the dawn of history the most highly developed civilizations were found in existence in ancient Ethiopia and Egypt—peoples of which have a common origin. In these civilizations the foundations of architecture were developed; and consequently, the arts of painting and sculpture. This earliest great architectural development is found in the Nile Valley, the extraordinary ruins of which still remain in mute and graphic testimony upon the sands of Egypt. "In every part of the valley we find remnants of an age of building the like of which cannot be paralleled in the richest parts of Greece. Here it was that great building was practiced at an age when all of the rest of the world was in midnight darkness."[1] These are the works of the people known today as Negro and Negroid. Modern Ethiopia is the oldest nation on earth and was the mother of the great civilizations.

"Negro," the accepted term for the designation of the darker races, so-called black, is very ambiguously and arbitrarily used today to sustain certain mythical stereotypes, mainly by the English speaking peoples and particularly by those of the United States. Its present usage is comparatively new. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, its earliest known usage was in 1555. It is a Spanish and Portuguese word merely meaning black. Anciently, therefore, it was unknown. All of Africa was anciently known as Ethiopia by the Greeks, "meaning land of the burnt faces." It has been said that Emperor Haille Selassie today considers himself the spiritual ruler of all Africa for this reason. It is most reasonable to include all of the indigenous nations and peoples of Africa within the modern designations of Negro and Negroid. If the measuring rod of the United States for determining a Negro is used, this is unquestionably true.

"In secular and sacred history many other designations were used, such as Kush, for Egypt; Punt, for the more southerly regions now known as Ethiopia or Mizraim, meaning two lands, a combination of the two."[2] The terms, Moor and Blackamoor, were similarly applied. These facts were commonly accepted up through the period of the Renaissance as is indicated by the fact that practically all of the paintings by the old masters of the "Adoration of the Magi," or the visit of the three wise men or kings to the birthplace of Christ, included one of the three as black. Shakespeare had the same in mind when he wrote *Othello*. The descriptions given by ancient writers are clear and definite as to color, features and hair. Classic literature, mythology and the arts offer abundant evidence. For example, Bulfinch's *Age of Fable* gives the following: "Cassiopeia was an Ethiopian, and consequently in spite of her boasted beauty, black; at least so Milton seems to have thought, who refers to this story in his *Il Penseroso* where he addresses Melancholy:

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[1] Ridpath, J. C. With the World's People, Washington, D. C. Clark E. Ridpath. 1916. Vol. IX.

[2] Rawlinson, George. Egypt and Babylon. New York. John B. Alden. 1885.

"But hail! thou goddess sage and holy!
Hail, divinest Melancholy
Whose saintly visage is too bright
To hit the sense of human sight,
And therefore to our weaker view
O'erlaid with black, staid wisdom's hue;
Black, but such as in esteem
Prince Memnon's sister might beseem.
Or that starred Ethiope queen that strove
To set her beauty's praise above
The Sea Nymphs, and their powers offended."

Verdi had the same thing in mind when writing the opera, *Aida* . . . "for the official opening of a new opera house in Cairo, on commission of Ismail Pasha, Khedive of Egypt. It was for dark peoples of torrid bloods, Egyptian, Moorish, Ethiopian. Verdi was reluctant to undertake the commission until he was given a rough draft of a scenario by Mariette Bey, leading French Egyptologist of the day, a scholar in the tradition of such former giants as Volney, who had written the immortal *Ruins* of the Empires, and Jean Francois Champollion, for whom the chair of Egyptian Archaeology in the College of France was created. Volney and Champollion knew of the strong Ethiopian elements in the basis of Egyptian civilization. The Sphinx is debatably Ethiopian and so are the earlier pyramids."[3]

In the rest of Africa contemporary with the ancient Negro and Negroid civilizations of East Africa, there were outstanding though more primitive civilizations. It is claimed that the now famous ruins of Zimbabwe in Rhodesia mark the site of long lost Ophir, an unidentified region famous in the Old Testament for its fine gold.

West Africa has come forth during the past forty years with works of art making it a gem of vast influence upon modern art and the industrial arts of the world. We now know more than ever about the arts of West Africa through the famous Blondiau Collection which was brought to the United States about 1925. Dr. Albert C. Barnes of the Barnes Foundation of Marion, Pa., writing in *Opportunity* of May, 1926, on *Negro Art Past and Present* says: "A score or more years ago most of those persons who watched the beginning of a new era in art were profoundly astonished to read that its source of inspiration was the work of a race for centuries despised and condemned to a servile status. The greatest of all sculptures, that most purely classic in conception and execution, the Egyption, was itself African."

Paul Guillaume, proprietor and editor of the magazine, *Les Arts*, Paris, in the same issue of *Opportunity* says: "These statues, first studied by anthropologists and antiquarians, have in the short space of twenty years played a role no less important for this age than was the role of classic art in inspiring the Renaissance."

The influence of African art extends immeasurably into the industrial arts. This was strongly affirmed by Stewart Culin, Curator of the Brooklyn Museum, as follows: "The art of the Negro is distinguished from the art of all other existing art of more or less pre-literate races as being a living art of a living people. While the American Indian and the inhabitants of the South Pacific have declined in contact with the European civilization, and their art extinguished, the Negro exists with his artistic powers and perceptions unimpaired, capable of progressing along lines of his own traditions and of creating for himself and in his own way. The vitality of his art is evinced by the influence it has exerted upon the contemporary art of the West, known and fully recognized by many painters and sculptors and by their critics and followers. Less known and understood is the effect it has had upon the industrial arts, upon pattern making, upon so-called decorative art. Mostly occupied with the textile patterns, I have seen their adoption by the French and American textile industries following the display of raffia embroideries at the Brooklyn Museum in

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[3] C. J. Bulliet, art and music critic, Chicago Daily News, August 28, 1944.

1923."[4] According to Dr. Culin, some of the results of this adoption and use formed the most conspicuous of all exotic influences at the Paris Exposition of 1925. He gives the Negro's textiles the most enduring place in their influence upon the art of the world.

We now know more than ever through these arts that the beautiful was a way of life in African civilizations; that the heritage of the American Negro is art. During long years of slavery upon the shores of the New World the Negro was separated from much of his gifts, to which he is abundantly returning.

From Central and West Africa came the gift of iron and its smelting to the New World. Franz Boas states: "It seems not unlikely that the people who made the marvelous discovery of reducing iron ores by smelting were the African Negroes. Neither ancient Europe, nor ancient Western Asia, nor ancient China knew iron." Torday, writing in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* says, "We are indebted to the Negro for the very keystone of our modern civilization . . . we owe him the discovery of iron." This was a contribution of West Africa, the section from which most of the slaves who were brought to the New World came. We, therefore, know that many of the slaves brought to the Americas were from cultures skilled for centuries in the artistic use of iron. So it is understandable how and why the Negro's first outstanding artistic contribution to New World culture was the fashioning of iron in many artistic ways. Old balconies, grilles and doorways of New Orleans and surrounding Gulf areas, of Charleston and Beaufort, South Carolina and other parts of the South Atlantic are eloquent tributes to the skilled craftmanship of slaves, heritages of their ancient cultures and civilizations. They worked at the anvil without direction from the white group. These gracious balconies, intricate grilles and charmingly designed lunettes wrought by slave labor have won their place in the world of antique dealers and connoisseurs as works of master craftsmen.

Notwithstanding the more than justifiable claim of the Negro to the indigenous cultures of the African continent, eminently spotlighted by the immeasurably vast and expansive contributions in the Nile Valley of Ethiopia and Egypt, the recognized Negro writers on Negro art have failed to take the eastern phase into consideration. There are only two writers of consequence in the sphere of Negro art; Alain L. Locke, Professor of Philosophy at Howard University, and James A. Porter, Assistant Professor of Art at Howard University. Porter's book, *Modern Negro Art* covers that phase more thoroughly than any work up to the present.

It was indicated in the beginning that white American writers have given more thought generally to the fact that ancient Ethiopia and Egypt were Negro than have Negro writers. Outstanding among these has been Dr. Albert C. Barnes of the Barnes Foundation, Marion, Pennsylvania. Two distinguished Negro historians and scholars have ably and authentically documented these ancient connections of the great nations of East Africa, as well as the equally ancient, though more primitive, nations of the West and South. They are Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois in his *Black Folk Then and Now* and his more recent work, *The World and Africa*, and Joel A. Rogers in his works in general, but particularly in the three volumes entitled, *Sex and Race*, and a pamphlet, *World's Greatest Men and Women of African Descent*. The existing remnants and ruins of the fine arts have made exactness in general history possible. The history of the Negro's contributions to the fine arts generally are inseparably interwoven with this history.

ALAIN L. LOCKE'S INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO ART

The distinguished scholar and philosopher, Dr. Alain L. Locke, is the recognized authority on the Negro in art. It is reasonable to state that he has been a greater inspirational influence upon the development of Negro artists and in creating appreciation for the Negro's art than any person or group during the past twenty-five years. He was unquestionably the leader of the Negro Renaissance which was ushered in from the quiet but active and vigorous recesses of his mind, based upon years of exceedingly interested study. The appearance of the Harlem edition of *Survey Graphic* in March, 1925, followed by *The New Negro* in the same year had the effect of an atomic bomb upon the public in general and upon Negro youth in particular. Prior to 1925 the known Negro professionals and students in the art schools of the country could almost have been counted on the fingers. Because of Locke's influence, ambitious aspirants in the field of art were greatly stimulated in their efforts. From 1925 to 1946, in the short span of twenty-one years, more Negro artists and craftsmen have been developed and have achieved outstanding recognition in American life than in all of the previous years of American history. Those who pioneered played their part, but it remained for Alain L. Locke, appropriately called "the father of the Negro Renaissance," to come forth as the touchstone to dramatize and accelerate the movement from the foundations laid by the pioneers to the more sweeping and larger growth. Other groups, individuals and organizations followed and aided greatly in the movement.

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[4] Opportunity, May, 1927.

EARLY PIONEERS IN THE EUROPEAN TRADITION

Early in the seventeenth century Seville, an art center, provided two pioneer Negro painters in the European tradition:

Juan Pareja, painter, (1606-1670). Born in Seville, Spain of slave parentage, Pareja was an apprenticed servant of Diego Velasquez and a proficient paint grinder and studio attendant by 1623. He accompanied Velasquez to Madrid and on the master's two trips to Italy in 1629 and in 1648. Bermudez relates that he was manumitted by order of Philip IV for merit in painting; but probably this was only official confirmation of a status already granted him by Velasquez. He worked side by side with Velasquez and absorbed his style, probably preparing grounds for many canvases. Several of Pareja paintings have been attributed to Velasquez as second rate work of the master. He served the daughter of Velasquez after his death and married Jean Batista eel Mayo, daughter or sister of that painter. Works: Murals of Benedictine Abbey at Eslonga; "Calling of St. Matthew," Prado; "Presentation of the Child God," Trinity Convent, Toledo; "Battle Scene," Museo Nacional, Madrid; "Portrait of Capuchin Monk," Hermitage; "St. John Evangelist"; "St. Oroncio"; "Our Lady of Guadelupe"; "Portrait of Philip IV"; "Chapel of Santa Ritio," Madrid; "Isabel of Bourbon," Collection of the Earl of Yarmouth; "Portrait of a Boy," Dulwich Collection. Among Pareja's paintings once ascribed to Velasquez are: "A Gentleman and Lady Playing Cards," Munich and "Bust of a Boy," Marquis de las Marismas Collection. In the United States there is one known painting attributed to Pareja. It is "The Annunciation of the Virgin." This canvas is now the property of J. Herbert Watson, attorney-at-law, Brooklyn, New York.

Sebastian Gomez, painter, (1646?-1682). The place and date of his birth are uncertain. It was conjectured by Bermudez as 1646 in Seville. This is more probably the date of his arrival in Seville. Apprentice servant of Murillo, he was discovered by his overpainting of canvasses during the night after the pupils of Murillo had gone. He was then received as a formal pupil, outstripping many of them and becoming famous as the "Mulatto Murillo." His works are close but competent reflections of his master's style, many signed canvasses being extensively found in Seville, indicating definite commissions. His "Virgin and Child" is in Delscalozos Portico. Two large murals, "Christ Scourged at the Pillar" and "St. Peter Kneeling," are in the vestry of the Capuchin Monastery, with his "Immaculate Conception" in the Seville Baptistry opposite Murillo's, "St. Anthony." The Treasury of the same church houses his "Holy Family." His was a life-long attachment to the Murillo household, and he occupies a permanent secondary place in the annals of Spanish 17th century art.

AMERICAN NEGRO ARTISTS

Early American Negro Artists

In spite of the handicaps of slavery and prejudice in America and though small in number except in the decorative crafts, research has disclosed that Negroes have followed along with

American art developments from the beginning. They managed to achieve commensurately in every phase of the arts practiced. James A. Porter's book, *Modern Negro Art,* contains much authentic and careful research sustaining this conclusion. Undoubtedly as interest and available funds increase, making possible more extensive research, much more will be learned. The foremost of the known artists of this earliest period according to Locke's, *The Negro in Art*, was:

Joshua Johnston, painter, (1770-1830). From a legendary figure known as the painter slave of General Stricker, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants of the Maryland Historical Society has resurrected Joshua Johnston, undoubtedly the first authenticated Negro artist in America. He was a portraitist, probably manumitted. He is listed in the Baltimore Directories between 1769 and 1824 as a freeholder of colour and portrait painter. According to Porter, "the source of his instruction or training is not yet established," but to use Dr. Pleasant's own words, "There appears in his paintings a striking generic resemblance to the work of three members of the Peale family. These three artists were Charles Wilson Peale, Charles Peale Polk and Rembrandt Peale."

In this period there were others who attained some proficiency of fair note, most of whom are as yet undiscovered. Porter gives foremost mention of those known to *Robert Douglass*, portrait and ornamental painter, (1809-1887); *Patrick Reason*, portrait painter and engraver, born about 1817; and *William Simpson*, portrait painter, who died about 1872.

Negro Artists 1850 to 1880

From the period 1850 to 1880, there were several artists who distinguished themselves comparably with the prevailing talents of the times. The first and foremost up to 1870 was:

Robert S. Duncanson, painter, (1821-1871) born in Cincinnati, Ohio. He attained distinction in Cincinnati and abroad as a painter. One of his paintings, "The Trial of Shakespeare," was recently presented to the Douglass Center in Toledo. "Blue Hole" is owned by the Cincinnati Art Museum. Another of his works, purchased by Queen Victoria, is said to hang in Windsor Castle. His talents, especially shown in his painting, "The Trial of Shakespeare," attracted the attention of prominent artists in Cincinnati in 1840 and he was sent to Scotland to study by the Freedmen's Aid Society. He returned in 1843 to become a respected member of the Cincinnati group of artists. He is mentioned in a history of Cincinnati written by Charles Gist in 1851 as being a noted artist, a painter of fruit, fancy and historical paintings and landscapes. He executed numerous portrait and mural commissions for prominent families of the city. Portrait of "William Carey" at the Ohio Military Institute; of "Nicholas Longworth" at the Ohio Mechanics' Institute and mural panels for the hall and reception room of the Taft family residence are of this period. His only known Negro subject painting, 1848, portrait of Bishop Payne and family, is now in possession of Wilberforce University. Duncanson returned to England and achieved considerable fame exhibiting in Glasgow, Edinburgh and London.

Other artists to achieve some note about the same time were Edward Stidham, portrait painter, of Philadelphia and William Dorsey, landscape painter, also of Philadelphia.

From 1865 to 1880 the two most outstanding Negro artists in American history reaching their peak at the time of the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876 were *Edward M. Bannister* and *Edmonia Lewis*.

Edward M. Bannister, painter, (1828-1901) was born in Nova Scotia, Canada. He received private instruction in painting from Dr. Runner of Boston, and attained considerable recognition in Boston in 1854. In 1870 he moved to Providence, R. I., residing there until his death. He was challenged to a professional career by a statement in the New York *Herald* in 1867 to the effect that "the Negro seems to have an appreciation of art, while manifestly unable to produce it." The Providence Art Club was organized in his studio in 1880. This became the nucleus of the Rhode Island School of Design. Bannister's most noted painting, "Under the Oaks," was exhibited in the group representing the Massachusetts artists at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876. This was awarded a Gold Medal and was bought for $1,500 by James Duffe of New York. He is represented in the Providence Club; the Rhode Island School of Design; Howard University Art Gallery and the John Hope Collection, Atlanta, Ga.

Edmonia Lewis, painter, (1845-1890). Born near Albany, N. Y. of mixed Negro and Indian parentage, Edmonia Lewis was adopted from an orphanage and educated at Oberlin, Ohio, 1859-1863, by abolitionists. As far as is known, she is the pioneer among Negro sculptors. She showed artistic talent at an early age and was trained in the studio of Edmund Brackett of Boston. Exhibited first works are: "Medallion Head of John Brown" and "Bust of Robert Gould Shaw" at Soldiers Aid Fair, Boston, in 1864. She was sent by her patrons, the Story family, to Rome, Italy, where she perfected herself in the fashionable neoclassical style of the day. Here she produced many figures, portraits and symbolic groups in direct marble. On her return to the United States, she executed, mostly in plaster, a number of portrait commissions. Among them were: Wendell Phillips; Charles Sumner; Harriet Hosmer; Charlotte Cushman; and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow for the Harvard College Library. Her symbolic groups usually underlife size, show a competent mastery of technique. Best known among these works are "Hagar," (1866); "Hiawatha," (1865); "The Marriage of Hiawatha"; "The Departure of Hiawatha," (1867); "Madonna and Child," Collection of the Marquis of Bute; "Forever Free," emancipation group (1867); The Harriet Hunt Mausoleum, Mt. Auburn Cemetery, Massachusetts. She exhibited in Rome in 1871; at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876 and at Farwell Hall Exhibit, Chicago, 1870.

Negro Artists 1880-1910

For the next twenty years no known artists of consequence were produced. Yet the works of those of the approximately five preceding generations, set a background for *Henry Ossawa Tanner*, who became the greatest of all, even to the present time. He achieved a niche making him one of the outstanding artists of the world and perhaps the greatest painter of scriptural subjects of this age.

Henry Ossawa Tanner, painter, (1859-1937). Born June 21, 1859 at Pittsburgh, Pa., he was the son of Bishop Benjamin T. Tanner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and was one of the most distinguished of American artists. He resided in Paris from 1891 to his death there on May 25, 1937. He studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1884-88 and came particularly under the influence of Thomas Eakins. After graduation he taught art, part time, at Clark University in Atlanta, Ga. Through the aid of Bishop J. C. Hartzell, who had been attracted to his works, he was enabled to go to Paris in 1891. He studied at the Academie Julian and under Jean Paul Laurens and Benjamin Constant. "The Music Lesson" brought his first Salon Honorable Mention in 1896. In 1897, his original religious and mystical slant broke through his early realism. "The Raising of Lazarus" was awarded the Salon Gold Medal and was purchased by the French Government for the Luxembourg Galleries. Tanner instantly became an international figure. "The Annunciation" exhibited in 1898 at the Pennsylvania Academy was purchased for the Wilstach Collection. "Judas" was purchased for the Carnegie Institute in 1899 and "Nicodemus" (Walter Lippincott Prize) for the Pennsylvania Academy in 1899. Among subsequent awards were: Silver Medal, Paris Exposition, 1900; Silver Medal, Pan-American Exposition, 1901; Silver Medal, St. Louis Exposition, 1904; Medal of Second Class, Paris Salon, 1906; Harris Prize, Art Institute of Chicago, 1906; Gold Medal, San Francisco Exposition, 1915; Clark Prize, Grand Central Galleries, New York, 1930. Tanner was elected Associate of the National Academy in 1909 and Member in 1927. He was also made a *Chevalier of the Legion of Honor*. He is represented in some of the foremost public and private galleries in the world.

The stirring achievements of Tanner were of inestimable value as sources of inspiration to a large number of individuals. Though beginning in small numbers, they were destined to grow exceedingly during the next twenty-five years.

The first important artist to appear achieved and held the outstanding place in the field of sculpture for nearly forty years. This was:

Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, sculptress, (1877-), born in Philadelphia. She studied at the School of Industrial Art and the Pennsylvania Academy; was a pupil of Charles Grafly; Rodin in Paris and attended the Academie Colarossi. Exhibited in Paris Salon 1903 and 1904 a group entitled, "The Wretched." This is considered her masterpiece. She executed symbolic groups on the Negro for the Jamestown Tercentenary, 1907; Harmon exhibits, 1930, 1933 and frequent later showings at the Boston Art Club and the Guild of Arts and Crafts. Works are located in the Cleveland Museum; the Schomburg Collection, 135th Street Branch, New York Public Library; Y. M. C. A., Atlanta, Ga.

Contemporary with Mrs. Fuller and also a sculptress was:

May Howard Jackson, sculptress, (1877-1931). Born in Philadelphia, she studied at the J. Liberty Tadd's Art School, Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania Academy. Maintained a private studio in Washington, D. C. from 1902 to her death, specializing until 1912 on portrait busts. About 1914 she began to be intrigued by the Negro theme. Exhibits: Corcoran Art Gallery, 1915; National Academy of Design, 1916; Harmon exhibits, 1927, 1928 (Bronze Medal in sculpture); New York Emancipation Exposition, 1913; Memorial bust of Paul Laurence Dunbar in Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C.

Exceedingly worthy of mention is Professor *John Henry Adams, Jr.*, teacher at Morris Brown College in Atlanta, Ga., in the early 1900's. It is not known where he received his training but the rare quality of his drawings in pen and ink of portrait studies and illustrations document him as being one of the most gifted users of this medium the race has produced. Practically all of the writers on the Negro in art except James A. Porter have overlooked him. His works appeared mainly in the *Voice of the Negro*, a periodical published in Atlanta from 1904 to 1906 and later in *The Crisis*.

George Washington Carver, painter, (1864?-1943). All the world knows George Washington Carver as a great agricultural chemist, but not many are aware that he has also produced paintings of recognized merit. A career as an artist seems to have been his intent more than fifty years ago in the Simpson College School of Art, Indianola, Iowa. He continued to paint through the years, and in later years painted with his own pigments made from the clays of Alabama. There is a Carver Collection of Art, located in the George Washington Carver Museum at Tuskegee Institute. In this collection are four paintings which were selected for exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. One of these, "Yucca, Angustifolia and Cactus" was awarded an Honorable Mention. There is also in the Carver Museum, of a later period, a beautiful small painting of a cluster of peaches, which has caused much favorable comment.

A most interesting fact, generally overlooked is that there appeared about this period the first known Negro male sculptor, therefore the male pioneer in this field, in the person of:

Isaac Hathaway, sculptor and ceramist, (1871-). Born in Lexington, Ky., he studied at the Art Department of the New England Conservatory of Music; the Cincinnati Museum Art Academy; the Ceramics Department, Pittsburg Normal College, Pittsburg, Kansas; and the Chandler Normal College. He maintained a studio in Washington, D. C. during 1910. His works are principally portrait busts, the best known of which are of Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and Paul Laurence Dunbar. He is one of the outstanding Negro ceramists in the country today and is head of the Department of Ceramics at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

The next painter to follow Tanner achieved outstanding success. At the time of his early death in 1910 he was considered one of the leading landscape painters in the West. It is reasonably certain that longer life would have lifted him to national and perhaps international fame. This was:

William A. Harper, painter, (1873-1910). Born near Cayuga, Canada, December 27, 1873, he died in Mexico City, March 27, 1910. Studied at the Art Institute of Chicago, taught drawing in the public schools of Houston, Texas, studied in Paris on a fellowship, 1903-05. Painted landscapes extensively in Brittany, Provence, and southern England. Again studied in Europe, 1907-08. He was closely associated with Tanner as an informal pupil. He returned to Chicago and lived as a free lance painter. He was one of the real talents of a generation. His premature death was a major loss to Negro art, for critics judged him of great promise and many thought him more creatively original than Tanner. Exhibits: Art Institute of Chicago, 1905; Fortnightly Club (1st Prize) 1908; Municipal Art League, Chicago, 1905, 1908; Art Institute of Chicago, 1910. Was member of the Society of Western Artists and Associated Chicago Artists. Works hang in Provident Hospital, Chicago; Art Institute of Chicago; Wabash Avenue Y. M. C. A., Chicago; Museum of Negro Art and Culture, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Present Day Negro Artists 1910-1925

Closely following Harper and almost a contemporary was:

William Edouard Scott, painter, (1884-   ) was born in Indianapolis, Ind. He studied at the Art Institute of Chicago and was considered one of its very brilliant students. He also studied privately in Paris with Tanner and at the Julian and Colarossi Academies. Twice won the Magnus Brand Prize in the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. Awarded Special Harmon Gold Medal in Fine Arts, 1927 and a Julius Rosenwald Fellowship in 1931 to study Negro types in Haiti. Won Jesse Binga Popularity Prize and Eames McVeagh Prize, Chicago Art League, 1929. Painted murals for several public buildings in Indiana, Illinois and West Virginia. "La Pauvre Voisin" exhibited in the Paris Salon, 1912, was purchased by the Argentine Republic. Twelve of his paintings were purchased by the Haitian Government at his One-man Show in Port-au-Prince, 1931. Exhibits: Harmon exhibits 1928, 1931, 1933; Harmon Exhibit to Johannesburg and Pretoria, Africa; One-man Traveling Show, 1935; Harmon College Art Association Traveling Exhibition, 1934-35; Findlay Galleries, Chicago, 1935; American Negro Exposition, 1940.

During the period 1907 to 1912 there were only five known Negro art students in New York; namely, *Charles C. Dawson* at the Art Students League; *William Ernest Braxton* at the Adelphi Academy in Brooklyn; *Winifred Russell* at the National Academy; *Clinton DeVillis* and a late arrival, *Richard Lonsdale Brown*, a promising landscapist from West Virginia who studied independently after being refused admittance to the Art Students League because of race, in spite of the fact that Dawson was already a student there.

The situation was not much better in Chicago, though for many years thereafter the liberal Chicago Art Institute, with its traditions of Harper and Scott was instrumental in inspiring other Negro students among whom was:

William McKnight Farrow, painter, etcher, (1885-   ). Born in Dayton, Ohio and educated at the Art Institute of Chicago, he is one of the earliest Negro etchers. Was awarded the Eames McVeagh Prize for etching and the Peterson Prize, Chicago Art League, 1929. Exhibits: Chicago Art League since 1928; Harmon Exhibits, 1928, 1930, 1931, 1935. Instructor, Carl Schurz Evening High School and Technical Museum Staff, Art Institute of Chicago, 1908 to the present.

Charles C. Dawson, painter, illustrator, designer and engraver, (1889-   ). Born in Brunswick, Georgia, June 12, 1889. Studied at Tuskegee Institute, Ala.; The Art Students League of New York, 1907-12 (Honorable Mention Annual School Exhibition, 1911). Dawson reversed the order of student movement, leaving the Art Students League and New York for Chicago late in 1912, and attended the Art Institute of Chicago, 1912-17, graduating with special honors. Was with the American Expeditionary Forces, World War I, as 1st Lieutenant of Infantry, later being promoted to Captain of Infantry. Staff artist, Chicago Engravers, 1919-22; free lance painter, illustrator and designer 1922-35; Public Works of Art Project (Class "A") 1935; Art Consultant to the State Office NYA of Illinois and Co-Administrator of NYA Works Program for Chicago, 1936-40; free lance painter 1941 to present. Since 1922 has produced most of the advertising illustrations for the majority of the leading Negro businesses as well as national advertising for a white clientele. Works: Murals and Exhibits of the National Urban League at A Century of Progress Exposition, Chicago, 1933 and 1934; illustrated literature of the DeSaible Exhibit, A Century of Progress Exposition; Official Poster, Pageant of Negro Music, A Century of Progress Exposition, 1934; basic interior designs of the American Negro Exposition, as a whole, Chicago, 1940, including plans and themes for the historical dioramas of the Court of Honor, 1944-46; curator, restoration of series of historical dioramas (20 in number) on the Negro historical background from the American Negro Exposition, 1940, presented to Tuskegee Institute by the State of Illinois; installation and development of the new Museum of Negro Art and Culture for Tuskegee Institute. Awarded the Eames McVeagh Prize (First Prize) for best portrait; Jesse Binga Popularity Prize on the "Quadroon Madonna" Chicago Art League, 1928; Charles S. Peterson Prize (First Prize) for the best portrait, Chicago Art League, 1929; Honorable Mention Harmon Award 1929 for distinguished achievement in the Fine Arts. Exhibits: Art Institute of Chicago 1917, 1919, 1927; Negro in Art Week Exposition 1927 and Chairman of its Fine Arts Committee; Harmon Traveling Exhibit, 1929; Harmon Exposition to Johannesburg and Pretoria, Africa, 1930; Studio Gallery, Chicago, 1931; Findlay Galleries, Chicago, 1933; Texas Centennial (National Urban League Mural) 1936; American Negro Exposition, 1940. Works: "Quadroon Madonna" and "Brother and Sister," Roosevelt High School, Gary, Ind.; "Evolution of Negro Music," Risley High School, Brunswick, Ga.; series of Negro historical dioramas, Tuskegee Institute. On November 26, 1946 two murals depicting the work and career of Dr. George Washington Carver were hung permanently in the lobby of the Carver Theatre in Waycross, Ga. Dawson, who was commissioned to paint these murals expressly for Georgia Theatres, Inc., was presented at the formal opening of the theatre and delivered the main address.

During this period the Art Institute of Chicago produced another brilliant student who distinguished himself:

Archibald J. Motley, Jr., painter, (1891-). Born in New Orleans, La., he studied at the Art Institute of Chicago. Honors: Frank G. Logan Medal, 1925; J. N. Eisendrath Prize, Art Institute of Chicago, 1925; Harmon Gold Award, 1928; Guggenheim Fellowship, 1929, for study in Europe; Illinois Federal Art Project, Mural and Easel Divisions, 1935-39. Exhibits: Harmon Exhibits, 1929, 1931; Guggenheim Fellows Exhibits, 1931, 1933; Art Institute of Chicago, Official A Century of Progress Fine Arts Exhibit, 1933, 1934; Toledo Museum, 1934; Texas Centennial, 1936; Howard University Art Gallery, 1937, 1938; Baltimore Museum, 1939; American Negro Exposition, 1940. Works: Wood River, Illinois Post Office (Treasury Art Project); Evansville, Illinois State Hospital; Chicago Public Library; Ryerson School: One-man Show, New Galleries, New York, 1928. Painter of portraits, in which he demonstrates considerable mastery of drawing, his mediums and of figure composition. Works entirely with Negro types treated, in the compositions, in semi-grotesque.

During this period the South produced Boston-trained:

Edward A. Harleston, portrait and figure painter, (1882-1931). Born in Charleston, S. C., he died there May 5, 1931. One of the pioneers in Negro type portraiture, he was educated at Atlanta University and Boston Museum School of Art, 1906-12. Exhibits: Negro in Art Week Exposition, Art Institute of Chicago, 1927; Harmon Show, 1931 (Locke Portrait Prize); Texas Centennial, 1936; Howard University, 1935, 1937. Works hang in many private collections and in the Howard University Collection.

Philadelphia produced the first and only Negro woman to become distinguished in American history as a painter up to this period:

Laura Wheeler Waring, painter and illustrator, (1887-). Born in Hartford, Conn., she studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts 1918-24; awarded the Cresson Traveling Scholarship and studied at Grand Chaumiere, Paris, 1924, 1925. Works: Portraits, race types and illustrations. Instructor in Art, Cheyney State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pa., since 1926. Exhibits: Harmon Exhibit, 1927 (Gold Award), 1928, 1930, 1931; Art Institute of Chicago, 1933; Pennsylvania Academy 1925-38; Howard University Gallery, 1937-39; American Negro Exposition, 1940.

A distinguished product of the East and of the Far West who is foremost in the fields of sculpture and ceramics is:

Sargent Johnson, sculptor, ceramist, (1888-). Born in Boston, Mass., he studied art for five years at the California School of Fine Arts, San Francisco, Calif. Received the San Francisco Art Association Medals for Sculpture 1925, 1931, 1935. Exhibits: San Francisco Art Association, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931; San Diego Gallery, 1930; Art Institute, Chicago, 1930; Harmon Exhibits, 1928 (Otto H. Kahn Prize), 1929 (Bronze Award), 1930, 1931, 1933 (Robert C. Ogden Prize); Howard University Gallery, 1937, 1939; Baltimore Museum, 1939; American Negro Exposition, Chicago (3rd Sculpture Award). Works: "Sammy," Mrs. E. R. Alexander Collection, New York; "Chester," Adolph Loewi and Alan Bement, New York; "Esther," San Diego Fine Arts Gallery. Designed murals Aquatic Park, Golden Gate Exposition, 1939-40, San Francisco. He is heavily influenced by African forms in sculpture.

Elizabeth Prophet, sculptress, (1890-). A native of Providence, R. I., and educated at the Rhode Island School of Design, this artist uses wood as her medium of expression. Her subjects have all been Negroes. Her "Congolaise" is permanently exhibited in the Whitney Museum of American Art and her "Head of a Negro" has been reproduced many times in periodicals and catalogues. Exhibits: Paris Salon and American Art Shows.

The Mid-West brought forth two other brilliant artists who are making outstanding contributions:

Hale Woodruff, painter and engraver, (1900-). Born in Cairo, Illinois, he was educated in the Public Schools of Nashville, Tenn., and at John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis, Ind., (Graduate). Spent four years on the staff of the Indianapolis Y. M. C. A. and painted prolifically at the same time. Was encouraged by Bronze Award of Harmon contest of 1926 to further study. Went to Paris in 1927. Studied at Academie Scandinave; Academie Moderne and with Tanner, 1927-30; sketched in Normandy and Cagnes sur Mer. Exhibited in the Pacquereau Gallery, Paris, 1930. In 1931 was invited to become art instructor at Atlanta University and developed there an important group of younger artists. In 1946 was invited to become instructor in art at New York University. In 1938 he was commissioned to do the Amistad Murals for the Savery Library, Talladega College. Exhibits: John Herron Art Institute, 1923, 1924, 1926; Chicago Art Institute (Negro in Art Week Exposition), 1927; Harmon Exhibits, 1928, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1935; Downtown Gallery, New York, 1929, 1931; Valentine Gallery, 1931; Ferragil Gallery, 1931; Texas Centennial, 1936; High Museum, Atlanta, 1935; American Negro Exposition, 1940.

Aaron Douglass, painter and illustrator, (1899-). Born in Topeka, Kans., was educated at the University of Kansas (A.B. in Fine Arts, 1923). Taught in Lincoln High School, Kansas City, Mo., 1923-25; studied under Winold Reiss, New York City 1925-27; Barnes Foundation Fellowship, 1928-29; Rosenwald Grant for study in Paris, 1931; Academie Scandinave and under Despiau, Waroquier and Othon Frieze; Rosenwald Travel Grant touring the South and Haiti, 1938. Instructor in Art, Fisk University since 1937. Exhibits: Harmon Exhibits 1928, 1935; College Art, 1935; Texas Centennial, 1936; Howard University Gallery, 1937; Baltimore Museum, 1939; One-man Shows, Caz-Delbos Gallery, New York, 1933; A. C. A. Gallery, New York, 1938. His murals, usually allegorical scenes on historical life or cultural background of the Negro, are found in the Fisk University Library, at Bennett College and in the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library.

To this small group of ten artists from William Edouard Scott to Aaron Douglass, inclusive, should be added *Henry B. Jones* and *Allan R. Freelon*.

Henry B. Jones, painter, (1889-). Born in Philadelphia, Pa., and educated in the Philadelphia Public Schools and in the School of Pedagogy, Philadelphia. Jones studied art for four years at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and was a student of Anschutz and Breckenridge. Exhibits: Harmon Exhibits, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1933; 135th Street Branch, New York Public Library, 1933; Print Club, Philadelphia, 1932, 1934, 1935; Warwick Galleries, 1930, 1931, 1933, 1934; Reed Galleries, 1934; A. C. A. Gallery, Philadelphia, 1938.

Allan R. Freelon, painter, (1895-). Born in Philadelphia, Pa., he was educated at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and at the University of Pennsylvania. Pupil of Eral Horter, in etching. Assistant Director of Art, Philadelphia Public Schools. Exhibits: Harmon Exhibits, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931; Newton Galleries, New York, 1935; College Art, 1935; Texas Centennial, 1936; Howard University, 1937, 1939; Lincoln University, 1937; Regional Show, Whitney Museum, 1934; American Negro Exposition, 1940.

These represent nearly all of the Negro students known to have been seriously studying art during the period 1907 to 1920. They have achieved outstandingly as a group as well as individually. Through their achievements they have established a new epoch, building upon the records of their exemplary predecessors. Unquestionably they have built a foundation of sound and superb craftsmanship, which meets most of the rigid tests of the artistic world. Their achievements have been a great source of inspiration to large numbers of younger aspirants. The influence of these artists along with that exerted by *The Crisis* and *Opportunity*, by Alain L. Locke, as previously stated, by the Harmon Awards and Shows, by the United States Treasury Federal Art Projects of the 1930's paved the way for the remarkable group of young Negro artists since 1925. All of these older artists are still growing and are still setting the pace for the younger artists.

A New Era, 1925-1946

Because it is impossible to include all of the artists which go to make up this younger group, only a few of the eminently outstanding ones will be mentioned in detail. The honor of being not only the most distinguished Negro artist since Tanner but among the leading artists of America, as indicated by the acclaim of the country's leading critics, the quality and quantity of honors, prizes and commissions awarded him, goes to:

Richmond Barthe, sculptor, painter, (1901-). Born in Bay St. Louis, Miss., educated in the Public Schools of New Orleans, he studied at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1924-28. He studied painting and merely experimented with sculpture in 1926 and 1927. These works were brought to the attention of Charles C. Dawson in 1927, who was then serving as Chairman of the Fine Arts Committee of the "Negro in Art Week," sponsored by the Chicago Woman's Club, by William M. Farrow, a member of the Committee. Dawson immediately recommended the acceptance of all pieces. They were exhibited. This was the beginning of Barthe's career as a sculptor. His first commission came upon recommendation of Dawson, and consisted of two busts, one of Henry O. Tanner and one of Toussaint L'Ouverture for the Lake County Children's Home of Gary, Indiana of which Miss Thyra Edwards, social worker and writer, was then head. These two incidents and the resulting contacts and publicity were responsible for leading to the first One-man Show at the Women's City Club, Chicago and the Rosenwald Fellowship Awards for study in New York, 1927, 1928. Studied at the Art Students League, New York, 1931. Received the Eames McVeagh Prize for Sculpture, Chicago Art League, 1928; Guggenheim Fellowship, 1940. Exhibits: Women's City Club, Chicago, 1927; Chicago Woman's Club (Negro in Art Week) 1927; Harmon Exhibits, 1929, 1931, 1933; A Century of Progress Fine Arts Exhibition (Official) Chicago Art Institute, 1933, 1934; Whitney Museum, 1933, 1935, 1939; Howard University Gallery, 1934; Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1940. One-man Shows: Caz-Delbos Gallery, New York, 1933; Delphic Studios, New York, 1935; Arden Gallery, New York, 1938; World's Fair, New York, 1939. Artists for Victory Exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum, New York ($500 prize for sculpture), 1942; 4th Annual Exposition of Audubon Artists (Awarded Gold Medal of Honor), 1945. Executed bas-reliefs (40′ x 8′) on themes from "Green Pastures" for Harlem River Houses, Federal Art Project, New York, 1937-38. Works: Whitney Museum, "Blackberry Woman," "Harmonica Player," "African Dancer"; Oberlin College Museum; University of Wisconsin Museum; busts of Paul Laurence Dunbar and Booker T. Washington, Armstrong High School, Richmond, Va. Known for portrayal of race types and rhythm groups. The highlight of his career thus far was the award of the commission by the Hall of Fame Committee in 1946 to make the bust of Booker T. Washington for placement in the Hall of Fame on the campus of New York University, the only Negro artist enjoying this distinction. It is also of interest to note that he is the only Negro artist listed in Who's Who in America, 1946-47.

All great periods of development in the Fine Arts have been made possible very largely by great patrons—the State, the nobility, the Church and again nobility and the State. The great patron of this age is business. It is using, for the enhancement of advertising and incidentally for mass dissemination of culture, the very best of fine arts production. The most successful of those who have the good fortune and the vision to fit into these demands is:

E. Simms Campbell, illustrator, (1906-). Born in St. Louis, Mo., he was educated at the Art Institute of Chicago. For a number of years he was staff illustrator of the magazines, *New Yorker*, and *Esquire*. He also does advertising illustrations for some of the leading nationally advertised products, among which are Barbasol Shaving Cream and Hart Schaffner and Marx quality clothing for men and women. He works in the various black and white mediums and in water color. His cartoons and illustrations for *Esquire* made him phenomenally successful and placed him high in the ranks of the best in these fields. Campbell was Pulitzer Prize winner on the St. Louis *Post Dispatch* in 1928. His works have also appeared in *The New York Journal*, *The New York American*, *The Mirror*, *Judge*, *The Saturday Evening Post* and *The London Spectator*. Exhibits: Minneapolis Artists Exhibits, 1924, 1925; Harmon Exhibits, 1929, 1935; American Negro Exposition, 1940 (Honorable Mention).

In the very front rank of so-called primitive artists, classified as "the most important Negro artist of the era" by the Encyclopedia Britannica Collection of Contemporary American Painting, 1946, is:

Horace Pippin, primitive painter, (1888-1946). Born in West Chester, Pa., in 1888, Pippin died there in 1946. He was self-taught, and painted steadily from 1920 to 1946. Exhibits: One-man Shows, Chester County Art Association, 1937; Carlen Galleries, Philadelphia, 1940, 1941; Bignou Gallery, 1940; American Negro Exhibition, 1940; Arts Club, Chicago, 1941; San Francisco Museum, 1942. Paintings found in the following collections: Albright Gallery, Barnes Foundation, Pennsylvania Academy, Philadelphia Museum, Phillips Memorial Gallery, Whitney Museum, Rhode Island School of Design and Wichita Art Museum.

Judged as one of the leading Negro artists and the leading Negro woman painter of the present is:

Lois Mailou Jones, painter, (1906-). Born in Boston, Mass., she was educated in the Boston Public Schools, the Boston Museum School of Fine Arts, 1923-1927; Designers Art School; Massachusetts Normal Art School; in Paris, Beaux Arts and Academie Julian, 1937-38. Instructor in Design, Howard University since 1929. Exhibits: Harmon Exhibits, 1930, 1931, 1933; Water Color Exhibition, Philadelphia Academy, 1933-34; National Gallery of Art, 1934; Howard University Gallery, 1933, 1937; Salon des Artistes Francais, 1938; Baltimore Museum, 1939; American Negro Exposition (Honorable Mention), 1940; Robert Vose Gallery, Boston, 1938; Robert Bliss Award, annual exhibition of the Washington, D. C. Society of Fine Arts, 1941.

Next to Horace Pippin, in the field of painting, the public and leading critics have acclaimed:

Jacob Lawrence, painter, (1917-), of New York City. Born in Atlantic City, N. J., he was educated in the Philadelphia Public Schools and studied under Charles Alston and Henry Bannarn, 1934-38 and at the Harlem Art Center and the American Artists School, 1937-38. Exhibits: One-man Shows at Downtown Gallery, New York, 1941 and 1942; Museum of Modern Art, 1944. In 1938, was awarded the second prize of the Federal Art Project; in 1941-43 a Rosenwald Fellowship; in 1943, Metropolitan Museum, Artists for Victory Exhibition ($600 Purchase Prize). Has executed brilliantly original series in tempera panels on Negro historical themes: "The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture (41 panels), 1937; "The Life of Frederick Douglass" (40 panels), 1938; "The Life of Harriet Tubman" (40 panels), 1939; "The Negro Migration Northward in World War" (60 panels), published in *Fortune* in 1942. Represented in Albright Art Gallery; Howard University Art Gallery; Museum of Modern Art;

Metropolitan Museum; Whitney Museum; Phillips Memorial Gallery; Portland Museum; Providence Museum; Worcester Museum; Virginia Museum.

Others who have achieved distinction in this era are: *James A. Porter*, Washington, D. C., born 1905; *James L. Wells*, Washington, D. C., born 1902; *Dox Thrash*, Philadelphia, born 1893; *Albert A. Smith*, born 1895, died 1940; *William H. Johnson*, New York City, born 1902; *Malvin Gray Johnson*, born 1896, died 1934, New York City; *Palmer Hayden*, New York City, born 1893; *Fred Flemister*, Atlanta, Ga., born 1916; *Allan Rohan Crite*, Boston, born 1910; *Gwendolyn Bennett*, New York City, born 1902; *Charles H. Alston*, New York City, born 1907; *Eldzier Cortor*, Chicago, born 1915; *Charles White*, Chicago and New York City, born 1918; *Rex Goreleigh*, Chicago, born 1902; *Vertis Hayes*, Memphis, Tenn., born 1911; *Zell Ingraham*, Cleveland, Ohio. These are mostly painters but some are also specifically skilled in the other graphic arts.

The sculptors are *Augusta Savage*, New York City, born 1900, who is extremely gifted; *William Artis*, New York City, born, 1914, sculptor and ceramist, who is very promising; *Elizabeth Catlett White*, New York City, born 1915; *Clarence Lawson*, Chicago, born 1919; *Selma Burke*, New York City; *Henry Bannarn*, Minneapolis, Minn., born 1910; *Joseph Kersey*, Chicago, born 1918; *Leslie G. Bolling*, Richmond, Va., born 1898.

MUSEUM OF NEGRO ART AND CULTURE AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

Perhaps the most significant development thus far as it relates to the vast historical background of the Negro was the creation of the new Museum of Negro Art and Culture at Tuskegee Institute during the period from September 29, 1944, to June 15, 1946. Though comparatively small in size, the nature and scope of the exhibits stamp it as being very unusual. The work of setting up the museum was intrusted to Charles C. Dawson, who made the basic interior designs as a whole for the American Negro Exposition held in Chicago in 1940, under the auspices of the Federal Government and the State of Illinois. It was the foremost and the most successful venture of its kind ever held in America. A part of the designing was a Court of Honor, consisting of a series of artistic and historical dioramas. This series was presented to Tuskegee Institute by the State of Illinois through Governor Dwight H. Green and delivered early in 1944, badly damaged through storage and transportation. As the creator of the themes and plans of the dioramas, Dawson's commission was first of all to restore these unique works, then plan and install the dioramas as the central feature of the museum.

Other exhibits consist of twelve museum cases of the arts of West Africa, being a cross-section of that area from Senegal to Angola. The heart of this African collection is a part of the famous Blondiau Collection presented to Tuskegee Institute some time ago by the George Foster Peabody Fund; and the substantial contributions of Dr. W. E. Turner of Birmingham, Ala., who for many years was a missionary to Liberia. There are smaller accessions from other individuals. Among the paintings are one each by Henry O. Tanner, William A. Harper and William Edouard Scott. An interesting part of the exhibit consists of early relics of Tuskegee Institute and another part relates to Booker T. Washington. For two months in 1945 Alonzo Aden, former Curator of the Howard University Gallery of Art, who now operates the Barnett Aden Gallery in Washington, D. C., was associated, as a museum consultant, in the work of setting up the museum.

DIVISION XIX

THE NEGRO IN MUSIC

By [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], II

Dillard University

Any thoughtful survey of what the Negro has accomplished in the field of music must bring to the interpreter and to the layman alike the realization that in most phases of music the Negro has made a decided contribution. There is no area in the vast realm of musical endeavor which cannot boast of some musician of color who has excelled; and this area moves from the limited territory reserved for the musically great in concert life to the more crowded vistas of popular music. There is only one spot in which the great artists among American Negroes may not perform and that is in the famed Metropolitan Opera. While it is true that one of the greatest stars of the concert world, Marian Anderson, has sung at the Metropolitan Opera House; neither Miss Anderson nor any other of the great contemporary voices has been heard there in an operatic production.

CONCERT ARTISTS

Under this section will be found Negro musicians who devote all of their time and talent to concert work and whose musical careers revolve around appearances on the concert stage.

Anderson, Marian, contralto, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1908. Attended the public schools there. Her musical education consisted of private study in Philadelphia, New York, the Chicago College of Music, and abroad. In Europe she was a pupil of Giuseppe Boghetti and others. As a child, Miss Anderson sang in the Union Baptist Church choir in Philadelphia. A fund raised through a church concert enabled her to take singing lessons under an Italian instructor. Her singing career began in 1924. In competition with 300 others, she won first prize at the New York Lewisohn Stadium, 1925. She has made several concert tours in the United States, Europe, and in South American countries. In 1938 Howard University conferred the honorary degree, Mus. D., upon her; Temple University conferred the same degree in 1941 and Smith College in 1944.

In 1943 Miss Anderson was invited by the Daughters of the American Revolution to appear in Constitution Hall, the same concert theatre which four years previously had been denied to her for a concert, and which refusal precipitated the resignation of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt from the organization. It also resulted in the momentous Easter Sunday open-air concert in front of the Lincoln Memorial, which was attended by 75,000 persons. The singer donated proceeds from her first Constitution Hall recital to the United China Relief Fund.

Another event which added to Miss Anderson's fame was the dedication of the mural in the Department of Interior Building commemorating the Lincoln Memorial Concert. At the unveiling exercises Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, delivered the dedication address saying, "Marian Anderson's voice and personality have come to be a symbol of American unity."

Miss Anderson was the first Negro singer in history to appear in recital in the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City. She was selected by the readers of the *Louisville*, (Ky.) *Times* as one of the ten leading women of the United States. She won the merit award of the New York Youth Committee for conspicuous service to youth, and the Pyramid Club (Philadelphia) Award on the observance of "Marian Anderson Day." The annual Citizen's Award of Brith Sholom Fraternity was awarded her in recognition of "her outstanding achievement in the field of music and devotion to the cause of inter-racial equality and democratic ideals." The Republic of Liberia honored her with its highest award, the *Order of African Redemption*. Miss Anderson is in great demand both on the radio and the concert stage.

Bledsoe, Jules C., baritone, was born in Waco, Tex., December 29, 1898. He was educated at Central College and Bishop College, Marshall, Texas; post graduate study at Virginia Union University. He began the study of medicine after discharge from the army but upon the urging of friends changed to the study of voice. After studying with Parisolti and Samoiloff, he made his debut in 1924 at Aeolian Hall. His roles included *Abraham's Bosom*, *Deep River*, *Show Boat*, 1927-29, where his singing of *Ol' Man River* made him famous. In 1931, he sang *The Creation* with the Boston Orchestra under the baton of Koussevitzky; role of "Amonasro" in *Aida* for Municipal Opera Company in Cleveland, Ohio, 1932; February 1934, he appeared in European premiere of Gruenberg's, *Emperor Jones*. Died in 1943.

Brice, Carol, contralto, born in North Carolina. Reared at Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C. Received training at the Juilliard School of Music. Winner of the Naumburg Award in 1944. Debut in Town Hall, March, 1945. At the request of conductor Fritz Reiner she recorded De Falla's, *El Amor Brujo* and Mahler's, *Eines Fahrenden Gesellen*. Koussevitzky presented her to a Boston audience in 1946 even as he had presented Dorothy Maynor some years before. She was guest soloist for the annual spring concert of the Yale University Glee Club.

Brown, Anne Wiggins, soprano, born in Baltimore, Md. Education: Institute of Musical Art, Juilliard Opera School, Morgan College, Columbia University. Pupil of Licia Dunham of the Institute. She created the role of "Bess" in *Porgy and Bess*, and sang the leading role in Ravel's, *L'Heure Espagnole* at the Juilliard Opera School in 1939. Soloist with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra at the Lewisohn Stadium 1936, 1937, 1939, 1940; Hollywood Bowl, 1937 and the St. Louis Municipal Opera, 1938. Radio: Guest soloist on the General Motors Hour, Magic Key and the Rudy Vallee program. Signed contract or a complete European season of recitals beginning in the Fall of 1946, having turned down a contract by the producers of *Porgy and Bess* in order to resume her concert career.

Burleigh, Harry T., baritone, composer, arranger, was born in Erie, Pa., December 2, 1886. Education: National Conservatory, New York City. Among his teachers was Antonin Dvorak. Was awarded the Spingarn Medal for the highest achievement by American Negro citizen. Honorary degrees: M.A., Howard University; D. Mus., Howard University. Choir director and organist of numerous western churches. Soloist for fifty-three years at St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City. Has toured the United States and foreign countries appearing before many distinguished audiences. He has composed or arranged more than 50 spirituals and made concert arrangements of more than 100 others. Among the 250 or more songs that he has composed are: *Victor, In the Woods of Fingara, Saracen Songs, Passionale Cycle, Gray Wolf, Sailor's Wife, Three Shadows, Fragments, The Young Warrior, Ethiopia Saluting the Colors, Come With Me, The Corn Song, The Trees Have Grown So, Bring Her Again to Me. The Spring, My Dear, is no Longer Spring, One Year, The Prayer, The Glory of the Day Was in Her Face.*

Davis, Ellabelle, soprano, born in New Rochelle, N. Y. After a spectacular concert tour was offered the title role of *Aida* for the Opera Nacionale in Mexico City for the summer of 1946. Sang with the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra under the baton of Sevitzky. Critics acclaim her voice one of the finest.

Duncan, Todd, baritone, born in Danville, Ky., 1904. Education: Butler College; M.A., Columbia University. Pupil of Frank Bibb and others. Has made concert tours in the United States, Canada, England, South America and Australia. Created the role of "Porgy" in *Porgy and Bess;* sang in *Sun Never Sets* in the Drury Lane Theatre, London and appeared in the operatic roles *Tanio*, and *Escamillo*, at the New York City Civic Center. Has sung with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. One of the crowning events of the 1945-46 season was Duncan's rendition of the baritone part found in the Beethoven Ninth Symphony, with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. His accompanist is William Duncan Allen.

Evanti, Lillian, soprano, born in Washington, D. C. Made her debut in opera at Nice, France. Has appeared in opera and concert in the United States, Europe, South America and Cuba. Sang role of *Violetta* in the Watergate performance of the National Negro Opera Company's, *La Traviata*.

Everett, Charles, tenor, native of New York City. Sings widely in the United States. Has had successful appearances at Town Hall, Carnegie Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

Greene, Victor Hugo, baritone, born in Atlanta, Ga. Education: Atlanta University, Boston University Conservatory of Music. Played in *Shuffle Along*. Toured Europe, Australia and South America. Made his debut in New York in 1939. Sang in *Green Pastures* and in *Cabin in the Sky*. Has played in motion pictures.

Hayes, Roland, tenor, born in Curryville, Ga., June 3, 1887. Education: Fisk University; extension course Harvard University. Pupil of W. Arthur Calhoun; Jennie A. Robinson, Fisk University; Arthur J. Hubbard, Boston, Mass., eight and one-half years. Also studied in Europe, 1930, under Miss Ira Aldridge, Victor Beigel, Sir George Henschel, Dr. Theo. Lierhammer. Mus. D., Fisk University, 1932; Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, 1939. Conducted his own concert tour of the United States 1916-20, and went to Europe in 1921 studying and conducting concert tours. Command performances before George V of England April, 1921 and before Queen Mother Maria Christina of Spain, 1925. Soloist with orchestras in Berlin, Collonne, Paris, Amsterdam, Vienna. Has toured the United States singing with the Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit and New York Symphony Orchestras. Has won wide recognition for interpretation of the classics and of traditional Negro melodies.

Jarboro, Caterina, soprano, born in Wilmington, N. C., July 24, 1903. Education: St. Thomas' Catholic School, Gregory Normal School. Appeared in *Shuffle Along* in 1921. Went to Paris in 1926 for study. Studied also in Italy under Nino Campino. Made her debut in 1930 in *Aida* at the Puccini Theatre in Milan. Has also appeared as "Selika" in *L'Africaine*.

McFarlin, Pruith, tenor, native of Florida. Education: Southern University, Baton Rouge, La. Studied with La Forge and at the Rochester School of Music. Taught at Piney Woods, Mississippi. Sings regularly on the Columbia Broadcasting System's programs and has appeared widely in concert in the United States.

Pankey, Aubrey, baritone, reared in Pittsburgh, Pa. Was a boy soprano soloist with the Holy Cross Choir. Education: Studied at Hampton Institute with R. Nathaniel Dett; at the Oberlin Conservatory of Music; at the Hubbard Studios; the Boston College of Music and at Neue Wiener Konzervatorium. Private teachers were Thiedor Lierhammer in Vienna, Oscar Daniel and Charles Panzera in Paris, John Alan Haughton in New York. In 1930 he made a tour of the principal cities of Europe and Africa as well as the United States and South American countries. Was sent on a good will tour of South America just before World War II. So successful was he that he was asked to make a second tour.

Rahn, Muriel, soprano, born in Boston, reared in New York City and at Tuskegee Institute. Education: Tuskegee Institute, Atlanta University and the Conservatory of the University of Nebraska. She is a member of the opera group of the National Orchestral Association of New York and has alternated a musical career with that of the stage. Sang the leading role in Billy Rose's *Carmen Jones*, alternating with Muriel Smith. Has toured the United States extensively. Was a teacher in several schools and colleges before appearing on Broadway. She has also sung in Eva Jessye's Choir, Lew Leslie's *Blackbirds*, Connie's *Hot Chocolates*, and in Paris at "Chez La Dubarry." Other achievements have been a successful concert in Carnegie Chamber Music Hall, a role in the National Orchestral Association presentation of Mozart's *Abduction from the Seraglio*, a featured role in the Lunt-Fontaine Show, *The Pirate*, and an ovation at Grant Park where 15,000 people heard her sing with the Grant Park Orchestra, August 12, 1943 under the baton of Leo Bolognini.

Richardson, Mayme, soprano, born in Saginaw, Mich. Education: Detroit Conservatory of Music. Made her debut at Steinway Hall, New York City. Studied opera under Pompolio Maltestase and coached under Julius Ronkeski. Sang the title role of *Aida* under the baton of Fritz Mahler in August, 1945.

Robeson, Paul, baritone, born in Princeton, N. J., April 9, 1898. A.B., Rutgers College, 1919; M. A. Rutgers University, 1932; LL.B., Columbia University, 1923. Honorary degree, L.H.D., Hamilton College, 1940; Morehouse College, 1943 and Howard University, 1945. Phi Beta Kappa, Rutgers. Toured the United States and Europe as both a stage and concert artist. He is equally at home in the music of the old masters, the songs of popular composers or the spirituals of the Negro. It is felt that more than anyone else he is bringing fine music to the people.

White, Portia, contralto, born in Truro, Nova Scotia, Canada, June 24, 1917. Education: public school in Halifax; Halifax Conservatory of Music (on scholarship); Dalhousie University. After concert appearance in Toronto, 1941, a trust fund was created in Halifax by public support to enable her to further her career. Made Town Hall, New York, debut in March, 1944 and was hailed as the Marian Anderson of Canada. Her repertoire includes opera, Lieder, ballads and spirituals. Chosen in February, 1945 by the National Film Board of Canada to appear in motion picture, "This is Canada."

Williams, Camilla, soprano, born in Danville, Va. Twice winner of the Marian Anderson Award of $1,000. Signed with RCA Victor as an exclusive Victor recording artist. Operatic debut in title of *Madame Butterfly* with the New York City Civic Center Opera Company, May 15, 1946. Graduated from Virginia State College. Taught in the Public Schools of Danville, Va. Also won the Philadelphia Orchestra Youth Concert Audition.

EDUCATORS-ARTISTS-ARRANGERS-COMPOSERS

A large number of competent Negro musicians, virtuosi and composers are to be found first in the field of education. This section contains that group. After each individual's name his specialty is indicated. Included here are also persons whose whole time is devoted to composition.

Allen, William Duncan, pianist-accompanist, born in Portland, Ore., December 15, 1908. Education: Mus. B., Oberlin Conservatory of Music, 1928; Mus. M., 1936. Further study in London with Egon Petri, 1936 and in Zackopane, Poland, 1937 and 1939. Instructor of Piano at Howard University, 1929-35; Fisk University, 1936-43. Since 1936 has been accompanist to Todd Duncan. Has given many recitals in the United States and abroad.

Anderson, Walter, composer, organist, born May 12, 1915 at Zanesville, Ohio. Education: Studied organ, piano theory with William Bailey, Capital University, Columbus, Ohio; Mus. B., Oberlin Conservatory of Music. In 1938 became an Associate, American Guild of Organists. Member, Pi Kappa Lambda. During the year 1937-38 accompanied Catherine Van Buren, soprano. From 1939 to 1942, Instructor of Music at Kentucky State College. In 1942, was associated with Karamu House, Cleveland, Ohio. In 1941, won the Bartol Scholarship for study at the Berkshires.

Blanton, Carol, pianist, is a native of Denmark, S. C. Education: Spelman College. Studied piano under Kemper Harreld, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.; and at the Institute of Musical Art. She also studied piano under Epstein for three years and took summer work with Gorodnitzki and Hazel Harrison. Received the M. Mus. degree from the Institute of Musical Art on a General Education Board Fellowship. Repeated, under Friedburg. Was on the faculty of Dillard University 1936-46. Became a member of the faculty of Hampton Institute in 1946.

Bonds, Margaret, pianist, composer. Reared in Chicago, Ill. Mus. B. from Northwestern University. Guest soloist at the Chicago World's Fair. Female part of duo-piano team playing concerts over the United States.

Brown, J. Harold, composer, choral conductor. Native of Florida. Education: Florida Normal and Industrial School, St. Augustine, 1919. A.B. in Music, Fisk University, 1923. In 1926, attended Kansas City Conservatory. Received the M.A. degree in Composition from Indiana University, 1931. Director of Music at Attucks High School and at Florida A. and M. College, Tallahassee, Fla. At present, Director of Music, Southern University. Was winner of the Wanamaker Musical Composition Contest in 1927, 1928, 1930, 1931 and the Harmon Award in 1929. In 1926, he won a $200 scholarship from the National Association of Negro Musicians.

Charlton, Melville, organist, composer, born in New York City, August 26, 1880. Education: Studied piano under Mrs. Virginia Hunt Scott, later E. B. Kinney, a pupil of Antonin Dvorak; organ and composition under Charles Heinroth at the National Conservatory of Music of America; Musical History under Henry T. Finck; work at the College of the City of New York. Mus. D. conferred by Howard University, 1924. Organist and Musical Director, the Temple of Covenant, 1914-24; Temple Eman-El; Union Theological Seminary, 1911—present; St. Phillip's Episcopal Church. Became an Associate of the American Guild of Organists, 1915. Has written compositions for piano and organ, among which is *Poems Erotique*.

Charlton, Rudolph von, pianist, born in Norfolk, Va. Education: Hampton Institute with R. Nathaniel Dett; the Juilliard School of Music; the New England Conservatory and the M. Mus. degree from the University of Michigan. Studied with Percy Grainger, Dett, John Orth, Alton Jones, Matthay and Joseph Brinkman. A member of the faculty of Florida A. and M. College in Tallahassee, Florida until 1942. Director of Music, Prairie View University, Prairie View, Texas.

Clark, Edgar Rogie, composer, singer. Education: Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.; DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois; Chicago Musical College; A.M., Columbia University. Studied with Charles Hackett of the Juilliard School of Music. Member of ASCAP. Published Anthology, *Negro Art Songs*, first volume of its kind.

Dawson, William Levi, composer, conductor, born in Anniston, Ala. September 23, 1897. Education: Tuskegee Institute; Washburn Institute, Topeka, Kansas; Mus. B., Horner Institute of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo.; Mus. M., American Conservatory of Music, Chicago. Director of Music in Topeka and Kansas City, and for three years was first trombonist with the Chicago Civic Orchestra. Conducted a band at the Century of Progress Fair in Chicago in 1933. Since 1931, has been Director of Music at Tuskegee Institute and Director of the Tuskegee Institute Choir which has appeared at the International Music Hall, New York City; at the Hall of Fame, New York City on the occasion of the unveiling of the bust of Booker T. Washington, May 23, 1946; at Constitution Hall, Washington, D. C., in a benefit concert for the United Negro College Fund; and in concerts in the East and South. It is also frequently heard on nation-wide radio broadcasts. His compositions include: *Negro Folk Symphony No. 1*, 1931 and *Scherzo*, 1930, for orchestra; *Out in the Fields*, *Ain'-a-That Good News*, (a capella); *Break, Break, Break*, (with orchestra) for chorus; *Trio in A*, (violin, cello, piano); *Sonata in A*, (violin and piano), chamber music.

DeBose, Tourgee, pianist, educated at Fisk University; Oberlin College; Juilliard School of Music; L'Ecole Normale de Musique, Paris. Since 1919, Head of the Department of Music at Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama. Was guest Professor of Music at Southern University, Baton Rouge, La., during 1945-46. He received favorable mention as a performer by *Musical America*, *The Etude*, *La Monde Musicale*, and other periodicals. He is known as a Chopin interpreter.

Dett, Robert Nathaniel, composer, born in Drummondsville, Ont. Canada, October 11, 1882. Education: Student of Oliver Willis Halsted Conservatory of Music, Lockport, N. Y., 1901-03; Mus. B., Oberlin Conservatory of Music, Oberlin, Ohio, 1908; studied at Columbia University, University of Pennsylvania, American Conservatory of Music, Chicago; Harvard University. Mus. D., Howard University, 1924; Oberlin College, 1926; Mus. M., Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1931.

Was church and social pianist, Niagara Falls, N. Y., 1898-1903; Director of Music, Lane College, Jackson, Tenn., 1908-11; Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Mo., 1911-13; Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., 1913-35. He took the Hampton choir on a tour of the United States, Canada and seven countries in Europe. Was Director of the American Choir, Station WHAM, 1930-31; Director, Negro Community Chorus, 1933-34; Director of Music, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C., 1937-42.

As a concert pianist, director, lecturer, arranger, Dr. Dett was equally at home, but it is as a composer that he is most famed. His *Listen to the Lambs*, *Barcarolle*, and *Juba Dance* are integral parts of American music. He was the first American to utilize Negro folk tunes for classic development. Among his other compositions are: *Album of a Heart,* (verse) 1911; *The Magnolia Suite,* (piano); *In the Bottoms,* (suite for piano); *The Chariot Jubilee,* (motets); *America the Beautiful,* (chorus); *Enchantment Suite,* (for piano); *Cinnamon Grove Suite, Tropic Winter Suite, The Ordering of Moses,* (oratorio for 4 part mixed chorus and orchestra); *Bible Vignettes,* (piano). Of his *Bible Vignettes* one critic, Glenn Dillard Gunn, says, "These are highly original, and without parallel in the literature of the piano. They have melodic beauty and rich harmonic variety and exploit the technical resources of the instrument." While Director of Music at Bennett College, the anthems and motets that he composed for women's voices mark a milestone in his years of composition. The harmonic idiom is a new one for him, although it is quite possible to notice the retention of the old melodic line which is associated with Dett. Some of his ideas are quite startling. Among these compositions are, *When I Survey the Wondrous Cross, So We'll Go No More A'Roving, The Lamb,* and *ASCAP.* It may well be that the future will rest Dett's fame on his latest works as time and choral directors use them more frequently.

He received the Bowdoin prize, Harvard University, 1921, for the essay, *The Emancipation of Negro Music;* Francis Bott Prize, Harvard, 1920, for Motet on a Negro Motive; *Don't Be Weary, Traveler;* the Harmon first award for creative achievement in music, 1927. Author and editor of *Religious Folk Songs of the Negro* and the Dett, *Collection of Negro Spirituals,* (4 books); organized Musical Art Society of Hampton Institute (800 members), 1919.

Dr. Dett spent the last days of his life as a Musical Director for the United Service Organization. Americans, both white and Negroes, flocked to his community sings, concerts and lectures. They sang together, listened together, played together. As a result, new understandings and comradeships among both civilians and soldiers were established.

Dr. Dett was a past-President of the National Association of Negro Musicians, a member of ASCAP, The Music Teachers' National Association, the National Association of American Publishers and Composers and Conductors and the Association of Music Teachers in Negro Schools. He died at Battle Creek, Michigan, October 2, 1943.

Diton, Carl, composer, born in Philadelphia, Pa., October 30, 1886. Protege of Azalia Hackley. Education: Studied at the University of Pennsylvania and at Munich. Taught at Paine College, 1911-14; Wiley College, 1914-15; and at Talladega College, 1915-18. Opened his own studio in Philadelphia and later in New York City. Harmon Award in 1929. In 1930, studied voice in the Graduate Department of Juilliard School of Music. Songs are published by Schirmer. At present conducts a studio in New York City.

Francois, Clarens, pianist, composer. Education: B. Mus. Northwestern University; graduate study at the University of Southern California at Los Angeles. He has taught at Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.; in the Public School system, Dayton, Ohio; and served as Bandmaster for the Navy at Chapel Hill, N. C., during World War II.

Fuller, O. Anderson, Jr., composer, pianist, born September 20, 1904 at Bishop College, Marshall, Tex., where his father was Dean. Education: Bishop College; New England Conservatory of Music; University of Iowa, where he received the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. Has been Director of Music at A. and T. College, Greensboro, N. C.; Prairie View, Tex., and is Dean of Music at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo.

Gatlin, F. Nathaniel, clarinetist, born at Gary, Ind. Education: Oberlin Conservatory of Music; Northwestern University, where he received the M.A. degree. Studied under George Waln and DeCaprio. Played for Enesco, Kryl, Kinder and Stokowski. Has taught at Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C. Head of the Band Department at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo., 1946.

Graham, Shirley, composer. Education: Oberlin Conservatory of Music, 1934; Howard University; Institute of Musical Art and Parisian Study. Has alternated her time between music and literature, trained and conducted community choruses and orchestras and was supervisor of the Negro unit of the Federal Theatre which brought the *Swing Mikado* to Broadway; opera, *Tom Tom*, presented in Cleveland at the Municipal Stadium, July 3, 1933. Located in New York City, devoting her time to writing.

Hagan, Helen, pianist, born in Portsmouth, N. H., 1893. Education: Won the Lockwood Scholarship at the Yale University School of Music in 1911. Graduation soloist with the New Haven Symphony Orchestra. In 1912 was awarded the Samuel Simmons Sanford Fellowship for two years study abroad; Schola Cantorum with Selva and D'Indy. Has been on the faculty of Bishop College.

Hall, Frederick D., composer, conductor, arranger, born in Atlanta, Ga., December 14, 1896. Education: Morehouse College; Chicago Musical College, B. Mus.; Columbia University, M.A. Fellowship, Royal Anthropological Institute; Licentiate, Royal Academy of Music; Rosenwald Fellow; General Education Board Fellow; Research Grant from the Phelps Stokes Fund. Formerly Director of Music, Clark College, Atlanta, Ga., and Dillard University, New Orleans, La. Director of Music, Alabama State Teachers' College, Montgomery, Ala.

Harreld, Josephine, pianist, born December 11, 1914 in Atlanta, Ga. First lessons were with her father on the violin; piano lessons with Hazel Harrison. Education: Spelman College; Juilliard School of Music; the Institute of Musical Art; Pupil of Gordon Stanley; piano study at the Mozarteum Academy at Salzburg; M. A., Radcliffe College. Has given a number of concerts in the United States. Lives in Detroit, Michigan.

Harreld, Kemper, violinist, born in Muncie, Ind., January 31, 1885. Education: Chicago Musical College; Sherwood Music School; Frederickson Violin School, Chicago; Sterns Conservatory, Berlin, 1914. Serves on the faculty of Morehouse College and of Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga. Conducted Atlanta University chorus on a coast-to-coast broadcast in the Spring of 1946.

Harris, Charles J., pianist, formerly accompanist for Roland Hayes and author of a book describing experiences as accompanist with Mr. Hayes. Education: Chicago College of Music; New England Conservatory of Music; Boston University. Holds position on the faculty of the State A. and M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.

Harrison, Hazel, pianist, born in La Porte, Ind. Studied with Victor Heinz in Berlin; then with Ferruccio Busoni. Played with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. Studied with Percy Grainger after another year in Europe. Taught at Tuskegee Institute. Is a member of the faculty of Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Howard, Wesley, violinist, born in Springfield, Ohio. Reared in Richmond, Ind. Education: New England Conservatory of Music; pupil of Winternitz. During World War I was soloist with the 809th Infantry Band in France. Studied at L'Ecole Normale and played first violin in the Orchestra Symphonique. Was a member of the Howard University faculty for six years; taught one year at Talladega College; was on the faculty of Hampton Institute, until the Music School was discontinued, then became a member of the faculty of Virginia State College. Received the degree of Licentiate and Fellow of Trinity College, London.

James, Willis Laurence, composer, violinist, singer, conductor, born in Montgomery, Ala. Has held positions at Leland College, Baker, La.; Alabama State Teachers College, Montgomery, Ala.; Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Ga.; Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga. His compositions for voice and chorus have been performed by the NBC and CBS networks; on the Firestone Hour, Bell Telephone Hour and the Contented Hour. He is an authority on Negro Folk Music.

Jones, Louis Vaught, violinist, born in Cleveland, Ohio. Education: Studied with Joseph Balas; at the New England Conservatory with Felix Winternitz; post-graduate work at the University of Michigan. Has given numerous concerts in Europe and the United States. Further study with Solloway in Budapest and Darrieux in Paris. Since 1930 has been head of the Violin Department, Howard University.

Kerr, Thomas, composer, pianist. Associate Professor of Music at Howard University. With Sylvia Olden-Lee, forms a popular team of duo-pianists.

Lawson, Warner, pianist, choral director, born in Hartford, Conn. Education: Early music study with his parents; A.B., Fisk University and Yale University; M.A., Harvard University; piano study with Arthur Schnabel in Germany. Has served on the faculty of A. and T. College, Greensboro, N. C., and at Fisk University. In 1942, was called to Howard University as Dean of the School of Music; 1943-44, Advisor to Lilla Belle Pitts, then President of the Music Educators National Conference in St. Louis. Since 1943, President of the Association of Music Teachers in Negro Schools.

Margetson, Edward H., composer, organist, born December 31, 1891, St. Kitts, British West Indies. Education: Columbia University. Associate of the American Guild of Organists. Specialty is Caribbean Sea songs. Organist and choirmaster of the Church of the Crucifixion, New York City. Among his compositions are: *Ronda Caprice*, for full orchestra; *Echoes of the Caribbean; Ballade Valse Serenade*, for cello; and pieces for violin, piano, organ and chorus.

Mayo, T. Curtis, organist, born in Washington, D. C. Education: Oberlin Conservatory of Music, M. Mus.; Associate of the American Guild of Organists. Taught at LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn., St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N. C.

McCabe, Charles, violinist, native of Philadelphia, Pa. Teaches in the city of Philadelphia, and gives concerts in all parts of the United States.

Miller, James, pianist, arranger, born in Pittsburgh, Pa., August 30, 1907. Education: Carnegie Institute of Technology, M. Mus.; first Negro music teacher in the public school system of Pittsburgh. Has given recitals in the United States and published arrangements for spirituals. Organist, Bethesda Church, Pittsburgh. Member of the Superintendent's Advisory Council and of the Curriculum Committee for Inter-cultural Education in the Public Schools of Pittsburgh.

Nickerson, Camille, composer and singer of Creole songs, born in New Orleans, La. Education: Mus. B., Oberlin Conservatory of Music; studied at Columbia University; at the Institute of Musical Art. Instructor at Howard University. Author of *Five Creole Songs* published by the Boston Music Company. In 1944, gave a recital of Creole and Negro songs at the New York Times Hall, accompanying herself on the piano and the guitar. The Creole songs were sung in the Louisiana French patois, after being explained first in English. Past-President of the National Association of Negro Musicians.

Olden-Lee, Sylvia, pianist-accompanist, coach. Education: Studied at Howard University with Allen and Cohen; at Oberlin Conservatory with Frank Shaw. Taught at Talladega College and at Dillard University. Joint recitals with Carol Brice, Paul Robeson; duo-piano concerts with Thomas Kerr of Howard University. Studied with Wittgenstein. Married Everett Lee whom she accompanies.

Price, Florence B., composer, pianist, born in Little Rock, Ark., 1888. Education: Chicago Teacher's College; University of Chicago; Chicago Musical College; New England Conservatory of Music; American Conservatory of Music. Winner of Wanamaker prize in Symphony and Piano Compositions. Member of ASCAP, Chicago Club of Women Organists, Chicago Music Association, National Association of Negro Musicians, National Association for American Composers and Conductors.

Schuyler, Philippa Duke, composer, pianist, born August 2, 1931, in New York City. Because she had won the 8th consecutive prize in the New York Philharmonic Society's notebook contest for young people, Philippa at the age of eleven was barred from further participation in the contest. This was the first time in the history of the contest that a child was barred because of brilliance. In the annual tournament for piano students held by the National Guild of Piano Teachers, Philippa was awarded, for the 8th consecutive time, the highest honors, a gold star, for her repertoire of twenty-one pieces and the mark of "superior." She first played for the Guild when she was four years old. She had at that time composed a dozen scales, 10 pieces, and knew by memory many compositions by the masters. Just before her fourth birthday she played Schumann and Mozart on two large radio hook-ups.

She has appeared at the Lewisohn Stadium concert with the Philharmonic Orchestra in the dual role of composer-pianist. The orchestra played one of her compositions and then accompanied her in the St.-Saens, *Concerto in G Minor*. A child prodigy, Miss Schuyler is developing into a first class musician.

Still, William Grant, composer, born in Woodville, Miss., May 11, 1895. Education: Wilberforce University; Oberlin Conservatory of Music; New England Conservatory. Received honorary degrees as follows: Mus. M., Wilberforce University, 1936 and Mus. D., Howard University. Player of violin, cello and oboe in orchestra, Columbus, Ohio, 1915. Later arranged for well known orchestras and arranged and directed on the Deep River Hour on Station WOR; composer of theme song for the New York World's Fair; conducted his own compositions as guest conductor, Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, 1936. Received 2nd Harmon Award for the year's greatest contribution to American Negro culture; Guggenheim Fellowship, 1934; Rosenwald Fellowship, 1939.

Among his compositions for full orchestra are: *Darker America; Afro-American Symphony; Symphony in G Minor; Dismal Swamp*. For orchestra, chorus, narrator and contralto, *And They Lynched Him on a Tree*. For small orchestra, *Scherzo; Summerland; Blues; From the Black Belt; Rising Tide*. For piano solo, *Three Visions; Quit Dat Fool'nish; A Deserted Plantation; Seven Traceries*. For voice and piano, *Winter's Approach; Breath of a Rose; Twelve Negro Spirituals; Rising Tide*. For chorus, *Three Negro Spirituals*. For ballet, *La Guiablesse; Sahdji; Lenox Avenue*. Ballet, *Miss Sally's Party*. Orchestra suite, *Pages from Negro History*. Orchestra and baritone soloist, *Plain-Chant for America*. Operas, *Troubled Island; A Bayou Legend; A Southern Interlude*.

Suthern, II, Orrin Clayton, organist-conductor, born Renovo, Pa., October 11, 1912. Education: Western Reserve University; Cleveland Institute of Music; Northwestern University; Columbia University; student of Edwin Arthur Kraft and of Carl Weinrich, both Fellows of the American Guild of Organists; History under Lang of Columbia University. Has given concerts in all parts of the United States. Taught at Tuskegee Institute, 1934-39; Head of the Department of Music, Florida A. and M. College, Tallahassee, Fla., 1940-42; Head, Department of Music, Bennett College, 1942-45; Head, Department of Music, Dillard University since 1945.

Suthern first began to attract attention as the youthful organist of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church in Cleveland, Ohio, where his father was rector. When a student at Western Reserve University he entered and won a contest under the auspices of the Northern Ohio Chapter of the American Guild of Organists. For this achievement he was awarded a certificate and a recital at the Youngstown, Ohio, convention of the Guild. No Negro organist had ever been so honored. Through his affiliation with Western Reserve University many other musical and organistic honors were extended to him. Arthur Quimby, then Curator of Music at the Cleveland Museum of Art invited him to play four Sunday evening recitals on the great Museum organ. Later the mighty instrument at Severance Hall, home of the Cleveland Orchestra, was to respond to his touch. When the family moved to Chicago in 1933 his father became rector of St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, then a mission, and Suthern took over the duties of organist and master of the choristers. After playing a number of small engagements, Suthern's big opportunity came when an invitation to play the mammoth Skinner organ in Rockefeller Chapel was extended him by the University of Chicago officials. As a result of this engagement, succeeding years brought annual invitations to play at the chapel.

During the 1945-46 season two new firsts have been added to the Suthern record. In December, 1945, he was soloist with the New Orleans Symphony Orchestra, the first time a Negro instrumentalist had played with a white southern orchestra; and on February 17, 1946, he was the first Negro organist to perform over a CBS network.

Thomas, Carlotta, organist, composer, born in New York City. Protege of Harry Burleigh. Education: Studied languages and music at Columbia University; piano at Chatauqua and Summer School under Arnet Hutcherson; also studied under many private teachers. Became the first Negro woman to pass the academic examination to become an Associate of the American Guild of Organists. Composer of numerous published choruses and is a recitalist of distinction.

Tibbs, Roy Wilfred, organist, pianist, born August 20, 1888, Hamilton, Ohio. Education: Fisk University, 1908; Mus. B., Oberlin Conservatory of Music, 1912; Mus. M., 1919, Oberlin Conservatory of Music, being the first person to receive that degree from that institution Studied in Paris with Isadore Philippe and in Vienna. Member Pi Kappa Lambda and American Guild of Organists. Was Professor of Piano and Organist at the Howard University Conservatory of Music since 1912. Appeared as soloist with the National Symphony Orchestra under Kindler. Died at his home in Washington, D. C., April, 1944.

Walker, George, pianist, born in Washington, D. C. Education: Oberlin Conservatory of Music; Scholarship to Curtis School of Music, Philadelphia, in piano, under Serkin and composition under Scalero; studied with Piatigorsky, Primrose, and Menctti. Debut recital in Town Hall. Soloist with Ormandy and the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra; soloist with the American Youth Orchestra under the baton of Dean Dixon.

White, Clarence Cameron, composer, violinist, born Clarkville, Tenn., August 10, 1880. Education: Howard University, 1894-95; Oberlin Conservatory of Music 1896-1901. Studied in London under Samuel Coleridge-Taylor 1908-11 and under Raoul Lapana, Paris, on a Rosenwald Fellowship, 1930-33. Student Juilliard School of Music, 1940. Played in the String Players Club under the direction of Coleridge-Taylor. Honorary degree, M. A., Atlanta University, 1928; Mus. D., Wilberforce University, 1933. Was teacher in the Public Schools, Washington, D. C., 1902-05; private studio, Boston, 1912-23; Director, Music, West Virginia State College, 1924-30, Hampton Institute, 1932-35; Music Specialist, National Recreation Association, New York City, 1937-41. Awarded Harmon Foundation Award, 1928; Rosenwald Fellow Award, 1930; David Bispham Award for Opera, 1933. Among his compositions are *Ouanga* (opera in 4 acts), 1932; also composed numerous pieces for violin and pianoforte, for orchestra, band, pianoforte, organ, voice, and violin technic; composed many Negro spirituals, including *Bandanna Sketches, From the Cotton Fields, Cabin Memories.*

Winkfield, Clyde, pianist, born June 9, 1918. Education: Chicago Musical College and the University of Chicago. Winner of the Civic Achievement Award of the City of Chicago. Rosenwald Fellow for 1941. Pupil of Treshansky. Soloist with the Detroit Civic Orchestra; Pennsylvania Orchestra; American Concert Orchestra and the National Youth Symphony Orchestra.

Work, John W., composer. Education: Fisk University; Yale University, Mus. B.; Columbia University, M. A.; Institute of Musical Art. Published compositions for voice (solos, motets, adaptations from Negro folksongs; piano solo, *Sassafras; Appalachia* (suite of three pieces); *Scuppernong*, (suite of three pieces). Articles published; *The School Chorus, New Educational Magazine; Sweet Chariot Goes to Church, Epworth Highroad; Modern Music and Its Implications to the Lay Listener, The Dillard Arts Quarterly; Plantation Meistersinger, Motive, A New American Musical Form, The Music Quarterly.* Published in 1940, *American Folk Songs.* His festival chorus, *The Singers*, won first prize in competition held by the Fellowship of American Composers when performed May 9, 1946, by the Michigan State Chorus and the Detroit Symphony. Has been commissioned to write an orchestra suite for the Saratoga Music Festival.

CONDUCTORS

Dixon, (Charles) Dean, conductor of symphony orchestras, born January 10, 1915, New York City. Education: Juilliard School of Music; further study at Columbia University. Has conducted the League of Music Lovers Chamber Orchestra at a Town Hall recital; the NBC Symphony Orchestra; the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra at the Lewisohn Stadium, New York City; the National Youth Administration Orchestra. In 1939, conducted the music for *John Henry*, by Roark Bradford and Jacques Wolfe, starring Paul Robeson and was Musical Director of the Shoestring Opera Company; conductor of choruses, including the American Peoples Chorus, the Long Island University Chorus and the Dean Dixon Chorus. During the war, was a member of the Music

War Council, which judged current war songs. Conducts music appreciation courses for children and adults in New York City; Newark, N. J.; Jamaica, L. I. Conductor of the American Youth Orchestra, made up of young people of the Negro and white races, which made a successful debut at Carnegie Hall on December 16, 1945, and gave the first performance of Ulysses Kay's, *Dance Calinda*, on January 10, 1946. Lectures extensively. Has published articles in *The Musical Courier*, *Music World Almanac* and *The Music Educators Journal*.

Dunbar, Rudolph, clarinetist, born in 1910, in British Guiana. Education: Studied at the Institute of Musical Art, New York City; has studied also in Paris and in Leipzig. Has conducted the Liverpool Symphony Orchestra; the National Symphony Orchestra in Royal Albert Hall, London, presenting William Grant Still's, *Plain Chant for America*, having previously presented Still's *Afro-American Symphony* to British concert goers. He was the first Negro to conduct the London Philharmonic Orchestra and the first since Samuel Coleridge-Taylor to conduct the British Symphony Orchestra; Guest conductor, Hollywood Bowl, 1946. Has published a text book on clarinet playing. Makes his home in London.

Johnson, Hall, choral conductor, arranger, composer, born March 12, 1888, at Athens, Ga. Education: Knox Institute, Athens, Ga.; Atlanta University; Allen University, Columbia, S. C.; University of Pennsylvania, musical course, 1910; Hahn School of Music, Philadelphia; Institute of Musical Art, New York City, 1923; studied theory of music, violin, piano and other instruments; specialized in composition; has made many transcriptions of Negro spirituals. Organized Hall Johnson Choir, December, 1925, which has toured the United States and furnished background music for many musical comedies and plays. Composed *Coophered*, an operetta, a portrayal of Negro life in the Southland, and has arranged many spirituals in novel form for vocal performance. His chorus has appeared at Lewisohn Stadium concerts and over the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Thomas, A. Jack, teacher-composer, with studios in New York City and Baltimore, born April 16, 1884, Pittsburgh, Pa. Education: National Conservatory of Music, Manila, P. I.; B. M., Institute of Musical Art, 1914. Bandmaster, 10th U. S. Cavalry; Bandmaster, AEF; Director of Music, Morgan College, 1924-1927. In February, 1946 directed the all-white Baltimore Symphony Orchestra. Featured on the concert was his own composition, "Etude en Noire."

THE NEGRO IN OPERA

The following materials indicate chronologically the appearance of the Negro in Grand Opera:

1872	The Colored Opera Company, John Epista, Musical Director, produced Eichberg's, "The Doctor of Alcantara," in Lincoln Hall, Washington, D. C., February 3 and 4.
1873	Same company at the Horticultural Hall, Philadelphia.
1876	Juvenile Operetta Company, Nellie Brown Mitchell, Producer, at Boston, May 16 and 17.
1896	Bayreuth Festival, Austria, Luranah Aldridge participated in the Festival prior to her singing at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden in London.
1903	All Negro "Aida," Mme. Estelle Pinckney Clough, "Aida"; George L. Ruffin, Amonasro"; Theodore Drury, "Rhadames"; New York City, May 11.
1912	Wellington Musical Union, New Zealand, Hamilton Hodges, baritone, sang "Mephistopheles" of Gounod's, "Faust."
1926	Mme. Charlotte Wallace Murray, Mezzo-soprano, sang the "Queen" in "Deep River" of Harling and "Katinka" in "Mikado" of Gilbert and Sullivan, Institute of Musical Art, New York City.
1930	Mme. Lillian Evanti sang "Lakme" and "Violetta" from "La Traviata" at Nice, Turin, Palerno, Milan.
1930	Mme. Caterina Jarboro, soprano, sang "Aida" in Milan, Piccinni Theatre.
1933	Mme. Caterina Jarboro and Jules Bledsoe, baritone, sang "Aida" and "Amonasro" respectively with the Chicago Opera Company at the Hippodrome, New York City, July 22.
1934	Edward Matthews, baritone, sang leading role in Virgil Thomson's "Four Saints in Three Acts" in New York City.
1941	National Negro Opera Company, Mary Cardwell Dawson, Director and Frederick Vajda, conducting, produced "Aida" at the Syria Mosque, Pittsburgh, Pa.
1942	National Negro Opera Company produced "La Traviata." Mme. Lillian Evanti sang role of "Violetta" at the Watergate, Washington, D. C.

1942 Muriel Rahn appeared with all-white cast in Mozart's "Abduction from the Seraglio," under the baton of Leon Barzin. Produced by the National Orchestral Association, Carnegie Hall, New York City.

1946 Todd Duncan, baritone, sang roles of "Tanio" from "I Pagliacci" and "Escamillo" from "Carmen" with all-white opera company, at the New York City Civic Center.

Camilla Williams, soprano, sang title role in "Mme. Butterfly," New York City Civic Center, May 15.

Ellabelle Davis sang title role of "Aida" for Opera Nacionale, Mexico City, in July.

MUSICAL ORGANIZATIONS OF DISTINCTION

College Choirs

The best choral music comes not from the churches, where it is expected that the talent of the Negro for singing would be most clearly and unsophisticatedly manifested; but from schools, where, for the most part musical ability is uncovered, trained, and introduced to the public. Choral music in churches is at an all time low due to many factors, chief among which is the evident reluctance of ministers and trustee boards to spend money on the music of the church. Consequently, young people who are prepared to take positions as "Ministers of Music" do not care to accept such positions. Thus, the finest choral music is found where there is the best financial reward, namely, in the schools and colleges.

The choirs of selected schools have been heard a number of times recently as substitutes for the "Wings Over Jordan" ensemble, which was on tour abroad as part of the United Service Organization's offering to soldiers. They have also been heard frequently on nation-wide broadcasting systems in special programs. Some of the groups heard to their great credit and distinction are: The Tuskegee Institute Choir, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, William L. Dawson, conductor; The A. and T. Choir, Greensboro, N. C., Coleridge Braithwaite, conductor; The Atlanta University Chorus, Kemper Harreld, conductor; The Fisk Jubilee Singers, Nashville, Tenn., Mrs. George Meyers, director, also the Fisk University Choir, Dr. John Ohl, director; The Xavier University Choir, New Orleans, La., Robert Henry, conductor; The Legende Singers of St. Louis, Kenneth Billups, conductor. Other organizations which have established enviable reputations for themselves as a result of their singing over national hook-ups are: The Hampton Institute Choir and the Bennett College All-Girl Choir. The latter was under the direction of R. Nathaniel Dett until 1942 and Orrin Clayton Suthern, II, from 1942 to 1945. The Talladega College Choir, under the direction of Frank Harrison, furnished the music for the 1946 Conference of the Congregational Church at Grinnell, Iowa. The Southern University Choir, conducted by J. Harold Brown, made several trips during the Spring of 1946. The All-Girl Choir of Dillard University and the Dillard University Chorus under the direction of Orrin Clayton Suthern, II, made an extensive tour of East Texas singing three concerts in Houston alone. These singing groups have also appeared on the National Broadcasting System outlet in New Orleans. The Howard University Choir under the direction of Warner Lawson, in the Spring of 1946, toured as far as Greensboro, N. C., giving a number of programs.

Popular Ensembles

There are a number of popular ensembles on the air singing spirituals and popular songs in a highly stylized manner. Among these are:

Songs of the Soul a group of singers from Mississippi who stress the rendition of songs of the Negro and of the South. They represented Mississippi at the New York World's Fair and are the only independent group of singers to represent Mississippi at Radio City over the National Broadcasting System network.

The Southernaires rank among the great vocal ensembles of the air and concert stage. Since 1929, their beautiful, blended voices have attracted audiences all over the country. Their repertoire covers three centuries of Negro music, including African chants, spirituals, slave songs and Negro popular songs. However, they do not limit their vocal music to this field, they present classics and ballads as effectively as the songs of the Negro. *The Southernaires* are said to have nearly 2,000 songs in their repertoire.

Wings Over Jordan, Columbia Broadcasting System sustaining program organized and directed by the Rev.

Glenn T. Settle, has for the past nine years given thousands of concerts and broadcasts.

Other groups singing spirituals are: *The Deep River Boys; The Golden Gate Quartet;* and in a more popular vein, *The King Cole Trio; The Charioteers, The Delta Rhythm Boys, The Ink Spots;* and *The Mills Brothers.*

THE NEGRO AND POPULAR MUSIC

In popular music, Negro musicians hold a very prominent place as composers, arrangers, band leaders and soloists, both vocal and instrumental. An article in *Down Beat* for January 1, 1943, states that colored musicians excel on all solo instruments.

Composers and Arrangers Of Popular Music

Carpenter, Elliott, in collaboration with Langston Hughes, poet, has published a song entitled, *America's Young Black Joe.* Besides this number the latest tunes co-authored by him include, *Let Your Heart Play the Part.* Under the pen name, Jimmy Fortune, he has three tunes, *Album of Broken Dreams, Cry Away Your Blues,* and *We're Gonna Get Corny Tonight.* At the age of 15 he played Mendelssohn's concerto for piano and orchestra with the Philadelphia Concert Orchestra under the direction of Gilbert Anderson.

Ellington, Duke (Edward Kennedy), pianist, arranger, composer, band leader, showman, was born April 29, 1899, Washington, D. C. He has reached the top of his profession and in 1943 celebrated 20 years in the show business. As a composer of dance music, he has no peer. His first composition was *Soda Fountain Rag.* Among his many compositions are: *Black and Tan Fantasy, Three Portraits, Jack the Bear, Bluebells of Harlem,* and with Billy Strayhorn, *Cotton Tail, Mood Indigo, Dusk, Jigwalk, Main Stem, Day-Dream, Bird of Paradise, Chocolate Shake, Sherman Shuffle, In a Mellow Tone, Five O'clock Drag, The Sergeant was Shy, I Didn't Know About You, Don't Get Around Much Anymore, Perfume Suite, Bluetopia, Do Nothin' Till You Hear From Me, Sophisticated Lady, Dancers in Love,* a piano concerto of interesting melodic appeal.

Among his latest compositions are: *Black, Brown, Beige,* and *New World A-Coming* based on Roi Ottley's book of the same name.

Duke Ellington has been the recipient of many honors. His orchestra was selected in 1943 by *Down Beat* as the favorite swing band of 1942, the first time a colored orchestra had won top place in the contest. "National Ellington Week" was observed by the popular music world to celebrate his long career in popular music.

Handy, William C., composer and publisher, was born November 11, 1873, at Florence, Alabama. At a very early age he gave evidence of musical talent, but was discouraged, both at home and at school, from pursuing a musical career. He was introduced to the rudiments of music, however, by his school teacher who taught him to sing hymns as well as excerpts from the masters. Having obtained a cornet, he learned to play it before either his father or teacher discovered what he was doing. His keen sense of rhythm was demonstrated in all his performances. Handy's career has been varied and unusual; but always characterized by his special interests. Early he was attracted to Beale Street, Memphis. As member of a quartet he made his way to Chicago by singing and riding the rods on the train; after two weeks' working at paving streets in Evansville, Indiana, he joined the Hampton Cornet Band. On August 4, 1896, he arrived in Chicago to play with the W. A. Mahara's Minstrels. After two years, he became director of the second band of this group with which he subsequently travelled all over America.

In 1900 Handy was engaged to take charge of the band, orchestra, and vocal music at the A. and M. College, Huntsville, Alabama. He remained with the college two years, returning then to the minstrel show, which closed within a year.

His interest in the *Blues* as a music form was first aroused as he sat in a railroad station and heard a lowly Negro pick out on his guitar the song, *Goin' Where the Southern Cross' the Dog.* His determination to write down such tunes as music was made when a local Negro band at Cleveland, Mississippi, played a few numbers at a dance for which Handy's band had been engaged and was showered with more money than his own band would receive for the whole engagement.

Out of his various experiences have come more than one hundred compositions, arrangements and books.[1] The most famous of his compositions, *The St. Louis Blues*, is known the world over. He is known as the *Father of the Blues*, because he is the first person who upon hearing the blues realized their importance and wrote them down. "It was under the strain of bankruptcy and temporary blindness that he gradually realized the importance of the new music he had created."

Pinkard, Maceo, composer, has written the following compositions: *Sugar Blues, Sweet Georgia Brown, Them There Eyes, Here Comes the Show Boat, I Offer You Congratulations, It's Right Here for You, Is That Religion?* and *Those Draftin' Blues.*

Rene, Leon, composer, is known for his compositions: *When the Swallows Come Back from Capistrano, Sleepy Time Down South, Someone's Rocking My Dream Boat*, and *I Lost My Sugar in Salt Lake City.*

Roberts, Lucky, is composer of the popular, *Moonlight Cocktail*, written more than 30 years ago under the title, *Ripples of the Nile*, introducing swing music for the first time. At the age of 17 he composed, *Junkman Rag*, dealing with the popular figure who walked the street behind a pushcart calling out "old rags, old clothes, old bottles and junk today." Old scores of Mr. Roberts are: *Shy and Sly, Helter, Skelter, Bon Ton, Bon Ton Buddy*, and *Railroad Blues. Massachusetts* is a recent composition; and the score for *St. Louis Woman* was written by him as well as the score for a number of other Broadway musicals.

Waller, Thomas W. (Fats), internationally known composer and band leader, born in New York City May 21, 1904, began playing the organ and piano before he was 10 years old and was a professional musician for 25 years. He first gained national fame while playing over station WLW in Cincinnati, later becoming a sustaining artist for the Columbia Broadcasting System. Son of a minister, he attended DeWitt Clinton High School, New York City. At 15 years of age he was organist in a Harlem movie house. After varied experiences in the music world, he organized his own bands, which were heard in many night clubs in New York including Connie's Inn, Famous Door and the Yacht. Among the movies in which he appeared were, *Hurray for Love, King of Burlesque*, and *Stormy Weather.*

Among his compositions are: *Squeeze Me*, 1919; *Senorita Mine*, 1926; *I'm More Than Satisfied, St. Louis Shuffle*, 1927; *Candied Sweets, Willow Tree, Got Myself Another Jockey Now*, 1928; *Ain't Misbehavin', I've Got a Feelin' I'm Fallin', Gone, My Fate Is in Your Hands, Zonky, Honeysuckle Rose, Black and Blue, How Jazz Was Born, Dixie Cinderella, Sweet Savannah Sue, Can't We Get Together, Snakehip Dance, That Rhythm Man, Off-time, Why Am I Alone with No One to Love*, 1929; *Rollin' Down the River, Blue Turning Grey Over You, Keep a Song in Your Soul, Little Brown Betty, Prisoner of Love*, 1930; *I'm Crazy 'Bout My Baby, Heart of Stone, Take It From Me, Concentratin' on You, The Iceman Lives in an Ice House*, 1931; *Keepin' Out of Mischief Now, Buddy, If It Ain't Love, Radio Poppa, Broadcastin' Mamma, When Gabriel Blows His Horn, Lonesome Me, Gotta Be, Gonna Be Mine, Oh You Sweet Thing, Strange As It Seems, That's Where the South Begins, Angeline, My Heart's at East, Sheltered by Stars, I Didn't Dream It was Love, Old Yazoo*, 1932; *Aintcha Glad, Tall Timber, Sittin' Up Waitin' for You, Doin' What I Please, I've Got You Where I Want You, Brother Ben, Handful of Keys*, 1933; *Swing on Mississippi, How Can You Fail Me, Piano Pranks*, 1934; *Numb Fumblin'*, 1935; *Smashin' Thirds, Stealing Apples, I Can See You All Over the Place, The Panic is On, Sugar Rose*, 1936; *Our Love Was Meant to Be, Lost Love, Call the Plumber In, Crazy 'Bout That Man of Mine, The Short Trail Became a Long Trail, Swingin' Hound, Any Day the Sun Don't Shine, Lonesome One*, 1937; *Inside This Heart of Mine, On Rainy Days, Hold My Hand, I Got Love, Bluer Than the Ocean Blues, I'm Gonna Fall in Love, Cottage in the Rain, What a Pretty Miss, Not There, Right Here, Moonlight Mood, The Spider and the Fly, Patty Cake, I Can't Forgive You*, 1938; *The Jitterbug Tree*, 1939; *The*

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[1] See pp. 305-08 of Handy, W. C., Father of the Blues, an Autobiography, New York. Macmillan Co. 1941. 317 p.

Joint is Jumpin,' Happy Feelin,' Staying at Home, 1940; *Mamacita, Blue Velvet,* 1941; *Jitterbug Waltz,* 1942.

In 1938-39 Waller appeared in the British Isles, Scandinavia and on the Continent. He died in 1943.

Band Leaders of Popular Music

Band leaders who have made places for themselves in the field of popular music are: Louis Armstrong; Count Basie; Tiny Bradshaw; Cab Calloway; Benny Carter; Billy Eckstine; Duke Ellington; Ella Fitzgerald; Lil Green; Lionel Hampton; Erskine Hawkins; Eddie Heywood; Fletcher Henderson; Horace Henderson; Earl Hines; Claude Hopkins; Buddy Johnson; Bunk Johnson; Louis Jordan; John Kirby; Andy Kirk; Jimmie Lunceford; Phil Moore; Don Redmon; Noble Sissle; Art Tatum; Cootie Williams; Teddy Wilson.

Negro Musicians and the War Effort

In September, 1943, two hundred soldiers of the *Aviation Engineers* of the 8th Battalion appeared in London's Royal Albert Hall in a concert for British War charities. Private James McDaniel of Kansas City led them through spirituals and the *Ballad for Americans,* by Earl Hawley Robinson. They also sang McDaniel's *I See Trouble in the Air, There Must be a God Somewhere.* Roland Hayes flew to England just to appear on this occasion with them.

The *Blue Jackets Choir,* a group of men in the Navy, stationed at the Great Lakes Naval Station, was heard regularly every Sunday morning over a coast-to-coast net work during the war. Appearing with them was the Double Quartet. This organization contributed greatly to the building of morale among members of the armed forces.

Before a crowd of thirty-five thousand persons in Comiskey Park, Chicago, at the fourth Annual American Negro Music Festival, the entire proceeds of which were turned over to the Army and Navy Relief, the following artists appeared; *Paul Robeson,* baritone; *Dorothy Donegan,* boogie-woogie, pianist, *the Southernaires* and *Geraldine Overstreet,* coloratura soprano.

Marian Anderson sang for service men in army and navy hospitals; for Wacs at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia; at the Lawson General Hospital, Atlanta, Georgia; and has appeared in concert of classical and semi-classical music at Camp Stewart before enthusiastic audiences.

Ruby Elzy gave an impromptu song concert for soldiers at the only all-Negro Post at Seattle, Washington.

W. C. Handy led a mammoth all-Negro civic and military parade down Main Street, Memphis, Tennessee, to Ellis Auditorium where a big war bond rally was staged.

Graham Jackson of Atlanta, Ga., pianist and accordionist, sold over $62,000,000 war bonds. A Chief Petty Officer in the Navy, he was awarded six bond citations by Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau. Before President Franklin D. Roosevelt's death Chief Petty Officer Jackson had played 22 command performances for him, and was to have played the 23rd at Warm Springs, Ga., on the visit during which the President died. The visible effect of the death of President Roosevelt on Jackson, shown in the picture of him playing *Going Home* as the late President's body left Warm Springs, has been made into one of the outstanding pictures of 1945. He has also played for President Truman.

Muriel Rahn sang at Camp Shanks, Orangeburg, New York; Camp Kilmer, New Brunswick, New Jersey; Halloran Hospital and on various inter-racial programs including the Inter-racial USO Committee at the Y.W.C.A. in Brooklyn.

Paul Robeson sang at the Great Lakes United States Naval Training Station to 2,000 naval officers and enlisted personnel. He also made a surprise appearance at the Apex Smelting Company, Chicago, Illinois, and sang for the Buddie Club on Boston Common to a packed house of soldiers, sailors, marines and Wacs. He sang at a port of embarkation to mothers and wives of boys who were sailing overseas.

Band Leaders in The United States Army

Negro chief musicians were first authorized for the regular army as of January 27, 1907, by authority of the War Department. Among the band leaders who figured prominently during World War II are the following persons:

Drye, Frank L., Captain, Air Corps, born April 19, 1889, at Raleigh, N. C.;

tenure of service began July 15, 1942; still on active duty, August, 1946. Education: B. Mus., Conn School of Music, Chicago; Graduate Study Eastman School of Music, Rochester, N. Y. Commanded and conducted the 613th AAF Band, Tuskegee Army Air Field from July 15, 1942, to April 25, 1946. Hospitalized April 25. His band traveled in interest of all except two of the War Loans during the war. He is credited with participating in the raising of more than $10,000,000 in war bonds. Toured in Georgia, Florida, Virginia, Alabama and made several trips to Washington, D. C., playing at the Watergate, Griffith Stadium and at the Pentagon Building. Member and cornet soloist, 9th United States Cavalry Band, 1909-12. His contributions to civilian life include, Director, Rose City Concert Band, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1912-14; first trumpet, W. C. Handy's Band, Memphis, Tennessee, 1914-15; bandmaster, Tuskegee Institute since 1915 with leaves of absence to serve in both World Wars.

Downing, Alvin J., Lieutenant, born July 19, 1916, at Jacksonville, Fla. Education: A. B., Music, Florida A. and M. College, Tallahassee, Fla. He was inducted into military service in 1942. In civilian life Downing was a teacher and band leader at Gibbs High School, St. Petersburg, Fla., 1939-42. Awarded Good Conduct Medal, American Defense, American Theater. Served with the 613th AAF Band, Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama. Assumed Command of 613th AAF Band when Band Commander Frank L. Drye became ill April, 1946.

Hallowel, Harry H., Chief Warrant Officer, born November 26, 1914, at Van Buren, Ark., tenure of service extended over ten years in the Regular Army. Education: Graduate, High School; one year of college work; and Army Music School. Has been an army bandleader for four years. Period of duty outside continental United States includes 32 months overseas in the Burma and India theaters of war beginning May 28, 1942. Located at Fort Benning, Ga., with 196th AGF Band, also served with this band.

Montgomery, Jack, Chief Warrant Officer, born September 16, 1916, at Birmingham, Ala.; tenure of service December 2, 1941 to April 14, 1946. Education: B. Mus., Tuskegee Institute, 1939; diploma (U. S. Army Bandleader Course), Army Music School, Fort Meyer, Virginia, 1942. Director of Army Reception Center Male Chorus of forty voices, Fort Benning, Ga., December, 1941, to September, 1942; Commanding Officer and Bandleader of 93rd Division Band, November, 1942 to January, 1946. Contributions to civilian life include, Instructor of violin and stringed instruments (college) and Instructor of Public School Music (high school), Tuskegee Institute, September, 1940, to December, 1941. Tours of duty outside continental United States include, Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands; Sterling Island, Treasury Group; Hollandia, Dutch New Guinea; Morotai, Netherland East Indies and Mindanao, Philippine Islands. Saw action, Northern Solomons, April and May, 1944 and in New Guinea, July, 1944, to February, 1945. Awarded Bronze Star Medal.

Moseley, James Orville B., Warrant Officer, born September 21, 1909, at Alcorn A. and M. College, Alcorn, Miss.; tenure of service, 44 months. Education: A. B., Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., 1929; National Teachers' Certificate, Chicago Musical College, Chicago, Illinois, 1929; Mus. M., University of Michigan, 1946. Composed words and music for The Tuskegee Army Air Field Post song. Produced many stage and radio shows. Contributions to civilian life include Director of Music, Southern University, Scotlandville, La., 1932-40; Director of Music, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss., 1940-42; composer of 80 musical numbers including the Morehouse College Hymn, string quartet and one symphony. Served with the 313th Army Air Field Band, Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama; 771st Army Air Field Band at Myrtle Beach, S. C., G. A. A. A., Greenville, S. C., Seymour Johnson Army Air Field, Goldsboro, N. C. Worked through the ranks from private to Warrant Officer, Bandleader.

Tresville, Robert B., Chief Warrant Officer, born September 23, 1891, at Galveston, Tex.; tenure of service, 33 years; retired May 1, 1945. Education: Public School System, Galveston, Texas; War Department Commercial School, Manila, Philippine Islands, 1919-20; Juilliard School of Music, New York City, 1920-22; Army Bandleaders' School, Washington, D. C., 1920-22. Organized numerous Army Bands. Citations in World War II for naval cooperation in Pacific. Took the 24th Infantry Band to the South Pacific in 1942; returning to the United States in 1943, organized the 435th Army Air Force Band at MacDill Field, Florida. Was one of the first Negro band leaders, and between World War I and World War II was one of the four Negro band leaders in the Regular Army.

ADDENDA: *Maynor, Dorothy*, soprano, was born in Norfolk, Va., September 3, 1910. Education: B.S., Hampton Institute, 1933. She received her first vocal lessons from R. Nathaniel Dett. Toured Europe as a member of the Hampton Institute choir; studied voice with the Westminster Choir, Princeton, N. J., and later under Wilfred Klamroth, John Alan Haughton and others. In 1939 she made an informal debut at the Berkshire Festival after which Serge Koussevitzky proclaimed her "one of the finest singers I have ever heard." After her New York debut, critics placed her among the leading concert singers of the day. Has appeared with the New York Philharmonic, the Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, San Francisco and Los Angeles Symphonic orchestras. Was winner for 1940 of the Town Hall Endowment Series Award for outstanding performance; was chosen in 1940 by the Library of Congress to open its festival commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Emancipation proclamation; in 1941, Hampton Institute gave her its first annual Alumni Award as it outstanding alumnus for 1940; was soloist at the Washington Cathedral in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the World Y. W. C. A. in 1944; Mus. D. was conferred upon her in 1945 by Bennett College.

DIVISION XX

THE NEGRO IN THE THEATRE, ON THE RADIO AND IN MOVING PICTURES

By John S. Brown

Negro Actors Guild of America

THE NEGRO IN THE THEATRE

Despite the World War, the Negro has enjoyed an unusual period of activity in drama. New York has seen a procession of plays in which Negroes have appeared receive the nod of approval from New York critics. Many of these plays enjoyed long runs on Broadway as well as on the road.

Plays having Negro characters are of two main types: (1) plays by white playwrights in which Negroes appeared; (2) plays by Negro playwrights with a Negro-white cast or an all-Negro cast.

Plays By White Playwrights In Which Negroes Appeared

Anna Lucasta is a play by Philip Yordan, a white writer, who is said to have knocked vainly at the doors of New York theatre producers. It had its origin as an American Negro Theatre production and its premiere in the basement of the Harlem Public Library with Harry Wagstaff Gribble as Director. Reviewers who saw the play in Harlem wrote such favorable accounts about it that it was brought to Broadway and the Mansfield Theatre by John Wildberg on August 30, 1944.

The story revolves around the beautiful outcast daughter of the family, who had fallen into a life of ill-fame, and whose attempts at regeneration are frustrated. The novelty in this drama springs from the fact that the play, originally written about a Polish family for a Polish cast, is played by a Negro company. There is no irrelevance in this, for the events of the plot might relate to people of any group. It, of course, is not a study of the Negro, but some have rejoiced in the thought that it is a proof of the ability of Negro artists to successfully portray the story of any play, regardless of race or color. Hilda Simms, a 1943 Hampton graduate, gave an exciting performance as Anna. Howard Barnes said: "An all-Negro cast brings perceptive acting and eloquence to a straggling script in "Anna Lucasta." John Chapman said: "The actors of the American Negro Theatre play these people for all they are worth, which is considerable; and they do so with imagination and restraint."

The play enjoyed a long run on Broadway as well as on the road. The cast consisted of: Theodora Smith, Rosetta LeNoire, Georgia Burke, John Proctor, Frederick O'Neil, George Randol, Hubert Henry, Alvin Childress, Alice Childress, Emory Richardson, Hilda Simms, Canada Lee, John Tate, Earl Hyman.

Bloomer Girl, a musical comedy which speaks out sharply on the color question, was produced in November, 1944. Richard Huey, Hubert Dilworth and Dooley Wilson won great praise from the critics. Dooley Wilson as the runaway slave sang "The Eagle and Me." The audience stopped the show to applaud. Richard Huey sang, "I Got a Song." Joan McCracken as Topay sang, "I Never Was Born."

Cabin in the Sky, a fantasy in two acts by Lyman Root, lyrics by John LaTouche and music by Vernon Duke, was opened at the Martin Beck Theatre, October 25, 1940. It closed March 8, 1941. Ethel Waters played the lead with her usual vocal skill and character interpretation. The critics were in accord on the excellence of Miss Waters' acting and singing and praised her for her genuine versatility in feeling and technique. Katherine Dunham's dancers, always artistic and pleasing to the eye, did their part in lifting the play into a musical fantasy that was most delightful. Dooley Wilson as the beloved and erring husband, gives a performance that is right from start to finish, and witty throughout. The first act with its dialogue, rich and varied, was splendid. The second act, however, bogged down in comparison.

The main characters of the cast were: Katherine Dunham, Louis Sharp, J. Rosamond Johnson, Georgia Burke, Ethel Waters, Rex Ingram, Dooley Wilson.

Carmen Jones. Probably the really big theatrical event of the fall of 1944 was the opening of *Carmen Jones* at the Broadway Theatre on November 26. Based on Bizet's opera *Carmen*, it was a skillfully arranged and written musical by Oscar Hammerstein II. Billy Rose was the producer. Many critics went into ecstasies over it and it became popular over night.

The cast was largely composed of young unknown amateurs, around whose discovery cluster a number of interesting stories. One instance may well be given. Glenn Bryant, who played "Husky Miller," the prize fighter, was on leave of absence from the New York Police Department.

The music of the original opera was practically untouched, save in a few places. Mainly, *Carmen Jones* is the original opera brought up to date with a change of locale to a parachute factory in a southern town and to an extravagant country club in Chicago. Instead of the Seville of 1820 and its cigaret factory where Carmen rolled smokes for the dragoons of Alcala, she is folding parachutes for the United States Air Force in a town in South Carolina. As a production *Carmen Jones* was beautiful to behold. The things Negroes are expected to do in the theatre were conspicuously absent. The acting, dancing and singing throughout were of a high order, which indicated innate ability and careful training.

Carmen Jones was portrayed and sung by Muriel Smith, 20-year-old Philadelphia mezzo-soprano. Muriel Rahn alternated the role with Muriel Smith until she left the cast. Inez Matthews, understudy, then assumed the role as a co-star. Among the lyrics, "Dat's Love" is substituted for the "Habenera." "Stan' Up and Fight" is substituted for the "Toreador Song." Everette Lee conducted the orchestra of the play.

The cast consisted of: Napoleon Reed, Robert Clark, George Willis, Carlotta Franzell, Elton J. Warren, Jack Carr, Luther Saxon, Napoleon Reed, Muriel Smith, Inez Matthews, Sibol Cain, Edward Roche, Carlos Van Putten, Cosy Cole.

Deep Are the Roots was a play with a mixed cast which somehow struck the public fancy and enjoyed quite a run on Broadway. The play was produced in the fall of 1945 at the Fulton Theatre. The authors are Arnaud d'Usseau and James Gow. The plot revolves around the race problem as it is known in the South. A Negro soldier returns to his home and the southern family for which his mother has worked for many years. He is both shocked and dismayed when he realizes that he and the younger daughter of the family, played by Barbara Bel Geddes with such skill and appeal, have fallen in love. Knowing the danger he faces, he tries to avoid the outcome but the older sister and the father learn of it. For a time the safety of the soldier is threatened, but his decision to stay in the community and work for the education of his people, which is more vital than his love for the girl, lessens the tense moment and permits the play to end peacefully.

Gordon Heath as Brett Charles, the soldier, gave a magnificent performance. His mother, Evelyn Ellis, as Bella Charles, stirred one deeply with the anxious fears for her son. Helen Martin, as Honey Turner, did a fine piece of acting, swaying between the two forces in the drama, rushing to a head-on collision.

The Duchess of Malfi. From the early times of the minstrels down to the present, white men have used burnt cork to characterize Negroes. The well-known Al Jolson, Eddie Cantor at one time, Amos and Andy and others have won fame by this device. It remained for the indefatigable Canada Lee to turn the tables and make up as a white man in the 17th century in the revival of *The Duchess of Malfi*. The leading man of the play left it before it opened in Providence. In his extremity, Jules Zeigler sought some one to take his place. He decided Canada Lee was the only one who could do it. The part, however, was for a white man. This difficulty was solved by the Lydia O'Leary Company which sent a make-up expert to apply the special Lydia O'Leary grease paint. She first applied a coat of grease paint and then slightly darkened around the eyes. The make-up was a success.

Critics acclaimed the experiment, some using the term, history-making. Lee deserved the praise for he not only essayed a white role but a difficult one as well. What effect Lee's demonstration will have on future casting remains to be seen. Perhaps it will result in helping establish the Negro artist in better roles in mixed casts.

Early to Bed. The season of 1943-44 saw the comedy *Early to Bed* which enjoyed a long run on Broadway. The cast was white except Jeni LeGon, the dancer and Bob Howard, the comedian. His piano playing and husky singing have taken him to all the important theatres from coast to coast and to Europe, and he carried a radio commercial alone for two years.

Harriet, the life story of Harriet Beecher Stowe, opened in October, 1944, with Helen Hayes playing the star role. Edna Thomas played the role of Sukey. She previously appeared in *Lulu Belle*, *Porgy*, *Run Lil' Chillun*, *Stevedore* and Orson Welles' production of *Macbeth*. As acted by Helen Hayes, the play carries one over the conflicts preceding and leading up to the writing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that had such a direct influence in creating sentiment against slavery. Miss Thomas usually interprets her roles sympathetically.

Lysistrata. On August 18, 1946, the Belasco Theatre saw the presentation of this classic play. This was a revival under the direction of Light and Jelin. The reviewers were rather unfriendly in their criticism of the production, some blaming the director, Mr. Light, for faults which they pointed out. The play closed after five performances. The cast included: Pearl Gaines, Mildred Smith, Etta Moten, Mercedes Gilbert, Fredi Washington, Leigh Whipper, Rex Ingram, Maurice Ellis, Emmett Wallace, John deBatile, Larry Williams, Sydney Potter and Emory Richardson.

Memphis Bound, was placed on the boards with an all-Negro cast. The story is about a show boat that ran out of funds and was grounded for that reason. To raise money for it, the musical *Pinafore* was resurrected with Bill Robinson playing the part of an indolent pilot. As usual, he is the life of the play, with his contagious smile and nimble, rhythmic feet. He is still the inimitable "Bojangles." Robinson builds his famous stair dance into the big moment of the show. He is reported as having said this dance came to him in a dream like many of his dance numbers. One of his best songs is "Growin' Pains," which he dances with eight-year-old Timothy Grace.

Avon Long plays second lead. It is interesting to note the difference in dance style between these two dancers. Bojangles uses only his feet, Long uses his whole body. Some of the other artists were: Sheila Guys, Ida Jones, Thelma Carpenter, Ada Brown, Delta Rhythm Boys, Billy Daniels, Frank Wilson, Ann Robinson and Edith Wilson.

On Whitman Avenue was remarkable in several ways. It is the first drama during 1941-46 that was produced by a Negro. Canada Lee, who has demonstrated the possession of varied talents from concert violinist, jockey, prize fighter to interpreter of difficult and unusual parts on the stage, was the co-producer with Mark Marvin. It dramatizes the theme of social equality for the Negro. The argument within the play is intense and many described the play as both gripping and entertaining. Opening at the Cort Theatre on May 9, 1946 it enjoyed a considerable run. The plot revolves around a family with a daughter named Toni. She rents the upper floor of their house to David Bennett, a Negro Ex-Seabee, who had saved the life of Toni's sweetheart in the Pacific. When the family returns home and discovers the racial identity of the new tenants, they storm. The neighbors join them. Here is material for much poignant drama. The Negroes give up the apartment and the breakup of the Tilden family begins. Toni leaves home and the mother becomes untrue. The whites were not animated so much by hatred of the Negroes as by the thought of the possible depreciation in value to their property. The mixed cast with Canada Lee in the leading role was: Augustus Smith, Vivienne Baber, Richard Williams, Abbie Mitchell, Martin Miller, Ernestine Barrier, Will Geer, Perry Wilson, Kenneth Terry, Robert Simon, Jean Cleveland, Stephen Roberts, Joanna Albus, Hilda Vaughn, Philip Clarke and Bettie Greene Little.

Othello. The announcement that *Othello* with Paul Robeson in the leading role would open on Broadway, New York City, aroused a variety of emotions and no little excitement. Tickets were in great demand. The main topic of discussion in some circles was, how would the forthcoming play be received. Some reverted to a discussion of the first Negro to take this role, Ira Aldridge, and noted his success in Europe. The play with Robeson was opened in the Shubert Theatre October 19, 1943, by the Theatre Guild. Margaret Webster skillfully directed it. Desdemona was played by Uta Hagen, the wife of Jose Ferrer who had the part of Iago. All of the cast were white except Robeson. It required all of Robeson's varied experience, the magic of his voice and physical presence, his simple dignity and restraint, to make his characterization the historical and epoch making event that the audience witnessed. He brought to the role a rich, simple, clarity which hit its mark whether called on to portray tenderness or jealousy. Even to the violent scenes he brought the feeling of quiet sincere, simple dignity mingled with frustration. The applause was spontaneous. Some of the headlines in the city papers such as: "Guild's *Othello* a Triumph"; "Paul Robeson a Striking *Othello* at the Schubert"; "Majesty and Dignity Illuminate Negro Paul Robeson's *Othello"*; and "Robeson Brings Moor to Life in *Othello"*; give an indication of the reaction of the reviewers to the play.

Porgy and Bess was revived by Cheryl Crawford at the 44th Street Theatre, on September 13, 1943. The play is from the book, *Porgy* by DuBose and Dorothy Heyward; the lyrics by DuBose, Heyward and Ira Gershwin, and the music by George Gershwin. It is a folk opera revolving around the life and love of Porgy, the beloved cripple, who lives on Catfish Row, with its noise, color and drama. Some of the hit songs of the play are: "Summer Time," "A Woman Is a Sometime Thing," "I Got Plenty o' Nuttin'" and "It Aint Necessarily So." Todd Duncan, Etta Moten, Georgette Harvey, Avon Long and Warren Coleman won special acclaim. The Eva Jessye Choir scored a hit with its music. This was one of several revivals of *Porgy and Bess.*

The cast consisted of Georgette Harvey, Catherine Ayers, Musa Williams, Harriet Jackson, Edward Mathews, Avon Long, Jerry Laws, Henry Davis, Alma Hubbard, William C. Smith, George Randol, Todd Duncan, Warren Coleman, Etta Moten, Kenneth Konopka, Richard Bowles, Cowal McMahon, Charles Welch, Charles Coleman, Catherine Ayers, Edward Tyler and Dora Darcy.

Show Boat, with music by Jerome Kern and book and lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II, was revived in 1946. This time Kenneth Spencer took the part created by the late Jule Bledsoe and later played by Paul Robeson. The outstanding song is "Ol' Man River," which Spencer's deep bass renders magnificently.

South Pacific. This melodrama of the Pacific by Howard Rigsby and Dorothy Heywood was produced in the Cort Theatre, December 29, 1943. Canada Lee had the lead of Sam Johnson, who is cast on an island controlled by Japanese and peopled by natives. Finding that, for the first time in his life, his color is not against him, he reacts accordingly. Frank Wilson played the Luluai. The natives and native children were: Gordon Heath, Kaie Dee, George Fisher, Ruby Dee, Dedia Rosa, Gloria Robinson, Emmuel Gillard, James Reason and Clyde Goines. The play ran only five days.

Strange Fruit, appeared on Broadway after a great deal of discussion. It was adapted from the novel of the same name by Lillian Smith. The story revolves around two families, one white and one Negro, in a southern community. The white boy, Tracy Dean, falls in love with the college-bred Negro girl, Nonnie Anderson, with direful results to both of their families. Jane White played the part of the Negro girl in love with the white boy very realistically and sympathetically. She was supported by a good cast. The reviewers directed most of their criticisms of the play at the craftsmanship of the writing and felt that more concentrated drama might have helped make a better play.

The Tempest came to the Alvin Theatre in January, 1945, a Cheryl Crawford-Margaret Webster production. This was not just another presentation of Shakespeare. It was remarkable for the presence of Canada Lee in the cast portraying the monster Caliban. John Chapman says: His part was "most beautifully spoken; it is at once fearsome and touching. It is one more evidence that Mr. Lee is a thoughtful, ambitious and resourceful actor."

Plays By Negro Playwrights With A Mixed Or All-Colored Cast

The plays in this section are by Negro playwrights, in some instances have Negro producers and have all-Negro or a mixed cast.

Beggar's Holiday marks a sort of transition from the script by a white author with a colored cast to a book and lyrics by a white author with the entire score by a Negro and a mixed cast. This surely represents inter-racial elements successfully and harmoniously at work. To make the matter more complete, the Negro scenic designer, Perry Watkins, is one of the producers. The play opened December 26, 1946 at the Broadway Theater. It is a new version of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* and has been renamed *Beggar's Holiday*. The book and lyrics are by John LaTouche. The music is by Duke Ellington. The mixed cast mingles together in a hobo jungle on the water front, as the hero tries to escape the law. Duke Ellington has provided delightful music for the lyrics and some of them will be heard as "hit" numbers. John LaTouche was not so successful in remaking the old story or in some of the lyrics. In spite of this, and the slight sagging down of the second half of the play, *Beggar's Holiday* seems set for a long and successful run. The cast consisted of: Tommy Gomez, Archie Savage, Herbert Ross, Lucas Hoving, Albert Popwell, Marjorie Bell, Alfred Drake, Marie Bryant, Bernice Parks, Lavina Nielsen, Leonne Hall, Tommie Moore, Royce Wallace, Claire Hale, Nina Korda, Malba Farber, Elmira Jones-Bey, Enid Williams, Bill Dillard, Jack Bittner, Gordon Nelson, Perry Bruskin, Archie Savage, Stanley Carlson, Lucas Hoving, Perry Bruskin, Pan Theodore, Douglas Henderson, Hy Anzel, Lewis Charles, Avon Long, Jet MacDonald, Dorothy Johnson, Zero Mostel, Rollin Smith, Mildred Smith, Paul Godkin, Majorie Bell.

Harlem Cavalcade, a Negro vaudeville show, assembled and produced by Ed. Sullivan, opened at the Ritz Theatre, May 1, 1942. It was staged by Ed. Sullivan and Noble Sissle. The music was directed by Bill Vodery; the dances by Leonard Harper. It ran for 49 performances. The following were the principals, many of them well-known figures on the theatre stage: Noble Sissle, 5 Crackerjacks, Moke & Poke, Peters Sisters, Pops & Louie, Tom Fletcher, Tim Moore, Edward Steele, Maud Russell, Hawley & Lee, Una Mae Carlisle, Jesse Crior, Monte Hawks, Garland Wilson, Johnny Lee, Joe Byrd, Flournoy Miller, Amanda Randolph, The Gingersnaps, Jimmie Daniels, The Harlemaniacs, Red & Curley, Winie & Bob Johnson and Miller Bros. & Lois.

Native Son was the result of the collaboration of Paul Green and Richard Wright, and is based on Richard Wright's novel by the same name. It is not of the conventional form of drama in three acts, but consists of ten scenes with a prologue and no intermission. It opened on March 24, 1941, at St. James Theatre and ran for 114 performances. It had a revival, October 23, 1942, at the Majestic Theatre, running up a total of 97 performances. The direction was in charge of Orson Welles. It won top 4-star Broadway rating.

The plot revolves around Bigger Thomas, who is rebellious at his condition as he vainly tries to adjust himself to the laws and prejudices of the white man. He makes things at home uncomfortable for his mother, brother and sister. Later with companions, he gets into trouble and accidently murders a white girl. For this he is tried and condemned to die. The closing scene shows Canada Lee as Bigger in his cell gripping the bars as the hour for his end nears. The Negro members of the cast are: Canada Lee, Evelyn Ellis, Helen Martin and Rudolph Whitaker.

There is a large supporting white cast. Lee made himself famous by his portrayal of Bigger Thomas. Evelyn Ellis as the mother, gives a fine sustaining performance.

Run Little Chillun was revived in New York, August 11, 1943. This is the Negro folk drama by the well-known choir leader, Hall Johnson. It was first produced in 1933. It was reported that the New York revival was supported by angels from among Hollywood's artists. Clarence Muse staged it and Hall Johnson directed the music. Internal trouble developed and it closed after 16 performances. The cast was made up of 34 players. It is a Negro play by a Negro author and a Negro cast. The play dramatizes that phenomenon wherein protests are made against extremely narrow Protestantism of southern Negroes by cult leaders who offer a new and more colorful form of worship.

St. Louis Woman. A great deal of rumor and news talk preceded the arrival in New York of *St. Louis Woman.* The play by Arna Bontemps and Countee Cullen which opened May 6, 1946 at the Martin Beck Theatre, is from the novel "God Sends Sunday" by Arna Bontemps. Cullen died before the show opened. Lyrics were from the pen of Johnny Mercer and the score was composed by Harold Arlen.

While many Negroes objected to the lead character, Della Green, on the score she was a harlot, the music and the acting of the play carried it across and made it a hit in spite of some unfavorable notices. The music was lilting and tuneful.

Two of the songs "Legalize My Name" and "Come Rain or Come Shine" were very popular. Special credit is due Ruby Hill, who played the lead, Pearl Bailey, the Nicholas Brothers, Rex Ingram and Juanita Hall.

Walk Hard was first produced at the Library Theatre of the American Negro Theatre. It is a drama by the playwright, Abe Hill, who is also director of the theatre. During the season 1945-46, it was carried to Broadway by Gustav Blum, the producer. The plot gives the boxer-hero a double battle—to fight his opponent and win, and to overcome the prejudice in the world. It enjoyed a run of some length.

The Negro and the Dance

African Dances and Modern Rhythms. an interesting dance festival, was held in Carnegie Hall, April 6, 1944 under the sponsorship of the African Academy of Arts and Research. The choreography was by Asadata Dafora, who had previously won acclaim with his dance dramas, *Kykundor* and *Zungura.* The principals were Alma Sutton, Abdul Assen, Dafora himself and the famous dancer, Pearl Primus. On this occasion, the opening narration was from the poem, "Africa," by John S. Brown, and was recited by Dorothy Peteferd.

Katherine Dunham fills a unique place not only in New York but in the theatrical world generally. Educated as an Anthropologist, she specialized in dances of the West Indies. She not only presents her own shows, but often trains dancing groups for other plays. Robert Sylvester says, she "is the best dancer in America today and has been since the death of the great "Argentinita." Born in Joliet, Illinois, she has lectured at the Yale University Graduate School and illustrated telling points with her drummers and dancers. While at Chicago University, she won two fellowships from the Rosenwald Foundation. These funds enabled her to study the primitive dance of Jamaica, Martinique, Cuba, Trinidad and Haiti. Her "Tropical Review" was housed in the New Century Theatre early in January, 1945. The choreography and staging are by Katherine Dunham herself. Some of the numbers are: "Cuban Slave Lament"; "Rumba with a Little Jive Mixed in"; "Bahiana," a Brazilian song; "Promenade-Havana 1910"; and "Barrel House," a Florida swamp shimmy.

Michael Carter says of the performance: "Each scene is an individual masterpiece in color and movement. The skillful gyrations of the dancers, tell a story by costumes, by action, by rhythm, by the simplicity or the complexity of their movements. In it all, La Dunham stands out, not by playing to the gallery, but because she is the best dancer of them all." The Dunham Company contained: Roger Ohardieno, Lucille Ellis, Tommy Gomez, Lavinia Williams, Laverne French, Claude Marchant, Sylvilla Fort, Lenwood Morris, Ora Lee, Gloria Mitchell, Ramona Erwin, Eddy Clay, Andre Drew, Richardena Jackson, Lawrence Ingram, Vanoye Aikens, Delores Harper and native drummers.

Her 1946 contribution which opened at the Belasco Theatre is called *Bal Negre.* Critics say this play borrows something from her "Caribbean Song," her "Tropical Review" and from her first concert on the Labor Stage some eight years ago.

Bill "Bojangles" Robinson is still unmatched among tap dancers and he makes his particular style of dancing an art. His is not a dance of vigorous motion and loud noises. It is an infectious emphasis on the step itself and he sees to it that the music is subdued in order that each tap may be easily discernible to the ear. Robinson varies his dancing act by telling a few jokes and all of them are as highly polished as Bill's dance steps, which are the last word in rhythm and timing. In 1944, celebrating his sixty-sixth birthday, he danced two and one-half miles down the main thorough-fare in Baltimore which was lined with thousands of cheering spectators. That night he appeared in a benefit for the Good Samaritan Mutual Benefit Association, Inc., before more than 2,500 persons. At the conclusion of the program Robinson auctioned off the shoes he used to dance on the street for $100 which he donated to a paralytic convalescing in the Alice Eva Hospital.

Pearl Primus. This artist's amazing dance technique was developed in the comparatively short period of three years. Her dance history is interesting. She was born in 1920 in Trinidad, British West Indies. She attended Hunter College in New York City, taking a pre-medical course. Finding she did not have enough funds to study medicine and realizing her Biology major had not equipped her for work, she went to the N. Y. A., and was put in a dance unit. She had not done any dancing before except the bit she had in school. Then she won a scholarship to the New Dance Group, the low cost school sponsored by America's leading dancers.

She danced her way from the beginners to the advanced classes so quickly that her teachers realized that this was no run of the mill talent. They felt the intense girl with the friendly smile and the agile body had the makings of a fine artist. They arranged auditions for her with Martha Graham and Charles Weidman, both of whom were impressed and offered her dance scholarships. It was not long before she began to compose her own dances: Spirituals, jazz-blues, primitives, social themes. She is working on a composition based on a poem called, "Our Spring Will Come," by Langston Hughes. Critics say that she has terrific power, exuberance, ease and control. She is boldly original, astonishing. In her dance to *Strange Fruit* in which she expresed the agony of a woman who has seen a lynching, she rolls swiftly over the floor five times like passion in a whirlwind. In *Hard Times Blues* she executes a furious leap into the air and while there as if she has the power to stay there for a week—she does a brilliant and powerful tourjete (a turn and a kick).

Some Organizations Among Negro Actors

The American Negro Theatre was established on June 5, 1940. It has an interesting history. Frederick O'Neal, a young St. Louis actor, came to Harlem some years ago to develop a dream. New York in 1937 was unreceptive. It seemed that only non-dramatic jobs were open. O'Neal devoted his nights and available cash, to dramatic coaches. Later, a period with the Rose McClendon Players helped to bridge the gap. Still later, a series of meetings with Abram Hill began to shape his dream into a workable form. Mr. Hill, who had writing and directing experience in the Federal Theatre behind him, and who had helped to organize the Negro Playwrights Theatre, was an efficient collaborator from the start.

With an organization blueprint on paper, six actors were invited to join O'Neal and Hill. Growth was painful, but it was sure. New plays selected and intensively rehearsed were *Strivers Row, Starlight.* Coaches like Julia Dorn and Doris Sorrel began giving all their available time to the student groups. Critics began to visit 135th Street and return downtown with vivid reports. When rehearsals started for *Anna Lucasta* the American Negro Theatre had put its fledgling years behind it.

Under the present set-up all American Theatre members are pledged to contribute a definite percentage of their theatrical earnings, from whatever source. All receipts after expenses are paid, are divided on an equalitarian basis. Half of the profits go immediately to the treasury, to cover the cost of current experimentation and production. The balance is divided equally among the members of that particular acting group, regardless of the importance of the roles they portray. A year of apprentice work is required before full membership is granted. The period is divided into eight-week units, and includes training in acting, diction and body-work. Apprentices are admitted to productions on occasion. Hilda Simms, the star of *Anna Lucasta* was still a comparative newcomer when she began rehearsing the part. Admission to the studio group is open to all who can qualify, but the discipline becomes rigid once the period of probation has begun. Strict fines are imposed for tardiness and absenteeism. Eventually, the American Negro Theatre, which is open to all actors, plans to build its own theatre. Abe Hill is Director and Frederick O'Neal, Personnel Director.

The Negro Actor's Guild of America has done excellent work since the guild's foundation in 1937. A member of the Theatre Authority, headed by Allen Corelli, the guild uses all funds obtained from this source for the direct welfare of indigent actors and actresses with "not one penny used for operation expenses." It is devoted:

1. To uphold the honorable and sacred tradition of the race.
2. To elevate, foster and promote good fellowship and the spiritual welfare of the Negro actors and actresses connected with all branches of the theatrical profession.
3. To create and develop better understanding between the laity and people of the theatre.
4. To render service throughout the country to the actor and actress in time of illness and distress, and to offer sympathetic interest and whenever possible, voluntary financial assistance to its members of the theatre.
5. To champion and uphold the high standards of decency on stage and in other theatrical fields; and to appear and support those who adhere to its standards.
6. To provide for the specific need of Negroes in the particular circumstances arising from the nature of theatrical conditions.

THE NEGRO ON RADIO PROGRAMS

For a long time, the Negro was unknown on the radio except for very minor appearances. Gradually this is changing. Few scripts come from the pens of Negroes partly because, to a large degree, only a certain coterie of well-known writers are employed to write radio scripts generally. However, some very able Negro radio artists are used on radio programs. In fact, most of the well-known Negro singers and practically all of the name bands and orchestras are heard over the air from time to time.

The King Cole Trio, The Deep River Boys, The United States Coast Guard Quintet, The Eva Jessye Choir, The Hall Johnson Choir, The Ink Spots, The Charioteers, The Southernaires, Golden Gate Quartet and others too numerous to mention are radio artists.

Standing out as the most popular of all Negro actors appearing regularly on the radio is the comedian, "Rochester" (Eddie Anderson), valet, friend and general adviser to Jack Benny.

Some Radio Programs on Which Negroes Appeared in 1943

The Negro Division of the Alabama Extension Service in Cooperation with Tuskegee Institute has broadcast since July 26, 1940, a series of monthly programs. These broadcasts have dealt with various phases of farm life including production and marketing of farm products, health, home-making, etc. They originate in the Chapel of Tuskegee Institute, and are heard over WAPI and WCOV. Transcriptions are presented over Auburn Farm Network. A chorus of community singers under the direction of Mrs. Alberta Simms, and the Tuskegee Army Air Field Post Cadet Glee Club have furnished the music.

The *Black Napoleon of Haiti*, a dramatization of the life of Henry Christophe with an all-Negro cast and West Indian songs by the *Golden Gate Quartet*, was presented over Columbia on its *New Horizons* series.

Ben Carter, actor-agent, succeeded in having a big all-Negro program signed up for CBS, called the *Blueberry Hill* hour named after the beautiful westside section where the majority of the Negro stars and a number of affluent citizens reside. Carter, Mantan Moreland, and Ernest Whitman headed the program which included choirs, bands, individual artists and players of various kinds.

Cab Calloway and *Dorothy Donegan* were top-notchers on WGN's Mutual Broadcast program for Treasury Center, on a coast to coast hook-up reaching 204 stations in various cities.

Don Redman and his orchestra were featured attractions over the Mutual Network on Wednesdays and Saturdays and Sundays. A group of stellar acts included Bill Bailey, tap dancer; Maurice Rocco, the sensational Boogie Woogie specialist; Buck and Bubbles, Ada Brown, Tops and Wilda, and Dolores Brown.

Over 100 Negro servicemen from six branches of the armed forces were featured on the radio at Hampton Institute in *Fighting Men*, the nationwide victory broadcast sponsored by the *Negro Newspaper Publishers Association*, in observance of National Negro Newspaper Week. Their half hour program was heard on a nationwide hookup, broadcast over the 200 stations of the Mutual network. Dramatic highlight of the broadcast was the first-hand description of sea rescues in World War II by Chief Boatswain's Mate, Maxie Berry, in charge at Pea Island, N. C., only all-Negro Coast Guard station in the country and Boatswain's Mate, John Mackey, also of Pea Island. Acting President R. O'Hara Lanier described the wartime activities of Hampton Institute and P. B. Young, Jr., Managing Editor of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, interviewed some of the fighting men. The 28-piece Third Band of the Anti-Aircraft Replacement Center at Fort Eustis, playing the traditional songs of the Army and Navy, the Air and Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard, provided a musical background for the program which also included vocal numbers by the Hampton Institute Naval School glee club and the 80th Battalion choir of the Seabees at Camp Bradford. Master Sergeant Arthur E. Smith conducted the band and the naval trainees sang under the direction of Charles Flax of the college music faculty. Charles H. Hawkins directed the Seabee singers.

In a stirring plea for Negro equality in the war, *Kenneth Spencer* highlighted a radio show, *Guide to Victory*, sponsored by the CIO Community council, over station WLIB. Spencer acted in dramatized incidents and made a further plea for support of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. The program was handled by two Negro commentators presenting the plight of the Negro in the war plant, in employment offices, officers training camps, and in southern army camps.

Station WGH in cooperation with the Hampton Institute Extension Division sponsored a series of broadcasts for 3 months known as the *Hampton Institute Forum of the Air*. Such topics as *Education for Today and Tomorrow, Crime and Delinquency, Music and Morale, Food and Nutrition, Social Diseases and the War, Post-war Education* were discussed by prominent educators and prominent specialists in various fields of public welfare. Beginning in January, 1944, the series consisted of 20 broadcasts.

On the occasion of his 70th birthday anniversary, special tribute was paid to *W. C. Handy*, composer of "St. Louis Blues" and many other famous blues, when an all-Handy repertoire with dramatic highlights of his life was presented on the second half of the Roy Shield and Company radio show over the National Broadcasting Company's network. Nelson Olmstead, NBC dramatic narrator, gave a running story of how Handy came to write the tunes.

In celebration of the same event, a birthday testimonial dinner under the auspices of the Negro Actors Guild of America was given in his honor attended by notable persons in and out of the theatre.

Lionel Hampton was presented on the program *Soldiers of Production*, broadcast over WJZ and the entire network. The program was officially presented by the War Manpower Commission. This was the initial appearance of a colored band on the show.

Dorothy Maynor, soprano, made her third appearance as the guest of Conductor Andre Kostelanetz on the Coca-Cola Company's *Pause that Refreshes* hour via CBS. She has also appeared as guest star over WGRC on the program *Carnival*.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Frank P. Graham, of the University of North Carolina, *Dr. F. D. Patterson* of Tuskegee Institute, and *Dr. Mordecai Johnson* of Howard University were speakers on a premier broadcast program called *My People* originating from the Mutual Network. Dr. G. Lake Imes, originator of the program, acted as master of ceremonies. The program was staged in cooperation with the Office of War Information.

For the first time in history Negro War Correspondents were heard by short wave direct from European and African battle fronts recounting the graphic story of brave Negro troops fighting for the "Four Freedoms" on foreign soil. Presented under the title, *Negro Press*—special edition—the broadcast commemorated the 116th anniversary of the Negro Press in the United States and the close of the fifth annual observance of National Negro Newspaper Week. Heard from London were William Dixon, one of the *Courier's* war correspondents and David H. Orro, representing the *Chicago Defender*. Ollie Stewart, correspondent for the *Afro-American*, spoke from Algiers.

The vital role and sacrifices of New York newspapermen in the war were dramatized in an original 30-minute radio play, *Newspapermen at War*, by the Newspaper Guild of New York which featured the radio world premier of W. C. Handy's latest blues song, "Go Get the Enemy Blues" with lyrics by Langston Hughes and Georgia Gibbs, as soloist.

Jubilee, a show produced and recorded by the War Department and shortwaved overseas, brought the great luminaries of the world of music to its microphones in answer to the scores of request made by fighting men overseas. Marian Anderson, the Charioteers, Lena Horne, the Mills Brothers, Noble Sissle's Band, Nicodemus, Jesse Cryer and other well-known figures were heard on this program.

Introducing a new radio program portraying the patriotism of the Negro, KECA, Blue Network, was host to a large crowd of colored and white guests. The program entitled the *New World Theatre* was dedicated to Abraham Lincoln. The cast included *Hattie McDaniel, Lena Horne, Clarence Muse, Rex Ingram, Hazel Scott, the Charioteers, Andrew Taylor*, the *Free World Choir*, composed principally of Hall Johnson singers, led by Chaucery Reynolds.

Paul Robeson was presented by the CIO on the Red Network stations of the NBC in a dramatic story of a Negro worker's fight to win a war job and use his skill for victory.

Hazel Scott appeared on a variety show over WABC in place of the People's Platform.

The "Voice of Freedom" radio program over station WMCA had Roy Wilkins, editor of *The Crisis*, as guest speaker. The program is sponsored by Freedom House.

Ethel Waters, distinguished singer and dramatic actress, played the leading role in a warm and moving story on Columbia network's *Radio Readers Digest* program. An unforgettable character of the story was an humble Negro woman whose neighborly philanthropies have brought her great contentment and much honor.

Jane White, Negro student of Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, appeared on an international program sponsored by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Taking the form of a panel—students and educators in New York and students and educators in London participated. The program was titled *Answering You*.

Outstanding stars of the Negro race contributed their services to the National Urban League's hour-long radio program heard over the Columbia Broadcasting System network in a broadcast that told the American listening audience and the armed forces abroad of the contributions of Negro women to the building of America and to the defense of democracy. The broadcast told the dramatic story of Phillis Wheatley who was portrayed by the well-known actress *Fredi Washington*. *Mercedes Gilbert* was heard as Sojourner Truth and the story of Harriet Tubman was enacted by *Edna Mae Harris*. The program ended with a pick-up of Negro women serving their country in war zones abroad. The Eva Jessye Choir and the CBS orchestra furnished music. The program is unique in that it is the first time in the history of radio that the accomplishments and achievements of Negro women have been heard on the air in story and fact.

Richard Huey of *Bloomer Girl* conducted a sustaining program for many weeks entitled, *The Sheep and the Goats*. It was widely applauded.

One of the most popular radio groups in western theatres of war was a 28-member chorus from a port battalion regiment which broadcast regularly over the American Expeditionary Station on Sundays. The men's steady hours at the docks did not leave much time for song rehearsals, but the energetic chaplain was able to arrange brief periods of rehearsals with the commanding officer. Originator and assistant director of the chorus was 22-year-old *Pvt. Musker Belfrey, Jr.*, of Fort Worth, Texas.

The "S. S. Booker T. Washington's" maiden voyage was dramatized over the WABC with *Juano Hernandez*, as Captain Mulzac, and doubling as one of the crew. The "Booker T" as part of a convoy carrying planes to an unknown port is suddenly separated by a terrific freezing storm from the convoy. She almost loses her precious cargo because her decks are covered with ice until the skipper shows the crew how these planes can be saved, with heroic acts being performed by the crew. One colored member climbs the mast in order to save the venture and to quote one of the boys, "The Washington has got to be better than any ship that sailed the sea 'cause our skipper is colored and the Hitler forces at home have said it won't work."

A Negro musician who fought in Argonne Forest in the last war and later toured the continent with Jim Europe's Hell Fighters Band was one of the Bridgeport, Conn., war workers featured on the *Soldiers of Production* program over the Blue Network.

Some Radio Programs on Which Negroes Appeared in 1944

Marian Anderson, Contralto, has sung on many radio programs. Some of them were: NBC's *Music America Loves Best*, and the Telephone Hour's *Great Artists Series.*

Carol Brice, young contralto, made her radio debut over NBC with the Kansas City Philharmonic Orchestra. Her singing was smooth, beautiful and enchanting.

Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis, assistant to the army's Inspector General and highest ranking Negro officer in the army spoke from France on the Army Hour over WMAQ-NBC. General Davis described his inspection tour of Negro troops on the Continent.

The Alfred I. Dupont Award for distinctive programming, radio's most coveted prize, was awarded in the 5,000 watt class to Station WMAZ in Macon, Ga., which sponsored the weekly *Fort Valley State College Radio Series* during 1943. The award citation reads . . . "for . . . completeness in constructive aid to education, public service and patriotic morale building."

The Fort Valley College Radio Series has had a wide range, including Margaret Walker, Negro poet; Robert Bellaire, Far Eastern correspondent; Agnes Smedley, China's revolutionary correspondent; F. D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute; musical dramatizations by the Fort Valley choir, assisted by the College Players Guild, and other varied features which have built up a wide audience.

Jimmy Britton sang on the RAAF's weekly radio broadcast, *Take Off Time.*

Maurice Ellis portrayed the part of a forest ranger on the *Mr. District Attorney* broadcast because of the suitability of his voice. The sketch was called *The Case of the Fire Monster*, and was broadcast over NBC. He was seen in the Broadway production, *The Skin of our Teeth*, and frequently is heard over radio.

Lena Horne appeared in a coast-to-coast presentation of the program *Suspense.*

Dr. B. E. Mays, President of Morehouse College, appeared on the Chicago Round Table radio broadcast over Station WSB.

Major R. R. Wright made an address over station WIP commemorating the anniversary of the death of Crispus Attucks who died a hero's death defending his country, March 5, 1770.

On radio drama series *Stories of the United Nations*, sponsored jointly by the Des Moines Public Library and the Drake University School of Radio, the story of the great American scientist, George Washington Carver, based on the recent book *George Washington Carver* by Shirley Graham and George Lipscombe was told.

Richard Wright, author of *Native Son and* Etta Moten, star of *Porgy and Bess*, in New York discussed Edwin Embree's *13 Against the Odds* over WQXR's program, *Other People's Business.* Neil Scott of Interstate United Newspapers arranged the radio discussion.

Walter White, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a nation-wide radio talk over CBS gave an account of his 20,000-mile trip to Great Britain, Ireland, North Africa and Italy.

Well-known hymns and Negro spirituals are sung by the noted all-Negro choir on Columbia's *Wings Over Jor-*

dan program, which is supervised by the Rev. Glenn T. Settle, pastor of the Cleveland, Ohio, Gethsemane Baptist Church. The choir is directed by Maurice Goldman.

Setting a new precedent in radio broadcasts from army posts the National Broadcasting Company and its affiliated stations from coast to coast featured a special half-hour program commemorating the Third Anniversary of the Tuskegee Army Air Field on August 9, 1944. Among the guest speakers were Major General William O. Butler, Commanding General of the Army Air Forces, Eastern Flying Training Command, with Headquarters at Maxwell Field, Montgomery, Ala.; Colonel Noel F. Parrish, Commanding Officer of the Tuskegee Army Air Field and Veteran combat pilots of the celebrated squadrons trained at Tuskegee. Special music was featured by the 613th Army Air Forces Band under the direction of Captain Frank L. Drye; and the Cadet Glee Club of fifty voices, directed by Sgt. Philip Medley. The program gave an over-all picture of three years of training Negro pilots for the Army Air Forces Training Command.

"Men O' War," the theme song and title of the navy's all-colored radio program broadcast from the United States Naval Training Center in Illinois was the only all-colored service show presented weekly over a radio network. The show had an amazing variety of brilliant musical features. There were sweet and torrid hits by the swing band, spirituals and marching songs by a 200-voice regimental choir, martial music by a military band, and songs in exciting and unique arrangements by the octet and the quartet. "Men O' War" also brought information about the navy. Each week a colored recruit was selected to tell the radio audience what he had seen, heard and done in the navy and to tell how he felt about it. The entire production was written, produced and presented by the colored personnel. E. W. Hathcock, formerly director of Music at Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia, was the Petty Officer in charge of the band, music and entertainment department. The script writer and blue jacket announcer was Thomas Anderson, who was Assistant Director to Orson Welles in the Negro Theatre in Harlem.

New York's first woman radio producer, *Barbara M. Watson*, has the hope of bringing more happiness into the world through her program, *I am Your Nextdoor Neighbor*.

Paul Robeson, noted actor and singer, served as narrator for a two-way short-wave broadcast that the Overseas Branch of the United States Office of War Information and the British Broadcasting Corporation presented jointly February 12, 1944, to commemorate the 135th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth President of the United States. In addition to serving as narrator Mr. Robeson sang, *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. The original program was short-waved over 10 stations out of New York to North Africa, Europe, the Near East and South Africa, with simultaneous relays through the United Nations radio, Algiers and the American Expeditionary stations in North Africa.

Canada Lee, played the title role in NBC's drama, *George Washington Carver*. The play was included in the network's *Words at War* series. Frederic March, celebrated actor of screen and stage was heard as the storyteller. The radio play was adapted from Rackham Holt's biography of the famed scientist and scholar and was presented as a salute to the birthday anniversary of the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln. The musical setting was arranged by Juanita Hall, prominent soprano and choral director, and William Meeder, NBC organist.

As his personal contribution to the National War Fund, Canada Lee made an electrical transcription to be played on 912 radio stations through the country in connection with the National War Fund nation-wide drive.

Butterfly McQueen (this is her real name) appears in the Jack Benny show as Rochester's niece, over NBC. Her role is that of an American maid and her comedy has proved to be one of the program's highlights. She first came to public notice as a comedienne in George Abbott's Broadway production *Brown Sugar*. Then she appeared in *Gone With the Wind* as Prissy.

The National Urban League celebrated its 12th annual Vocational Opportunity Campaign by a special broadcast *Salute to Freedom* over the NBC network. This broadcast was designed as part of the National Urban League's week-long campaign for inter-racial unity. Frederic March was narrator. H. V. Kaltenborn reported on the Negro's part in the total war picture. Lloyd K. Garrison, distinguished lawyer, member of the National War Labor Board and Dean of the University of Wisconsin Law School, was guest speaker. Hazel Scott, piano-playing and singing star; John Kirby and his band and the "Charioteers" furnished music.

In 1944 in cooperation with the city-wide Citizens Committee of Harlem, WMCA broadcast a serialization of the best seller, *New World A-Coming*, by Roi Ottley, dramatizing the inner meanings of Negro life with *Canada Lee* as narrator. Later it included other topics related to the Negro's welfare. Many outstanding artists of stage and screen have appeared on the program, along with other prominent personalities. Some of them are: *Maurice Ellis, Richard Huey, P. J. Sidney Wright, Maxine Sullivan, Leigh Whipper, Hazel Scott, Hilda Simms, Josh White, Buell Thomas, Hester Sondergaard, Paula Bauersmith, Marian Anderson, Muriel Smith, Clarence Foster, Doris Block, Rosetta LeNoire, Mary Lou Williams, Hilda Offley, Earle Hyman, Laura Duncan, Ken Renard, Hall Johnson Choir, Walter White, Dr. Channing Tobias* and *Dr. Algernon Block.* Duke Ellington's composition, *New World A-Coming,* was used on the program, which was set for 26 weeks as a sustaining program.

Dr. James E. Shephard, President of North Carolina College for Negroes, *Langston Hughes,* poet and novelist, *John Temple Graves,* author and syndicated columnist and *Carey McWilliams* author of *Brothers Under the Skin* and other writings on minority group problems appeared in a symposium, *Let's Face the Race Question,* a Town Hall Meeting of the Air program, in February, 1944.

THE NEGRO IN MOVING PICTURES

From the beginning of the movies and the talkies the roles assigned to Negroes were only those which portrayed them as buffoons, as unintelligent or subservient persons or as servants. Of late, however, there has been a trend toward giving Negroes better roles. This trend has been due to the fact that there has been a revolt among Negroes, led to a great extent by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, against being stereotyped; and also to the fact that more and more Negro actors with superior talents and training are entering the theatrical field and are able to compete, because of their qualifications, on an equal basis with other actors.

Some Prominent Actors and Actresses in Moving Pictures

Eddie Anderson (Rochester) has the knack of "stealing the show." In *The Meanest Man in the World,* he is the man of all work, confidante, severest critic and escape valve. Some of the pictures he has appeared in are: *Star Spangled Rhythm, Dixie, What's Buzzin, Cousin? Broadway Rhythm.*

Anne Brown sang in Warner Brothers' *Rhapsody in Blue,* the biography of George Gershwin.

Count Basie and his Band have appeared in the following pictures: *Choo Choo Swing, Top Man, Crazy House, Stage Door Canteen, Hit Parade of 1943, Reveille with Beverly,* which also featured Duke Ellington and his Band, the Mills Brothers and others.

Twentieth Century-Fox Studios has produced *Crash Dive* in which *Ben Carter* is shown as a courageous messman on a submarine, who rushes to the defense of Tyrone Power in a critical moment.

Jesse A. Graves has been cast as one of the 50 judges on the International Tribune in *None Shall Escape* a body trying Hitler for plunging the world into war. Other films in which he played include Jimmy Cagney's *Johnny Come Lately,* Warner's *Rhapsody in Blue,* Columbia's *Is Everybody Happy?* and *After Midnight.*

By far the best role any Negro actor has had in Hollywood films for a long time is the one *Rex Ingram* plays in Columbia's *Somewhere in Sahara,* the story of an American 28-ton tank and its crew in the North African desert, starring Humphrey Bogart. He has also played in *Cabin in the Sky* and *Fired Wives.*

Lena Horne, most popular current Negro movie actress, has appeared in *Panama Hattie, Cabin in the Sky, Broadway Rhythm, Stormy Weather, As Thousands Cheer, Two Sisters and a Sailor* and others. In *Stormy Weather* she was given an opportunity to display much of her singing, dancing and acting talent. Lena Horne is said to have drawn $3,000 for her work in this picture. She made her screen debut in 1938 in *The Duke is Tops*, an all-colored movie, with Ralph Cooper. Says *Time* in its January 4, 1943 issue: "Unlike most Negro Chanteuses, Lena Horne eschews the barrelhouse manner, claws no walls, conducts herself with the seductive reserve of a Hildegarde. But when Lena sings at dinner and supper, forks are halted in mid-air. Flashing one of the most magnificent sets of teeth visible outside of a store she seethes her songs with the air of a bashful volcano. As she reaches the end of *Honeysuckle Rose* ("When I'm taking sips from your tasty lips, seems the honey fairly drips") her audience is gasping." Miss Horne was presented the annual Page One Medal Award by the New York Newspaper Guild as the "Brightest Singing Star of 1943."

Miss Horne was born in Brooklyn, New York. At the age of 16 she took advantage of her mother's former professional career—she was an actress with the old Lafayette Stock Company—and got a job in the chorus line of the Cotton Club in Harlem. After a brief respite, she joined Noble Sissle's orchestra as vocalist touring the country for two years. Lou Leslie signed her for a part in his *Blackbirds*. Then she was booked as vocalist with Charlie Barnet's band. After a few months on the radio, Miss Horne was booked for Cafe Society Downtown in New York. Deciding to try her luck on the West Coast, she arrived at the time the Little Troc was being opened. She got a booking into the new night club, was accepted overnight and carried on for six weeks. Then she was booked into the Mocambo. An MGM scout spotted her there and immediately signed her to appear in *Panama Hattie*. She is under a seven-year contract to MGM.

20th Century-Fox's *Stormy Weather* co-stars *Lena Horne* and *Bill Robinson* and features *Cab Calloway* and his band, *Katherine Dunham* and her dancers, *Fats Waller*, *Dooley Wilson*, *Ada Brown*, the *Nicholas Brothers* and others.

Canada Lee in *Lifeboat* portrays a ship-wrecked steward from a freighter.

Sybie Lewis appearing in Warner Brothers *Since You Went Away* is shown on the assembly line with the stellar characters in a defense plant.

Sergeant Joe Louis, Lieutenant Ronald Reagan and *Sergeant Claude Turner* were used in the film version of *This is the Army*.

Pigmeat Marham, famed funny-man of the vaudeville stage, received his first role under his screen acting contract in *Moonlight and Cactus* a campus picture featuring the *Andrew Sisters*.

Hattie McDaniel had a leading role in the David O. Selznick Production, *Since You Went Away*. Miss McDaniel is featured in *McLeod's Folly* a drama by Columbia Studios and appeared in Warner Brothers musical hit, *Thank Your Lucky Stars*, with Jesse Brooks, Rita Christina and Willie Best.

Nina Mae McKinney completed a role in Columbia's *A Woman's Privilege* starring Irene Dunne and Charles Boyer. She appears also in *Dark Waters*, and Columbia's *Together Again*.

Florence O'Brien seen as the wife of Dooley Wilson in *Stormy Weather* played in a Jewish picture and spoke Jewish dialogue, the first time a colored girl has played such a part in Hollywood.

Lillian Randolph, RKO star, is a veteran of twenty-five films. She is known for her homey, original character portrayal of *Birdie* on the *Great Gildersleeve* air show since 1941. She was signed out of a night club for the role of *Asia* in RKO Radio's *Little Men*. She received her first break as an actress at the age of 18 in *Lucky Sambo* when her sister, a member of the cast, became ill. Coming to Hollywood on a vacation trip she crashed the movies unintentionally when a producer saw her at a night club. After her first stage appearance Miss Randolph was in radio work and was identified with a program known as *Lulu and Leander* for almost 3 years.

Bill Robinson, born May 25, 1878, leading tap dancer, the star of many musical reviews, obtained his first romantic lead in *Stormy Weather*, a biography of his life. He is said to have been paid $4,000 per week for his work in this picture.

Hazel Scott, a favorite of New York's Cafe Society, appears in *Something to Shout About* and plays two pianos at once in a sensational sequence in Columbia's *Tropicana*. The number is entitled *White Keys and Black Keys.* Another number especially written for Miss Scott in which she both sings and plays is *When the Caissons Go Rolling Along*. It is a take-off on the marching song of the field artillery, and is the center of a large all-Negro sequence. Hazel Scott also appears in *Broadway Rhythm*, in *Rhapsody in Blue*, *The Heat's On*, and *I Doo'd It*. She is said to have drawn $1,500 a week for *I Doo'd It* and $4,000 per week for *Broadway Rhythm* and May West's *Tropicana*.

Kenneth Spencer has a good role in *Bataan* produced by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.

Ethel Waters as the star, *Eddie "Rochester" Anderson, Lena Horne, Rex Ingram, Louis Armstrong, Kenneth Spencer, John W. "Bubbles" Sublett, Oscar Polk, Mantan Moreland, Willie Best, Fletcher "Moke" Rivers, Leon "Poke" James, Bill Barley, Ford L. "Buck" Washington, Butterfly McQueen, Ruby Dandridge, Nicodemus* and *Ernest Whitman* were outstanding in Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's *Cabin in the Sky.*

Leigh Whipper played in *Ox-Bow Incident, The Vanishing Virginian* and other pictures. The distinguished role in Warner Brothers *Mission to Moscow* is perhaps the most important role ever given to a Negro actor. Whipper portrays Haile Selassie in the *League of Nations* sequence. During the production of the picture when Whipper concluded his stirring speech to the League's delegates urging them to unite against Axis aggression, the crowd on the set burst into spontaneous applause. Leigh Whipper was born in Charleston, S. C. He was educated at St. Paul's Academy, Bethesda, Md., and at Howard University where he participated in theatricals and graduated in law in 1898. In 1901 he joined the Georgia Minstrels with whom he toured for many years. Whipper has appeared in at least 21 Broadway productions, the most important of which are *Stevedore, Emperor Jones, Marching Men,* and *Of Mice and Men.*

Arthur "Dooley" Wilson in *Casablanca* revived Herman Hupfeld's song *As Time Goes By* written in 1931 and made of it a sensational present-day success. More than 300,000 copies of the song have been sold since Wilson started singing it. Dooley Wilson was born in Tyler, Texas, sang with the late James Reese Europe's historic jazz band, and after Europe's death formed his own band touring from Paris to Casablanca and Port Said. In recent years he has worked in the Federal Theatre Project, playing in the *Show-Off, Androcles and the Lion*, and the Broadway production, *Cabin in the Sky*. He has signed a long-term contract with RKO Studios.

Fighting American portrayed by Toddy Pictures Company is a full-length picture of training of flyers at the Tuskegee Army Flying Field and the actual induction of Negro women in all the phases of Army Military Training from the recruit to office personnel.

Warner Brothers Studio has produced, *In This Our Life*, adapted from the novel by Ellen Glasgow in which the young Negro actor, *Ernest Anderson*, played a dignified and forthright role.

The historic film, *The Negro Soldier*, was well received by audiences, both white and Negro. It portrays the heroic role of the Negro throughout American military history. The major portion of the film is given over to shots of the Negro troops in training camps through the country from Fort Custer to Huachuca. A thread of dramatic continuity is conveyed through a Negro mother who reads a letter from her son at her church service detailing his routine from induction to his preparation for Officers' School. The role of the mother is played by *Bertha Wolford* and the son by *Lieutenant Norman Ford*. Carlton Moss acted as Technical Advisor for the film. Several excellent Negro composers and arrangers were associated on the musical staff of the production, including William Grant Still, Phil Moore of *Shoo Shoo Baby* fame, Calvin Jackson and Jester Hairston.

RKO-Pathe newsreels national releases included shots of the famous 99th Pursuit Squadron in action over Italy as part of the Allied Advance in that theatre of war. Part of a continuity titled *Allied Advance in Italy* the 99th shots are first of their kind since America entered the war.

EDUCATIONAL FILMS AND RADIO SCRIPTS*

The films and scripts listed below may be secured on a loan, rental or purchase basis from the sources indicated:

Radio Scripts

"The following radio scripts are distributed by the U. S. Office of Education through its Script Exchange Service which provides assistance to groups studying radio writing, speaking, acting, sound effects, and program production. The scripts have excellent value for intercultural education. Volumes of scripts are loaned for four weeks and single scripts for three weeks. Inquiry should be made to: U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Educational Radio Script and Transcription Exchange, Washington 25, D. C:

"Beyond the Call of Duty." The heroic efforts of Negro citizens to do their part to preserve liberty in the present struggle is dramatized in this script, written especially for Race Relations Sunday, February 14, 1943, by Adele Nathan and Blevins Davis.

"The Land of the Free." The prohibition of slavery in the Ordinance of 1787; the development of this idea and its effect upon the history of the United States.

"The Negro in the United States." This program shows that the Negro, like most of the other ethnic groups, has been with us from the beginning. It also shows the large part he has played in our artistic as well as our economic life.

"Right of Racial Equality." (Let Freedom Ring series.)

"Right of Suffrage." (Let Freedom Ring series.)

"Trial by Jury." (Let Freedom Ring series.)

Transcriptions

Library of Congress. Afro-American Spirituals, Work Songs, Ballads, Blues, and Game Songs. Edited by Alan Lomax. Albums III and IV. Washington, D. C. The Library of Congress, Reference Department, Division of Music.

United States Office of Education. The Transcription Service of the U. S. Office of Education is maintained to serve schools and colleges, as well as other institutions, organizations, or radio stations, actively engaged in education or in the promotion of public morale. These transcriptions offer excellent teaching aids as well as inspirational and morale-building media. There are over 200 titles from which to choose. The following have particular interest. Full details and instructions may be obtained from the U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Educational Radio Script and Transcription Exchange, Washington 25, D. C.

"Freedom's People." This series of 30-minute, dramatized, educational programs deal with the Negro's participation in American life. They are intended to serve the purpose of promoting national unity and better racial relations. They are well suited for audiences ranging from the middle-elementary grade level to the adult level. Each of the programs of this series, except No. B-108 is one hour in length and occupies both sides of each of two 16-inch transcriptions. Circulation basis: Available either for loan or for purchase. (Price: $1.50 per complete program copy.) Program scripts: The scripts of all eight of these programs are available in a single volume.

"Contributions to Music." (B-101)
"Contributions to Science and Discovery." (B-102)
"Contributions to Sports." (B-103)
"Contributions to Military Service." (B-104)
"The Negro Worker." (B-105)
"Contributions to Education." (B-106)
"Contributions to the Creative Arts." (B-107)
"The Negro and Christian Democracy." (B-108)

"The Negro in the United States." (A-104.) This program tells the story of the contribution of the Negro—labor, artistic contributions, and the part he played in bringing public education to the South after the War between the States. Purchase only: three 12-inch transcriptions.

Educational Films

Board of Missions, Presbyterian Church. "Rise of a Race." 2 reels, 16 mm., silent. New York. 156 Fifth Avenue. Tells the story of Presbyterian missions in the South among Negroes.

Educational Film Library Association. "As Our Boyhood Is." 18 minutes, 16 mm., sound. $3. New York, 45 Rockefeller Plaza. An accurate account of the best in education for Negroes in rural areas with enough indication of the worst to show that while progress has been made, there is much work yet to be done. Produced by the American Film Center under a grant from the General Education Board.

Garrison Film Distribution, Inc. "America's Disinherited." 3 reels, 16mm., sound. New York, 1600 Broadway. Records the efforts being made to aid sharecroppers.

Garrison Film Distribution, Inc. "If a Boy Needs a Friend." 1 reel, 16 mm., silent. Pictures the friendship which may develop between boys of different races.

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*From "Sources of Instructional Material on Negroes" by Dr. Ambrose Caliver, U. S. Office of Education.

The Harmon Foundation. "Africa." 16 mm., silent. Subjects available thru the Harmon Foundation from their Africa motion picture project include: "Children of Africa"; "A Day in an African Village"; "The Story of Bamba"; "How an African Tribe is Ruled"; "What a Missionary Does in Africa"; "Christian Education in Africa"; "David Livingstone."

The Harmon Foundation. "Calhoun—the Way to a Better Future." 1 reel, 16 mm., silent. $1.50. Documents the work of Calhoun School among the rural Negro peoples of Lowndes County, Alabama. Shows the bleak monotony of the land and the squalid living conditions of the Negro population. A typical plantation school is shown; then the work of a better school, partially administered by Calhoun, is treated; and finally the Calhoun School itself is shown, with its influence in improving the living conditions of the people.

The Harmon Foundation. "Art in Negro Schools." 2 reels, 16 mm., silent. $3. A general approach to the place of art education in the general scheme of preparing for a well-rounded life. Indicates the development in training in art expression thru dramatics, music, dancing, and the fine arts in several leading Negro schools.

The Harmon Foundation. "Hampton Institute—Its Program of Education for Life." 3 reels, 16 mm., silent; kodachrome, $10; black and white, $4.50. This is an overall view of the philosophy of Hampton showing opportunities offered for work as well as study and preparation in trades, agriculture, home economics, teaching, business, and the like. Brief consideration is given to historical aspects.

The Harmon Foundation. "The Negro and Art." 1 reel, 16 mm., silent. $1.50. This film presents in pictorial record the combined efforts of the foremost Negro artists of America and depicts concrete advancement in Negro art and culture.

The Harmon Foundation. "Painting in Oil." 1 reel, 16 mm., silent, kodachrome, $3. Demonstrations in still life by Palmer Hayden, Negro artist. Illustrates technics for painting with oil.

The Harmon Foundation. "A Study of Negro Artists." 4 reels, 16 mm., silent. $4.50. This film presents intimate glimpses of a number of outstanding Negro artists, showing their places of work, their methods, and some of their productions. Emphasizes that the Negro must first earn his living and consider his art avocational. Consideration is given his opportunities to study art.

The Harmon Foundation. "Xavier University—America's Only Catholic College for Negro Youth." 1 reel, 16 mm., silent $1.50. Surveys in informal journalistic style the range of facilities and activities at Xavier, including academic, athletic and social.

The Harmon Foundation. "Y. W. C. A., Harlem, N. Y." 1 reel, 16 mm., silent. $1.50. Shows the advantages in training for economic usefulness and the sports and recreation available at the Y. W. C. A. in the center of New York's Harlem.

National Tuberculosis Association. "Let My People Live." 16 mm., sound. 15 min. New York. 1790 Broadway. Dramatization by an all-Negro cast of the necessity for early diagnosis and treatment of tuberculosis.

Office of War Information. "Henry Browne, Farmer." 1 reel, 16 mm., sound. Produced by the Department of Agriculture, this is a simple, down to earth story of a Negro family in wartime—what they are doing individually and collectively to win the war.

Office of War Information. "Negro Colleges in Wartime." 1 reel, 16 mm., sound. 8 min. Wartime activities carried on in America's Negro Colleges, from Army classes in automechanics to scientific experimentation in laboratories.

Office of War Information. "The Negro Soldier." 4 reels, 16 mm., sound 45 min. The film is an excellent contribution to a fuller understanding of the vital role of the Negro in our democracy. It goes back into the foundations of our Nation to tell what the Negro has done for his country and shows him in action in all of the wars of the Republic from the War of Independence through World War II.

Southern Education Foundation. "The Jeanes Teacher and Her Work." 1 reel, 16 mm.; 2 reels, 35 min., sound. Washington, D. C., 726 Jackson Place, N. W.

Teaching Film Custodians. "The Story of Doctor Carver." 16 mm., sound. 10 min. New York; 25 West 43rd Street. The story of a little slave boy who became an outstanding scientist.

U. S. Department of Agriculture. "The Negro Farmer." 16 mm., sound. 30 min. Activities of the Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture among Negro farmers in the South.

DIVISION XXI

NEGRO AMERICAN LITERATURE

By Arthur P. Davis

Howard University

NEGRO LITERATURE CHARACTERIZED

Though no definite break with the past in literary matters occurred in 1941, the declaration of war in that year did bring about a quickening of Negro protest—a quickening which has been reflected in every type of literature written by Negroes. This new leaven of discontent has tended to give some measure of unity and distinctiveness to the Negro American literature of the 1941-46 period.

Because of the length of time involved in this survey (and the resultant large number of publications), it is necessary to limit our appraisal to three major fields: Fiction, poetry, and biography. There has been added, however, a fourth group labeled "Miscellaneous Writings." Patently a catch-all, this section makes no attempt at completeness. It will simply try to give a representative sampling of the major works in fields other than the three principal ones mentioned above.

A word more about the limitation of scope—this resume will deal only with the books by Negro authors published in the period, not the magazine articles; and these works will be primarily those found in Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn's yearly lists in *The Crisis*.

There will, of course, be some omissions. Although they are excellent, Spingarn's lists are not complete. Moreover, several of the minor works he has entered are not available even in the Library of Congress. And there are always other minor works which escape all bibliographical compilers, but which never fail to crop up afterwards to plague the unfortunate critic who has overlooked them.

Negro Literature As American Literature

Because there is a constant tendency to think of Negro American writing as mere "Negro literature," a note of reminder would not be out of place here. It is to be understood that the literature we are examining, although its subject matter is predominately concerned with the Negro's struggle for equality, is not a tradition apart from the main stream of American literary development. It does not constitute a unique cultural pattern. The Negro writer, whether in 1760 or in 1941, is an American and his work is American literature.

A brief comment on the background of our period is necessary. In reality, it would not be amiss to begin this background discussion with a consideration of the 1925 New Negro Movement, because many of the best known writers in this period began their careers during the New Negro Renaissance. Space, however, does not permit such a long running start. It is sufficient to state that that Movement was more of a fad than a real literary revival; and after its debacle, the Negro writer settled down in the late thirties to a less exotic and a more genuinely productive course.

General Trends Characterizing Negro American Writing

By 1941 the following general trends characterized Negro American writing:

(1) A tendency away from the emphasis on poetry which had distinguished Negro creative effort during the twenties and early thirties. Able poets like McKay, Bontemps, Richard Wright, and Sterling Brown by this time had turned either largely or entirely to prose. Publication of first-rate volumes of verse had become extremely rare.

(2) A continued emphasis on the folk element in Negro writing. The New Negro rediscovered the importance of folk material and gave it new meaning. Since that period, both poets and prose writers have found the folk lode profitable and have mined it continually.

(3) A new insistence upon documentary social analysis particularly with reference to the race problem. The influence of this trend was apparent not only in the many scholarly publications in the socio-economic field, but in fiction as well.

(4) A swing to the left. Many of the best Negro writers came to see the race problem as essentially proletarian, and this conviction is expressed in their productions. In addition, the depression and the rise of fascism at home and abroad helped to promote this leftist trend.

(5) A much stronger emphasis on social protest than had heretofore existed. Negro literature has always been primarily a protest literature, but America's entrance into a war to make democracy prevail became a signal, as it were, for the Negro writer to open the flood gates of social protest.

There should be added finally that Negro American writing by 1941 had definitely passed its apprentice stage. Though still weak in one or two areas, notably the drama and biography, it no longer needed to be apologetic. Objective, diversified, and capable, it had become another important source spring of the main stream of American literature.

FICTION: 1941-46

General Tendencies

The outstanding phenomenon in the fiction of this period has been the rise of a fast-growing school of hard-boiled writers. The chief members of this new school are Richard Wright, William Attaway (both of whom wrote in this vein before 1941), Charles Offord, Ann Petry, and Chester Himes.

This school specializes in depicting the sordidness and the social degeneracy one finds in the modern city slum, particularly in the black ghettos of these slums. Emphasizing the brutality of a social order geared to produce Bigger Thomases, these writers delineate in harsh detail the helplessness of the victims and the warping and distorting influence on their personalities wrought by this hostile social scheme. The writers of this group say in effect: Here is what the prejudiced American system does to the Negro. All he asks is a chance to live a decent normal life. America not only denies him that chance, but it also makes of him a brutal caricature of humanity.

Primarily writers of social criticism and protest, these hard-boiled novelists make frequent use of so-called filth and obscenity, a fact which has alienated many Negro readers. The latter tend to forget, however, that this objectionable material is not inserted wholly for sensational effect. Another weapon in the arsenal of protest, it is used to shock the American conscience into an awareness of the inequalities and injustices in our system. Though not "officially" Marxist, these writers have been influenced by leftist sentiments and leftist literature.

A serious charge against this school has been that some of their more sensational characters are simply neurotic personalities and not necessarily Negro characters. This false racialism, adverse critics claim, tends to detract from the depth of their books and the message they wish to convey.

The works of this school, however, have been immensely popular with white readers particularly, and this popularity has invalidated the long-held belief that Negro writing must pull its punches if it is to appeal to a remunerative white audience. On the contrary the success of these works seems to point to a new stereotype: The ultra-hard-boiled, ultra-sexy, ultra-sensational Negro novel.

The Negro novelist now appears to have three rather well-defined audiences to which he can slant his work: The "racial," the "liberal-protest," and the "popular." A book, for instance, like Micheaux's *Case of Mrs. Wingate* (1945) seems designed primarily for a Negro reading public. The hard-boiled novels are obviously slanted to reach the liberal element in both groups but particularly in the white group. *The Foxes of Harrow* (1946) by Yerby was evidently written for popular consumption without a "race" tag and with an obvious eye on Hollywood.

One notes a very interesting omission in the fiction of this period. None of it deals directly with the war. In only two or three works does the war effort enter at all and then only obliquely. In all probability we are too close to the event, and *the* Negro war novel will come later. As the treatment of the Negro service man was the outstanding grievance of the colored press, this novel may well have that theme.

Major Novels

Blood on the Forge (1941) by William Attaway is a novel of the hard-boiled type, and it depicts with rough realism the story of three Negro brothers who leave rural Kentucky to go to the steel mills in Western Pennsylvania. One of the first to describe the impact of a highly industrialized society on the Negro peasant mind, Attaway opens a comparatively new and fruitful vein for the Negro novelist. This is Mr. Attaway's second novel, the first, *Let Me Breathe Thunder*, appeared in 1939.

The White Face (1943) by Charles Ruthaven Offord, a first novel, tells the story of two Negro sharecroppers, man and wife, who leave Georgia to seek freedom in Harlem. Their subsequent hardships, their entanglement with white law in a white world, and their final tragic encounter with pro-Nazi agents make a painfully violent and sordid story. Highly exaggerated and not always convincing, the novel yet has a strong and pertinent message for America. Typical of the hard-boiled school of writing, it makes a vigorous plea for a better understanding of the Negro peasants' dilemma in the Black Metropolises of America.

The Raven (1944), a first novel by Chancellor Williams, is a significant work. Though over-written in parts, it is an eloquent argument for a better understanding of Poe's much publicized peculiarities. Moreover, it tells a fascinating story and gives an unusual slant on Poe's sexual dilemma. The book also credits Poe with much more social consciousness and anti-slavery sentiment than are historically associated with him. Mr. Williams has not written from a "racial" viewpoint. The novel is the first of its kind—that is, a fictionalized portrait of a world famous figure by a Negro American writer.

If He Hollers Let Him Go (1945) by Chester Himes is the toughest of the hard-boiled novels. With a neurotic character that is never fully developed, it runs the gamut of violence and sex from lesbianism to attempted rape. The novel has a message, but somehow the message gets lost in the sensationalism of the work, and the reader gets only a partially-developed study of frustration, superficially tinged with race oppression. Like all of the novels of its type, however, it has been popular; it has therefore helped to make liberal America more conscious of the Negro's plight.

The Street (1946) by Ann Petry is another promising first novel. It tells the tragic story of the futile efforts of a Negro mother to provide a decent home in Harlem for her only son, a nine-year-old "key" child. In the novel, 116th Street is the antagonist, symbolizing all the evil inherent in the bad housing, the bad sanitation, the violence, and the bestiality of segregated slum living. In one sense, the work is a New York version of *Native Son* though milder and far less powerful in its portrayal and in its message. The book won the Houghton Mifflin Fellowship Award for 1945.

The Foxes of Harrow (1946) by Frank Yerby is a first novel that has made the national best seller lists and is being considered for the movies. Full of action and color and sex, this historical novel of Old New Orleans pulls every romantic stop on the fictional organ. For sheer entertainment, this swift-paced story of duels, loves, lusts, voodoo and quadroon mistresses in Old New Orleans leaves very little to be desired. Although the long arm of coincidence is indeed long in the plot, although several characters are not real and several situations false, one can forgive many such weaknesses in a book so highly entertaining. In an effort not to be "racial" in his slant, Mr. Yerby has occasionally leaned over backwards, but for the most part he writes objectively. The work naturally invites comparison with *Gone With the Wind*. The New Orleans of Yerby's novel is far more colorful and romantic than Miss Mitchell's Georgia, and Yerby overlooks none of its possibilities.

Jule (1946) by Georgie Wylie Henderson, the author of *Ollie Miss* (1935), is the story of a Negro boy growing up in Alabama. Running afoul of a Negro-white love affair, he leaves the South for more interesting adventures among Negro society folk in New York. After "improving" himself he returns South to his first love. Having no real message, the work is definitely inferior to *Ollie Miss*.

Other Fiction

Though this is by no means a blanket charge, much of the minor fiction of this period, to put it bluntly, is of a very inferior grade. Several of the writers have an incipient message but their lack of craftsmanship has vitiated that message. Others really have nothing to say and the length of their novels, many of them less than two hundred pages long, is but additional proof of their inadequacy. But, as stated above, this is no blanket charge. There are one or two works not wholly guilty of these accusations.

Under the Cottonwood Tree (1941) by Katheryn Campbell Graham, according to its sub-title, purports to be "a saga of Negro life in which the history, traditions, and folklore of the Negro of the last century are vividly portrayed." The author knows considerable folklore and folk custom, and in her major figure she has the makings of an excellent character. Her limited knowledge of craftsmanship and technique, however, prevents her from developing the really rich resources she has at hand.

It Was Not My World (1942) by Deaderick F. Jenkins is, as expressed in the subtitle, "a story in black and white that's different." Not really a novel at all, the work is a series of violent sketches attacking southern injustice. Seasoned with Marxist propaganda, the book has a strong message, but again like others in this group, it loses out because of technical ineptness. Though faulty, it is a very interesting work, and certain of its passages and episodes are franker than any in the toughest of the hard-boiled novels mentioned above.

Picketing Hell (1942), a "fictitious narrative" by A. Clayton Powell, Senior, is a strong attack on the clergy, that is, the unworthy members of that profession. With its wealth of homely anecdotes and characterizations, the book has a strong appeal, one imagines, for the great masses of church-going folk. The church is always good copy for a Negro writer, and Powell's intimate acquaintance with all types of ecclesiastical wrong-doers and racketeers—male and female—helps the book considerably. But his ignorance of the fundamentals of novel writing spoils some excellent material.

What's Wrong With Lottery (1943) by Ruth Thompson Bernard is not a work of fiction but a fanatically religious tirade against lottery and numbers. Crudely constructed of various unrelated segments, it has in one of these sections a badly-told, unrealistic love story with the hero the victim of the sin of lottery-playing.

From Jerusalem to Jericho (1943) by Edward Gholson is a religious allegory, retelling somewhat after the manner of *Pilgrim's Progress* the story of the Good Samaritan.

Flour Is Dusty (1943) by Curtis Lucas is a very short and simply told story of a murder, with love interest added. The author, again, had many good themes which he failed to develop.

Her Last Performance (1944) by Wade S. Gray is a brief and hopelessly confused love story, told without realism, plot structure, or adequate characterization.

Cocoanut Suite (1944), a semi-autobiographical series of stories and sketches by Corinne Dean, deals with a young American teacher's experience in Puerto Rico. Well-written and entertaining, the work shows promise. "Plantation Stain," the best story in the book, appeared in *The Crisis*.

The Policy King (1945) by Lewis A. H. Caldwell is the first novel by a Negro to treat in any serious way the "numbers" racket, one of the most ingrained customs of the Negro masses. The author knows the racket and has some insight into the psychology of the types involved in it. The book, however, suffers from his inability to tell an effective story. The numbers game is an excellent study for both social writer and novelist. Caldwell has rendered a service in opening up the field.

Oscar Micheaux's three novels—*The Wind From Nowhere* (1942), *The Case of Mrs. Wingate* (1944) and *The Story of Dorothy Stanfield* (1946)—have been reserved for the last for two reasons: First, because they are the most interesting novels of this group; and, second, because they are fuller and more provocative than the others. Dealing with sensational themes such as Negro-white marriage, the stage type of woman, black Nazis, and the Negro's shortcomings, these novels present as few other works today the attitude, the thinking, the prejudices, and to a certain degree the turn of phrase of the Negro man-in-the-street. Micheaux knows intimately the psychology of the mass-Negro and he exploits it effectively in his novels. But he too suffers from many technical deficiencies. For this and other reasons there has been a tendency among critics to "dismiss" Oscar Micheaux as a writer. This is unfortunate because he has a message. Incidentally, he has also disproved that old belief that Negroes do not buy books. All of his works have had tremendous sales among Negroes.

POETRY: 1941-46

General Tendencies

Reviewing the contemporary Negro poets and their works in 1936, Sterling A. Brown pointed out the following major tendencies:

> (1) As lyrical poets they are more "frankly personal," less restrained and far less conventional than the older poets.
>
> (2) They have been influenced, of course, by modern American poetical trends, standards and movements like the "New Poetry Movement," but many of them have remained untouched and are still too "bookish."
>
> (3) In their "defense" or protest poems, they have been more assured and more self-reliant than their elders; in combatting American hypocrisy, they tend to be more ironic and angry, eschewing for the most part the humility of the older poets.
>
> (4) The poets who work with folk material no longer "accept the stereotyped view of the traditional dialect writers"; they are not afraid of an "honest portrayal of folk life." Seeing the tragic as well as the pitiful, "they are much closer to the true folk product than to the minstrel song." And their laughter is more often that of irony than of buffoonery.

This appraisal may be applied without serious modification to the poets of the 1941-46 period. One should add, however, that the greatest problem of the Negro poet now seems to be his monotonous application to the Problem. Over and over again he voices the same protest in the same old way. Even though understandable, this is regrettable. Although the Negro poet, if he is to be true to himself, cannot blink at injustice, he must, for his own artistic health, find a new approach to and a new treatment of the Problem. There is grave danger, many critics believe, of the protest muse becoming sterile.

Incidentally, one notes that most of the poets of this period write in what may be called a "late-New Poetry" style. Only two or three ever use the ultra-modern symbolic style—the "poem must not mean but be" manner. Whether this is a fault or a virtue, one hesitates to say. At least it keeps Negro American poetry intelligible to all readers.

Major Poets

The winning of the "Yale Series of Younger Poets Award" by Margaret Walker with her first work, *For My People* (1942), was a significant achievement. Containing sonnets and ballads as well as the more usual modern type of associational poem, Miss Walker's work has the realism, the directness, the controlled intensity and a biblical surge of language uncommon in American poetry. Throughout her poems there is a strong feeling of race. One of her recurring themes is that of the Negro's longing for a return to his native home, the South, and his inability to do so because of oppression and violence. Her title-poem is a probing, moving piece, which makes excellent use of alliteration, assonance, repetition and the chant rhythm. Tremendously effective, it is one of the great poems of the period.

Langston Hughes' *Shakespeare in Harlem* (1942) is, according to his explanatory note, a "book of light verse. Afro-Americana in the blues mood, poems syncopated and variegated in the colors of Harlem, Beale Street, West Dallas, and Chicago's West Side." Though Hughes is always an interesting and challenging writer, one gets from this volume the impression of an over-worked idiom. Langston Hughes has a deep understanding of the folk mind, but there is a certain monotony in the blues form which he uses generously in this work.

In Freedom's Plow (1943), Hughes has written another moving version of his great poem, "Let America Be America Again." A free verse piece, excellently suited for public reading, it was read over the Blue Network, March 15, 1943, by Paul Muni. *Jim Crow's Last Stand* (1943), a pamphlet containing miscellaneous brief poems by Hughes, has two excellent protest pieces, "Bitter River" and "Good Morning, Stalingrad."

Seven Poets in Search of an Answer (1944), edited by Thomas Yoseloff, is a poetic symposium in which the writers wage a "kind of cooperative assault upon the fascist horror darkening the world." These seven anti-fascist poets are: "Bodenheim, Joy Davidman, Aaron Kramer, Alfred Kreymburg, Martha Millet, Norman Rosten, and Langston Hughes, the only Negro contributor. The latter's contribution consists of ten poems, most of them specifically anti-jim crow in theme. A few like "Good Morning, Stalingrad," tie in the Negro's faith in Russia with his own problem.

The columnist-teacher-poet Melvin B. Tolson, in his first full-length publication, *Rendezvous With America* (1944), makes a strong bid for recognition as a major Negro American poet. Though uneven as a writer, he has produced better than average verse in many of the poems in this volume. Inclined to be diffuse and rhetorical, inclined also to over-use the catalog type of long poem, Tolson nevertheless has in his better pieces a strong patriotic message and a strong and lively imagination.

Robert E. Hayden, the author of *Heart Shape in the Dust* (1940), appears in *Cross Section* (1945), an anthology edited by Edwin Seaver. His contribution is the long poem, "Middle Passage," a dramatic and stirring account of the slave trade ending on the Cinquez theme. A very able poem in the modern style, it fulfills (in part, of course) the promise of his first productions.

A Street in Bronzeville (1945), Gwendolyn Brooks' phenomenal first work, evoked from the critics the kind of acclaim Cullen's *Color* received in 1925. With a flair for probing beneath the surface and saying the usual in an unusual way, Miss Brooks has freshness and controlled intensity. She has a sort of mocking contempt for the cloister, and her poems chant a full-blooded, strong-bodied life as she describes the inhabitants of Bronzeville. Miss Brooks has a varied technique, making use of verse libre, the sonnet form, and on occasion the rhythmical pattern of free verse with rhyme. Among the poems in the volumn to catch the public's eye are the "Ballad of Pearl May Lee" (which describes the bitterness of a black girl whose man is lynched because of his desire for white women) and "The Sunday of Satin-Legs Smith" (the best poem on this theme since Brown's "Sporting Beasley"). No surface-poet, Miss Brooks gives unforgettable pictures of city slum living.

Owen Dodson's *Powerful Long Ladder* (1946), though disappointing in some respects, is an interesting and significant work. In its rhythms, in its imagery, and in its symbolism, Dodson's poetry is the most "modern" in the period. Through most of Dodson's work runs an acute awareness of color. His "Black Mother Praying," the most down-to-earth piece in the book, expresses extremely well the whole attitude of the American Negro towards World War II and its background of injustice for colored people. In all probability, the best poetry in the work is the "Winter Chorus" from the author's unpublished poetic drama, *The Divine Comedy*.

Other Poets

It should be pointed out that the poets we are to consider in this section have in most cases a much better command of their medium than the "other" novelists. Their faults are those of conventionality, didacticism, and sameness; and, of course, there are brilliant exceptions to each of these shortcomings. Some of these poets have overworked the racial-protest theme; others are prone to fall back on an outmoded poetic diction; and still others make use of the definitely old-fashioned minstrel tradition in dialect verse. But several of these publications are surprisingly good first works and promise much for the future.

Among the latter sort is *Arrows of Gold* (1941), an anthology of Catholic verse from Xavier University. The book is edited by Peter Wellington Clark, who is also one of the principal contributors. All of the poems originally appeared in the school paper, *The Xavier Herald*. The volume is one of the most promising collections to come from a Negro college since *Four Lincoln University Poets* in 1930. Although the Church influence is naturally very strong, although many of the poems, like all school verse, are bookish and derivative, *Arrows of Gold* is still a significant publication.

Psalms and Proverbs (1941) by Alice Haden Merritt is a poetical version of two books of the Bible. It is the kind of thing that was done from the time of Sternhold and Hopkins in 1562 down to Isaac Watts in 1719. Mrs. Merritt's versions have a certain facility. Some are suitable for use as hymns.

Sepia Vistas (1941) by Alpheus Butler is a volume of conventional, derivative and escapist verse. In spite of the title there is very little of race in these pieces. There are, however, echoes of a tropical background, but they are not positive enough to be of significance.

Golden Banners (1941) by Irene Marie Pektor is a book of conventional but free-flowing verses on love, life, religion, and above all on nature. It has some echoes of the war, but they are not very strong.

Ruby Berkley Goodwin's *From My Kitchen Window* (1942) is a book of facile verses on religion and love. In "A Rendezvous With God" and in other pieces, Miss Goodwin writes under the influence of George Herbert, the seventeenth century Anglican poet. Although she has a small number of protest and dialect poems, she is at her best in religious lyrics.

Whitecaps (1942) by Virgina Lee Simmons is, in the words of Ann Spencer, a book of "wraithlike and pale" poems. One finds in it something of the disillusionment which modern youth feels in this war-torn era. Her title-poem and "Shadows Fall on the Temple of Edo" deal romantically with African themes.

We Who Would Die and other Poems, including Haitian Vignettes (1943) by Binga Dismond is a very promising and a very surprising first volume. With a variety of pieces including good strong protest poems, sophisticated modern love poems, and some excellent verses on Haiti, this volume is both rewarding and entertaining. Decidedly not the run-of-mine first effort, the book has a unique charm and appeal.

Sing, Laugh, Weep (1944) by the "Scribes" (a group of St. Louis school teachers and principals) is an uneven compilation. The Scribes are Lorenzo D. Blanton, Frederick W. Bond, Laura Howard, Alice E. McGee, Arthur W. Reason, and Ezra W. Turner. Among the best pieces in the book are "Creeping Joy" by Turner and "The Street Called Petticoat Lane" by McGee. The themes of the whole group are generally racial; many of them, however, have been done too often. But the work is of interest as an uncommon venture in cooperative writing and publication.

The Hills of Yesterday (1944) by Aloise Barbour Epperson is a volume of simple and heartfelt lyrics. Though many of her poems are on conventional themes, Miss Epperson's sincerity, passion, and deep religious feeling invest them with a certain dignity. But she also has several realistic pieces which show keen observation.

Recaptured Echoes (1944) by Odella Phelps Wood is a first volume of short pieces on the usual themes of love and life, with racial and strong moralistic overtones. The last six poems in the book are for children.

The Greatest of These (1944) by Howard Thurman is a thin but beautifully printed and bound volume of poems in free verse—really poetic meditations—on religious and metaphysical subjects.

Beatrice M. Murphy's *Love Is a Terrible Thing* (1945) is a series of poems describing with a certain intensity the various stages of love from its first glow to its final disillusionment.

William Lorenzo Morrison's *Dark Rhapsody* (1945) contains much derivative verse. The fact that his "To a Brown-Skin Maiden" is a sepia version of "La Belle Dame sans Merci" indicates much concerning the volume.

Rhymes from the Delta (1945?) by George Washington McCorkle is a volume of homespun verse—some in dialect—on various themes. Occasional, didactic, moral, elegiac, religious, and racial, Mr. McCorkle's muse has also done "goodwill" service in inter-racial circles.

Onion to Orchid (1945) by Alice Henrietta Howard contains both protest and race-praising verses. Several pieces laud race leaders. "At the Cross Roads," the longest poem in the book, is a free verse catalog of race achievement. One of her best pieces, "Booker T. Washington," tells the life of the educator very effectively in simple ballad style.

James Farley Ragland's *Rhymes of the Times* (1946) is chock-full of homely pieces on all manner of subjects from racial-protest and race-praising to the joys of country living. Mr. Ragland knows thoroughly the Negro-in-the-street, and he reflects the latter's attitude toward life in his poems. Strongly racial, these verses contain also a good deal of solid folk humor.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY 1941-46

General Tendencies

In the field of biography, the Negro writer has not been highly successful. He has done much better in autobiography, but in both fields, he has suffered from too close an adherence to the race-praising, race-edification tradition—a tradition which has influenced much of this sort of writing from the beginning to the present time. As a result, most Negro biographies and autobiographies have tended to give a better picture of the racial situation and racial obstacles successfully overcome than of the personality of their subjects, which of course is the main purpose of biographical and autobiographical writing.

During the late thirties, however, a few Negro writers of autobiography, under the influence of recent trends in the field, broke away from the racial stereotype. Chief among them were Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, and James Weldon Johnson. The major autobiographical writers in the 1941-46 period show the same progressive tendency away from the old tradition. Some of the lesser writers, however, still cling doggedly to it. Race, of course must naturally play a large part in the life story of any American Negro. It is the skillful writer who can use it adequately and yet not let it obscure personality-portrayal.

Because there is so little biographical writing to be considered in this period, there has been no attempt to deal with it separately. One of the important derelictions on the part of the Negro writer has been his neglect of this fruitful field.

Major Works

Father of the Blues (1941), an autobiography of William Christopher Handy, edited by Arna Bontemps, is not only the life story of an interesting, lovable, and unique American character; it also gives valuable pictures of Old Beale Street, of Southern living, of the music of yesteryear, and of Tin Pan Alley from the inside. More than a mere success story, Handy's work helps us to understand an era.

Zora Neale Hurston's *Dust Tracks on a Road* (1942) won for her the Anisfield-Wolf Award for that year. Obviously a "goodwill" book, it resorts to race criticism rather than to the traditional race-praising. Miss Hurston's chapter, "My People!" is a good example of this critical slant. A born story-teller, Miss Hurston relates with wit and gusto the narrative of her successful and never-too-difficult struggle with a friendly world—both white and black.

No Day of Triumph (1942) by Jay Saunders Redding is primarily a work of social observation and commentary, but it does have a large autobiographical segment. In this section Redding has dealt with several provocative themes, including the undemocratic attitude of middle-class Negroes, the color problem within the Negro group, and the frustration of colored students in New England colleges. Brilliantly written, the work was given the Mayflower Society of North Carolina Award for that year. Redding is the first Negro author to be so honored.

John E. Washington's *They Knew Lincoln* (1942) is an unusual biographical study. In his view of Lincoln through the eyes of the barber, the White House messenger, the seamstress, and the other servants and simple people who knew the Emancipator, Dr. Washington has made a modest but unique contribution to the biography of this great American. His chapter on Mrs. Keckley is of supreme importance. Moreover, the work contains excellent pictorial matter and a Lincoln letter never printed before.

Five French Negro Authors (1943) by Mercer Cook is both literary commentary and biographical study. The five authors considered are Julian Raimond, Charles Bissette, Alexandre Dumas, Auguste Lacaussade, and Rene Maran. Scholarly and penetrating, the studies emphasize the "racial" attitude of these Frenchmen of Negro blood. Dr. Cook's approach and emphasis are ones which are generally overlooked or not stressed by white scholars who have written on these men.

Richard Wright's *Black Boy* (1945) is something quite new in Negro American autobiography. Making a complete break with the old tradition referred to above, it is the analysis of the feelings of an obscure black boy (who represents a million other black boys), fighting his way out of hell to Chicago and freedom. One of the strongest works yet written by a Negro American, *Black Boy* has shocked many readers—particularly Negro readers—by its savage intensity. Many of the latter have felt that the book is unnecessarily bitter, that it is not real autobiography, and that is over-drawn in its violence. On the other hand there are probably just as many who feel that *Black Boy* is the greatest autobiography we have yet produced. It was of course a "best seller."

"*Early Days in Chicago*" is a continuation of *Black Boy* which appears in *Cross Section* (1945), an anthology edited by Edwin Seaver. Although less sensational than the former work, it has some penetrating studies of Negro slum life during a depression. In addition, it has a section analyzing Negro-white relationships in America which is searching and provocative.

Era Bell Thompson's *American Daughter* (1946) is like a breath of fresh air after *Black Boy*, which it consciously or unconsciously answers. The autobiography of a Negro girl reared in North Dakota, the book is much more "American" than "racial"; it belongs just as much to pioneer literature as it does to Negro. But it is also a "goodwill" book. Throughout the work, Miss Thompson emphasizes the essential friendliness and kindness of all people, no matter the race, when one gets to know them.

Other Autobiographical and Biographical Works

Elizabeth Laura Adams' *Dark Symphony* (1942) is a well-written and fascinating little autobiography of a black girl seeking solace and sisterhood in religion. The work is a highly revealing study of a sensitive and almost saint-like character who has to undergo many rebuffs because of her race before she finds refuge in the Catholic Church. Although told with restraint, the work is none the less effective because of that. The author also touches on several themes which Negro writers have not heretofore developed.

John Henry Paynter's *Horse and Buggy Days with Uncle Sam* (1943) deals with a comparatively new subject in Negro autobiographical writing—the government job in Washington. A messenger at first and finally a clerk in the Bureau of Internal Revenue, Mr. Paynter knows the inner workings of government from the employee's viewpoint. He also knows thoroughly what it means to be a *Negro* in government, and he has an interesting story to tell. His work, however, would be far more effective if he had used a simpler and more straightforward style.

Meet the Negro (1943) by Karl E. Downs contains sixty-one very short biographies of the usual Negro "greats" plus a few unusual and not-so-well-known subjects. Designed as an "inter-racial" work, it has between the various sections short discussions on the "Basic Steps in Racial Goodwill."

"*Inchin' Along*" (1944) by Henry Damon Davidson, the "principal, founder and builder of Centerville Industrial Institute" in Alabama, is a success story that could be more interestingly told. Mr. Davidson's contact with Booker T. Washington, his *real* attitude towards the Southern whites holding the mortgage on the school property, his determination to cling to his ballot—these and other incidents would, if properly and fully told, have improved this autobiography considerably.

Adventures with Life (1945) by Syble Byrd Everett is the autobiography of a church and civic worker in St. Louis. Because it is so personal and restricted in scope, the work has only local interest.

Great American Negroes (1945) by Ben Albert Richardson is a collection of neatly and simply told biographies of the usual contemporary "greats." All of the subjects are modern except Crispus Attucks, and one naturally wonders why he is included. The book is probably useful as a quick reference for Negro History or Achievement Week data.

Amber Gold (1946), "an adventure in autobiography" by A. H. Maloney, the Professor and Chairman of the Department of Pharmacology in the Howard Medical School, is the success story, somewhat too fully told, of a man who has led an interesting and useful life as a teacher, minister, and physician. The first part of the work is of unusual interest because it describes Dr. Maloney's boyhood experiences in his native Trinidad.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS: 1941-46

General Tendencies

As stated above, this section will be a sort of catchall to include representative publications under the following heads: Drama; Children's Literature; Collections, Handbooks et al; Social Commentary; and Other Works. The object here is simply to give a fair sampling of the books that have been most popular and most influential in the various fields considered.

One notes immediately when considering this section the number and the importance of the social works by Negro writers. The trend to scholarly social commentary which was noted in the later thirties is now in full swing. The works which have poured from the press during the 1941-46 period are for the most part of first class calibre. One is impressed by their dispassionate and objective tone, their ability to see both sides, and their militant forthrightness. Perhaps the outstanding literary phenomenon of the period is the unprecedented amount and the unquestioned maturity of the social writings found in it.

Another phenomenon of interest is a similar growth in the field of children's literature. Rare until the thirties, children's publications since that time have flourished like the proverbial bay tree. And what is of equal significance, outstanding "adult" writers have become large producers in the field.

During the period much scholarly work on many varied subjects—a few of them unusual—was done by Negro American writers. In short all fields save that of the drama showed a definite quickening and growth.

Drama

Though the experience of the Negro has been the material for several of America's best known plays, the Negro playwright so far has contributed little to the national drama. In the past, the Negro's place on the stage has been rigidly limited to a few stereotypes. If the Negro dramatist failed to follow in the beaten path, he found no audience. The serious Negro playwright has thus been denied the kind of apprenticeship in the theatre necessary to encourage and beget authorship. Except for musical comedies, he has made few appearances on Broadway. Forced to the side streets of the "little" and experimental theatre, the Negro playwright has made a few advances there, but not nearly enough.

It should be noted, however, that the serious Negro "playwright's theatre" is still very young. Although he had attempted serious drama prior to 1925, the Negro playwright for all practical purposes began his career during the New Negro Movement. He is therefore still a relative newcomer in the field; that accounts in part for some of his difficulties.

In spite of this extenuating factor, one is still shocked by the paucity of dramatic material he finds in the period. It is only fair to point out, however, that there is very little demand for printed plays unless they have been Broadway successes. For this reason, several excellent Negro playwrights have not yet appeared in print, save in anthologies. For example, two of our best contemporary plays—*Divine Comedy* by Owen Dodson, and *Big White Fog* by Theodore Ward—have never been printed *in toto* but have appeared only as excerpts in the *Negro Caravan.*

At the same time the Negro has been making tremendous strides on Broadway as both actor and subject, witness the popularity of such works as *Anna Lucasta* and *Deep are the Roots.* The theatre movement among Negroes, as in the work of Abram Hill and Powell Lindsay and (in the school field) of Randolph Edmonds, John M. Ross, and Anne Cooke, has also grown rapidly. Unfortunately, however, this review cannot consider these advances but must limit itself to the published drama—the pitiably small part of the Negro's dramatic contribution that finds its way into print.

Many critics felt that the new field of radio drama would present a fine opportunity for the Negro dramatist. The latter soon found, however, that he was as stringently circumscribed on the radio as he had been on the stage. The radio drama normally uses the Negro only for comic relief. Whenever the serious Negro playwright has been called upon, he has usually been asked to write what Langston Hughes calls a "special occasion script."

Hughes' *Booker T. Washington in Atlanta,* appearing in *Radio Drama in Action* (1945), edited by Erick Barnouw, is such a script. It was prepared by Mr. Hughes for Tuskegee and CBS on the occasion of the issuance of the Booker T. Washington stamp by the Post Office Department.

The networks, according to Mr. Barnouw, are shy of controversial scripts on the Negro, but they do not mind programs on safe subjects like Booker T. Washington and Carver—programs which, stressing the "positive angle," emphasize Negro accomplishment without attacking injustice.

In *Radio Drama in Action*, there also appears *The Negro Domestic* by Roi Ottley. This play comes from the *New World A' Coming* series which began on WMCA in March, 1944. The series is not a radio adaptation of Ottley's best seller, but it does attempt through radio drama to give the book's general themes and objectives. The series won the Schomburg Award in 1945.

In 1941, *American Scenes*, edited by William Kozlenko, published *Fire and Cloud*, a radio version of Richard Wright's short story of a Negro bread riot. It was adapted for the radio by Charles K. O'Neill.

During the same year, *Native Son*, a ten-act stage adaptation of Wright's famous novel, appeared in book form. The dramatic version was written by Paul Green and Wright. As a Broadway production, the adaptation had been eminently successful.

The *Negro Caravan* which appeared in 1942 included a lengthy drama section in which the following plays were printed: *Bad Man*, a one-act melodrama by Randolph Edmonds; *The Seer*, a one-act folk comedy by James W. Butcher, Jr., *Judgement Day*, a one-act folk comedy by Thomas D. Pawley, Jr.; an excerpt from *Divine Comedy*, a full-length play on the Father Divine theme by Owen Dodson; and an excerpt from *Big White Fog*, a full-length play on the Garvey Movement by Theodore Ward. With the exception of Edmond's work, all of these plays appear in print for the first time.

In 1942 there also appeared *The Land of Cotton and Other Plays* by Randolph Edmonds. The volume contains in addition to the title-play four one-act dramas: *Gangsters over Harlem; Yellow Death; Silas Brown;* and *The High Court of Historia.* Feeling that the Negro audience unschooled in the traditions of the theatre needs "simplicity, clear conflicts, broad characterization, and obvious ideas" in its plays, Mr. Edmonds has written with this theory in mind. His title-play, a four-act drama of social protest, deals effectively with the theme of black and white sharecroppers uniting to fight injustice.

Children's Literature

The thirties, as stated above, saw a new outburst of interest in children's literature. Many of the well known writers of juvenile literature like Jane Shackleford, Charles Dawson, Gertrude McBrown, Helen Whiting, and Effie Lee Newsome were then beginning their work. In addition there were outstanding "adult" writers like Cullen, Hughes, Arthur Huff Fauset, Bontemps, and even Carter G. Woodson producing books for children. Colored illustrators also like Lois Jones, Dawson, Newsome, Laura Wheeler, and E. Simms Campbell contributed their talents to children's publications.

There were several influences at work during the thirties to create a more insistent demand for a better type of Negro child's book. Negro libraries had increased in number; many schools were adding courses on the Negro. A city like Chicago, for example, adopted for its elementary schools an official list of books on the Negro. In short there was a general increase in liberalism throughout the decade which was reflected in part by the demand for a new type of treatment of the race in children's books.

It was obvious that many of the white writers of juvenile books had not treated the Negro either sympathetically or realistically. Many of them still wrote in the "plantation tradition" when depicting Negro characters—the tradition of cotton patches and cabins, of minstrel humor and exaggerated laziness, of fantastic dress and ridiculing names. The most superficial glance at the two classics, *Li'l Hannibal* and *Black Sambo* will show why Negro writers felt the urge during the thirties to enter the field. They were compelled to combat the stereotype built up by the plantation tradition type of book.

The children's books written in the 1941-46 period have attacked the stereotype in two general ways: (1) Through the use of realistic story and illustration they have showed how *normally American* is the average everyday life of the average Negro family; (2) They have tried to instill race pride through emphasis on the biographies of the great. Most of the books in this period fall in one or the other of these two classes. And of course the authors designed their books to be read by white as well as by Negro children.

One notes, however, that there are several books without the racial tag —books written for the general children's market with entertainment only as the objective. There are also several Negro illustrators—among them Ernest Crichlow, Elton Fox, Charles Alston, Frank Nicholas, and Charles Sebree—whose work for the most part is in the non-Negro field. Both of these are heartening signs of progress.

Golden Slippers (1941), edited by Arna Bontemps, is an "anthology of Negro poetry for young readers." It contains interesting and for the most part well-chosen material, ranging from folk songs down to contemporary verse. Since the editor does not specify the age level for his readers, his phrase "for young readers" must be interpreted broadly. The *Hesitating Blues* by W. C. Handy would hardly appeal to other than the teen-age young.

Word Pictures of the Great (1941), written by Elise P. Derricotte, Geneva C. Turner, and Jessie H. Roy and illustrated by Lois M. Jones, is a well-constructed children's text, giving the life stories of successful Negroes under the following heads: Music, Art, Literature, Education, Science and Invention, and Benefactors. Designed for children on the third grade level and above, it has exercises and word lists, and is in every way a modern educational text.

The Wheel that Made Wishes Come True (1941) by Octavia B. Wynbush, with illustrations by George Greene, is a delightful little story for younger children of an inquisitive little boy's trip to the land where the lost leaves go, where the smoke rings go, and where the snowflakes live.

My Lives and How I Lost Them (1942) by Christopher Cat in collaboration with Countee Cullen, carries on the delightful whimsy started in the *Lost Zoo*. The book, a charmingly told story of all the usual things that happen to cats, is another of Cullen's sophisticated children's - books - for - grownups. The drawings are by Robert Reid Macguire.

The Fast Sooner Hound (1942) by Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy is the delightful story of a long-legged, lop-eared hound "who'd sooner run than eat," and who could outrun the Cannon-ball Express. Colorfully illustrated by Virginia Lee Burton, the book has no "race" tag.

Hezekiah Horton (1942) by Ellen Tarry has illustrations by Oliver Harrington, better known for his Bootsie cartoons. It is the simple story of a little Lenox Avenue boy who likes automobiles.

Play Songs of the Deep South (1944) by Altona Trent-Johns is a pioneering volume of twelve Negro "play songs" and a lullaby. Containing for each piece the words, the simply-arranged music, the directions for the play or dance, and an illustration, this little book of folk songs is ideal for schools and for folk dancing groups. The illustrations are by James A. Porter.

Evangeline Harris Merriweather's *Stories for Little Tots: Revised* (1944) is a primer-type book for young children, telling in simple language the lives of famous Negroes from Attucks to Roland Hayes.

My Happy Days (1944) by Jane Dabney Shackleford contains excellent photographs by Cecil Vinson. Pictures and text deal with the home, school, recreational and other activities of a typical Negro family. It is a good antidote for many of the caricatures of Negroes found in the ridicule type of book.

George Washington Carver, Scientist (1944) by Shirley Graham and George D. Lipscomb, tells dramatically the high spots in the life of Carver. This biography brings to life and heightens certain events in Carver's career—events which show his humility, his ingenuity, his humor, and his "goodwill" philosophy.

We Have Tomorrow (1945) by Arna Bontemps is a series of twelve biographies of young Negroes who have been successful in unusual fields—that is, in work not customarily done by Negroes. Neatly told, these success stories are a kind of it-can-be-done inspirational biography which the author hopes "may prove to be the beginning of a fulfillment of the American promise" for some young readers.

Call Me Charley (1945) by Jessie Jackson is the full-length story of a little colored boy whose servant parents moved into a white district. The problems he faced are realistically yet sanely and delightfully told. The illustrations are by Doris Spiegal.

My Dog Rinty (1946) by Ellen Tarry and Marie Hall Ets is the charming story of an unlucky dog which finally makes the front page headlines. Designed to offset the usual picture of Harlem, the book is brilliantly illustrated with photographs of well known places, scenes, and characters in that section.

Paul Robeson, Citizen of the World (1946) by Shirley Graham is a biography of the great singer written in the dramatic and effective manner of the Carver study. It contains many excellent photographs highlighting Robeson's career.

Collections, Handbooks et. al.

In 1942 *The Negro Caravan*, edited by Sterling A. Brown, Arthur P. Davis, and Ulysses Lee, was published, the first comprehensive anthology of Negro writings since *Readings from Negro Authors* (1931) by Cromwell, Turner, and Dykes. The work was designed to do three things: "to present a body of artistically valid writings by American Negro authors, to present a truthful mosaic of Negro character and experience in America, and to collect in one volume certain key literary works that have greatly influenced the thinking of American Negroes, and to a lesser degree, that of Americans as a whole." Covering the entire period of Negro expression from 1760 to 1942, the book contains a considerable number of pieces never before anthologized.

In 1944 the Modern Library brought out an *Anthology of American Negro Literature*, edited by Sylvestre C. Watkins. Confining his selections to four main heads—short stories, essays, autobiographies, and biographies—the editor has limited these selections largely to the authors who have come into prominence since 1929. His main purpose has been to give not the "traditional" Negro usually desired by white readers, nor the "ideal" Negro customarily demanded by the colored, "but the true American of Negro parentage speaking his mind about his problems." An able selection with good biographical notes, printed in a pocket size edition, this anthology fills a vital need.

The Primer for White Folks (1945), an anthology edited by Bucklin Moon, contains articles by the following Negro writers: W. E. B. DuBois, Ted Poston, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, Sterling A. Brown, Roi Ottley, Earl Brown, Robert Weaver, Chester B. Himes, and the colored members of the Writers Project of Virginia. These contributions on all manner of subjects range in tone from the scholarly seriousness of DuBois' *African Culture* to the satirical cleverness of Poston's *Revolt of the Evil Fairies*.

Cross Section (1944), "a collection of new American writing," edited by Edwin Seaver, contains works by Richard Wright, Robert Hayden, and Gwendolyn Brooks. It is of significance that each year more and more Negro writers are taking their rightful places in "American" anthologies.

Though "creatively" edited by a white man, B. A. Botkin's *Lay My Burden Down* (1945) must be considered Negro American literature. From the two thousand or more interviews with ex-slaves in the Rare Books Division of the Library of Congress, Dr. Botkin has compiled this collection. Breaking entirely with the plantation tradition, he gives a realistic, comprehensive, and intensely interesting view of the "peculiar institution" as seen through the eyes of some of its graduates.

Florence Murray's *The Negro Handbook* (1942 and 1944) attempts to present current factual information about the Negro. The editor thinks of it as a "sort of annual newspaper, without editorial comment." A valuable and much-needed work, it has been the only one of its kind since the *Negro Year Book* of 1937-1938.

The Encyclopedia of the Negro (1945), a preparatory volume with reference lists and reports, edited by W. E. B. DuBois and Guy B. Johnson, is really an "interval" work for use until the complete four-volume edition is completed. This latter will be somewhat comparable to the Jewish and Catholic encyclopedias. The present volume, though obviously inadequate, is a student's guide to source material and secondary authorities on the Negro, and as such is a useful and important work.

"Early Negro American Writings: A Bibliographical Study" by Dorothy B. Porter, published in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (1945), contains a "preliminary checklist of the published writings of American Negroes, 1760-1835." The most complete of its kind, this list is of invaluable aid to the student of Negro American Literature. The work also contains a scholarly and revealing discussion of the peculiar problems confronting the worker in the field of early Negro bibliography. Mrs. Porter also published in 1945, *North American Negro Poets a Bibliographical Checklist of their Writings*, 1760-1944, a most valuable work.

Social Commentary

Many of the works in this section have been powerful voices in the chorus of Negro protest. Though they shade in political hue from the angry red of Wright's 12 *Million Black Voices* (1941) to the colorless tints of Logan's *A Negro's Faith in America* (1946), they are all trying to find a way out of our peculiar American dilemma. It is good to note, however, that with but one or two exceptions, these works are scholarly and objective. The oratorical rhetoric of the old-time Negro pleader has given place to documented and sober discussion, and as a result the protest-argument is far more convincing. One also notes that in several of these works, first-class white and Negro scholars have collaborated, another sign of the latters' coming of age. It is necessary to repeat once more that the following list is not meant to be complete. It is a sampling of the better known works from as many angles or slants as possible.

12 *Million Black Voices* (1941), "a folk history of the Negro in the United States" by Richard Wright, is a text-and-picture volume of passionate protest against the American treatment of the black masses. The photography by Edwin Rosskam is superb.

In contrast to Wright's work, *Deep South* (1941) is an objective social and anthropological study of caste and class by Allison Davis and the two Gardners, Burleigh and Mary. Using the techniques customarily applied by anthropologists to natives in "other lands," the authors have made one of the most complete studies of white and black small town people ever published.

In *Sharecroppers All* (1941) by Arthur F. Raper and Ira DeAugustine Reid, we have another case of two distinguished scholars—one white, the other colored, and both Southerners—collaborating to give with no magnolia embellishments a picture of the economic conditions and trends in the South.

When Peoples Meet (1942), edited by Alain LeRoy Locke and Bernhard J. Stern, is a study of the meeting of dominant and minority groups in various parts of the world in both the past and present. With articles by authorities as diverse as Charles Darwin and Ruth Benedict, it is a good introduction to the study of group and race conflicts.

Charles S. Johnson's *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (1943) discusses in its first part the formal institutions, the social conventions, the legal codes, and the ideology supporting racial segregation and discrimination. In the second part, it gives the Negro's behaviour response to these twin evils. The study covers twelve areas: three counties in the rural South; five cities in the urban South; two "border" cities; and two Northern cities.

Roi Ottley's popular *New World A-Coming* (1943) is a good journalistic account of the outstanding activities and characters in Harlem. The book, however, is more than a dramatic picture of Harlem life. It is also a strong plea for the Negro's full share in American democracy.

On Clipped Wings (1943) by William H. Hastie, though only a twenty-six page pamphlet, is a unique document. Calm, forthright, factual, and blunt, this little publication tells the "story of Jim Crow in the Army Air Corps." It is one of the strongest indictments of the government's treatment of its black personnel to come from World War II.

What the Negro Wants (1944), edited by Rayford W. Logan, contains penetrating articles by fourteen Negroes who—according to the editor—may be classed in the following manner: four conservatives; five liberals; and five radicals. The fourteen are: Rayford W. Logan, W. E. B. DuBois, Leslie Pinckney Hill, Charles H. Wesley, Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, Willard S. Townsend, Doxey A. Wilkerson, Gordon B. Hancock, Mary McLeod Bethune, Frederick D. Patterson, George S. Schuyler, Langston Hughes, and Sterling A. Brown. Considering the diverse social viewpoints of the authors, the essays have a remarkable unanimity concerning what the Negro wants. The book is an excellent cross section of the best Negro American thinking. It has an interesting "Publisher's Introduction".

Black Gods of the Metropolis (1944) by Arthur Huff Fauset is a scholarly study of the Negro cults of the urban North. In this work the author seeks to probe beneath the superficial fact and find out the "why" of these cults and their possible ultimate effect on both the Negro church and Negro group as a whole. A pioneer study, it opens a fruitful field for the social anthropologist.

Robert C. Weaver's scholarly *Negro Labor; a National Problem* (1945) discusses, first, the growth of Negro employment during the war and its subsequent breakdown; second, the Negro's share in the economic life of this nation; and, third, the economic future of the Negro. The work also makes a strong plea for a permanent FEPC.

They Seek a City (1946) by Arna W. Bontemps and Jack Conroy is a study of Negro migration from the time of the Underground Railroad down to the present. Written for popular consumption, it has many interesting sidelights which should furnish material for creative artists.

World War II brought the average Negro a new interest in imperialism and in the problem of dependent areas. Two distinguished Negro scholars have sought to strengthen this interest with a good solid foundation of fact. *Color and Democracy* (1945) by W. E. B. DuBois is a survey of the status of colonial peoples throughout the world. Seeing in imperialism the real crux of the world crisis, Dr. DuBois argues strongly for freedom for dependent nations. The *Negro and the Post-War World—A Primer* (1945) by Rayford W. Logan packs into a few pages a comprehensive survey of the Negro and his status in all parts of the globe. Though designed for the high school student and the layman, the book is grounded on thorough scholarship and is well documented. The last chapter presents a few sound and democratic suggestions relative to the foundation of world peace.

Walter White's *Rising Wind* (1945) is his report to the nation concerning the Negro soldier abroad. A small volume, it is a calm appraisal of the American Army's few successes and more numerous failures in the matter of bringing democracy to its ranks.

Marching Blacks (1945) by A. Clayton Powell, Jr., purports to be "an interpretive history of the rise of the black common man." It deals largely, however, with Powell's own leadership of the masses in Harlem. Its principal message is a strong appeal to all Negroes to leave the South.

Black Metropolis (1945), a monumental study of Negro life in Chicago by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, gives one of the best all-around pictures of the urban Negro we have yet had. Analyzing the structure of the Negro community both in itself and its relation to the city as a whole, this work has in it many lessons for white America, many antidotes against future Harlem and Detroit riots.

Written by Spencer Logan who at the time was a sergeant in the Army, *A Negro's Faith in America* (1946) won the Macmillan Centenary Prize in the non-fiction field for members of the armed forces. A book of appeasement, it makes some stringent observations on Negro leadership. Critics have found a number of Sergeant Logan's observations not only unsound but in bad taste.

Other Works

A catchall within a catchall, this last section will include works of special interest which do not fall into any of the above categories. Many of them are not only books of an unusual nature, but in a number of cases are pioneering efforts in their respective fields.

So You're Going to Fly (1941) by James L. H. Peck is certainly a Negro "first." In reality a popular textbook on aviation, it deals in Part I with the training of the flyer; in Part II with certain aspects of our air defense of interest to all citizens; and in Part III with the business side of peacetime flying. Written in a colloquial style, the book contains a glossary of aeronautical and popular war terms, official photographs, and diagrams by the author. Peck is also the author of an earlier work, *Armies with Wings*.

The Biology of the Negro (1942) by Julian Herman Lewis is definitely a pioneer work and the most complete treatment of the subject yet published.

The author states frankly that he "has no thesis to develop or disprove," that his work "pretends to be nothing other than an arranged assembly of the observed and reported facts concerning the biology, including the pathology, of the Negro." In this work, however, the cold light of statistics and scientific analysis takes the place of the racist hocus-pocus so often associated with studies of Negro health.

Cosmetology in the Negro (1944) by Gerald Arthur Spencer deals with the skin and scalp diseases prevalent among Negroes. Written plainly and with a minimum of medical terminology, the book is designed to help Negro beauticians understand some of the problems of their profession. It, too, is the first of its kind.

Dan Burley's Original Handbook of Harlem Jive (1944) was written to tell students of Jive just what it is all about. With a rather full glossary "The Jive's Bible" and a Jive grammar "The ABC of Basic Jive," Burley's book is an unusual and original work which has interest for the serious student of language as well as for the "hepcat."

Another unusual first volume from this period has been the talented E. Simms Campbell's *Cuties in Arms* (1941), a volume of men's cartoons with the sophisticated and spicy Campbell touch.

The Small Home of Tomorrow (1945) by Paul R. Williams, A.I.A., is a timely work containing over forty plans for houses ranging in price from $3,000 to $10,000. Included in this volume are an "Architect's Notebook of New Products" and a list of "do's" and "don'ts" in building. All in all, it is a very practical book for those interested in post-war housing.

James A. Porter's *Modern Negro Art* (1943) is a history of Negro art from the colonial period down to the present, from Scipio Moorhead (a contemporary of Phillis Wheatley) to Barthe and Selma Burke. The volume contains eighty-five halftone plates of Negro art from the work of early skilled artisans down to the best of the modern artists. This well-written work treats a field which previously had been barely touched by the Negro scholar.

During the 1941-46 period, a considerable number of doctoral dissertations was published. Included among them are the following works: *Free Negro Labor and Property Holdings in Virginia, 1830-1860* (1942) by Luther Porter Jackson; *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860,* (1943) by John Hope Franklin; *Isaac Watts: His Life and Works* (1942) by Arthur P. Davis; *Education and Marginality* (1942), a study of the Negro woman college graduate by Marian Vera Cuthbert; *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey* (1941) by Marion M. T. Wright; *The Treatment of the Negro in American History School Textbooks* (1941) by Marie Elizabeth Carpenter; *The Southern Negro and the Public Library* (1941) by Eliza Atkins Gleason; *The Disarmament Illusion* (1942) by Merze Tate; *The Reading Interests and Needs of Negro College Freshman Regarding Social Science Materials* (1942) by Walter G. Daniel; *Religion in Higher Education Among Negroes* (1945) by Richard T. McKinney; and *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776-1891* (1941) by Rayford W. Logan.

The above list is by no means complete and is not meant to be; it is offered merely as a representative selection. There is now, however, a full list and a comprehensive treatment of the subject in Harry Washington Greene's *Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes* (1946) — another "first."

This period saw also the publication of two histories of Negro schools: *The History and Interpretation of Wilberforce University* (1941), by Frederick A. McKinnis and *Howard University: Capstone of Negro Education* (1941) by Walter Dyson.

Eslanda Goode Robeson's *African Journey* (1945), the story of her trip to Africa with her son, is much more than an interesting travelogue. A trained anthropologist, Mrs. Robeson has described the habits and the social and economic customs of the native groups she visited. The book raises provocative questions about the treatment of Africans by colonial powers and about the future status of these people. The work has many excellent photographic studies of Africa and Africans.

Careers in Safety (1945) by Herbert J. Stack, Charles C. Hawkins, and Walter Cutter is another example of inter-racial collaboration. Dr. Hawkins is a Negro; his two associates are white. This book also deals with an unusual subject: "choosing a vocation in the field of accident prevention." It attempts to show the types of jobs open in the field of safety work.

Sex and Race, Volume III (1944), by J. A. Rogers is the last volume of a trilogy giving a comprehensive study of the problem of cross-breeding in Europe and in the Americas. Volume I appeared in 1940 and Volume II in 1942.

Among the several reprints and new editions which came out in the period are four of unusual interest. In 1941, J. A. Rogers brought out the fifth edition of his well known *From "Superman" to Man.* In the same year Carter G. Woodson published the seventh edition, revised and enlarged, of his classic *Negro in Our History*, and the eighth in 1945. In 1941 the Frederick Douglass Historical and Cultural League reprinted *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* with a foreword by Alain Locke. Carter G. Woodson also edited in 1942 a four-volume edition of *The Works of Frances J. Grimke*, a publication of great value to the student of Negro history and culture.

SUMMARY

The period from 1941-46, though one of world strife, has in several respects been fruitful for the Negro American writer. As novelist and as writer of autobiography, he has made the national best seller lists. He has won the Yale Younger Poets Series Award, the Houghton Mifflin Literary Fellowship, the Mayflower Society (of North Carolina) Award, and the Macmillan Centenary Prize in the field of non-fiction. The Negro writer has appeared in the best "American" anthologies, and he has collaborated in an impressive number of instances with outstanding white scholars and creative artists. In the field of social commentary, he has made a rich contribution to American scholarship.

The medal, of course, has a reverse side. There are still several important areas which the Negro writer has unaccountably slighted. To name the more obvious—the field of biography, as stated above; and yet there are many excellent race subjects, contemporary and historical, simply begging for treatment. There is also a great need for new textbooks in history. For too many years Carter Woodson's work has carried the burden practically alone. Though the writers of social commentary have made tremendous advances during the period, we still need scholarly and authoritative source books on housing and population. And the field of genealogy has hardly been touched by the Negro writer.

Very little work has been done on the historical novel, very little in the fields of travel-observation and personal-reminiscence, and, as stated above, appallingly little in drama. As a matter of fact, there is yet no anthology of full-length plays by Negro authors. In the field of the detective story, there has been no Negro publication since Fisher's *Conjure-Man Dies* (1932). There has also been no outstanding novel of social satire since the New Negro Movement. The Negro writer has been relatively weak in the field of literary history and criticism. Very few Negro scholar-translators have made use of that vast reservoir of Caribbean and South American, particularly the Cuban and Brazilian, literature on and by Negroes. And strangest of all, there has been no important work of any kind dealing with humor.

As one critic has said, "the ultimate aim of Negro literature is to destroy itself, to become an indivisible part of American literature." The Negro writer has made a good start in that direction during the 1941-46 period; but if he is to accomplish that end, he must continue to broaden his literary interests.

DIVISION XXII

DIRECTORY OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Educational Organizations

- Alpha Kappa Mu (Honor Society in Negro Colleges)
  - President, W. F. Maize, State Teachers College, Fayetteville, N. C.
  - Organized: 1937, Arkansas State College, Pine Bluff, Ark.
- American Teachers Association (Formerly the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools)
  - President, Walter N. Ridley, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.
  - Organized: 1904.
- Association of Business Officers in Schools for Negroes
  - President, G. Leon Netterville, Southern University, Scotlandville, La.
  - Organized: April, 1939, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
- Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes
  - President, Dr. R. P. Daniel, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.
  - Organized: 1934, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
- Association of Deans of Women and Advisers to Girls in Negro Schools
  - President, Dr. T. Ruth Brett, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
  - Organized: 1923, Washington, D. C.
- Association of Social Science Teachers in Negro Colleges
  - President, Dr. Merle Eppse, Tennessee State College, Nashville, Tenn.
  - Organized: 1935, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.
- Beta Kappa Chi Scientific Society
  - President, Dr. V. J. Tulane, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
  - Organized: 1923, Lincoln University, Pa.
- Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association
  - President, John H. Burr, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
  - Organized: 1912.
- Conference on Adult Education and the Negro
  - President, Walter R. Chivers, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.
  - Organized: 1938, Hampton Institute, Va.
- Conference of Officials of State Teachers Associations
  - President, J. Rupert Picott, Richmond, Virginia.
  - Organized: 1947, Lemoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.
- Conference of Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges
  - President, Dr. L. H. Foster, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.
  - Organized: 1923, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
- Mid-Western Athletic Conference
  - President, R. B. Atwood, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.
  - Organized: 1931, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.
- National Association of College Women
  - President, Mrs. Alice G. Taylor, 2556 McCulloh St., Baltimore, Md.
  - Organized: 1924, Washington, D. C.
- National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars in Negro Schools
  - President, George C. Grant, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Md.
  - Organized: 1926, A. and T. College, Greensboro, N. C.
- National Association of Music Teachers in Negro Schools
  - President, Warner Lawson, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
  - Organized: 1936, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.
- National Association of Personnel Deans in Negro Educational Institutions
  - President, Thomas E. Hawkins, Hampton Institute, Va.
  - Organized: 1935, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
- National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers
  - President, Mrs. C. P. Henry, 123 South Queen St., Dover, Del.
  - Organized: 1926, Atlanta, Ga.
- National Institute of Science
  - President, Dr. S. M. Nabrit, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
  - Organized: 1943, Chicago, Ill.
- National Student Health Association
  - Executive Director, Dr. Paul B. Cornely, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
  - Organized: 1940, Nashville, Tenn.
- Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference
  - President, Dr. St. Elmo Brady, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
  - Organized: 1913, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.
- Southwestern Athletic Conference
  - President, A. W. Mumford, Southern University, Scotlandville, La.
  - Organized: 1920, Houston, Texas.

Organizations for General Advancement

- Association for the Study of Negro Life and History
  - Director, Carter G. Woodson, 1538 Ninth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
  - Organized: 1915, Chicago, Ill.
- Council on African Affairs
  - Chairman, Paul Robeson, 23 West 26th St., New York City
  - Executive Director, Max Yergan, 23 West 26th St., New York City
  - Organized: 1937, New York City
- The Frontiers of America, Inc.
  - President, N. B. Allen, 107 N. Monroe Ave., Columbus, Ohio
  - Organized: 1936, Columbus, Ohio
- The John A. Andrew Clinical Society
  - Executive Secretary, Dr. Eugene H. Dibble, Jr., Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
  - Organized: 1917, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
- National Achievement Clubs, Inc.
  - Founder and President, Mrs. Alma Illery, 2839½ Wylie Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
  - Executive Secretary, Mrs. Goldie Hamilton, 2811 Breckenridge St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
  - Organized: 1944, Pittsburgh, Pa.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
President, Arthur B. Spingarn, 20 W. 40th St., New York City
Secretary, Walter White, 20 W. 40th St., New York City
Organized: 1909, New York City

National Health Association
President, A. W. Dent, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.

National Negro Congress
President, Max Yergan, 307 Lenox Ave., New York City
Executive Secretary, Revels Cayton, 307 Lenox Ave., New York City
Organized: 1936, Chicago, Ill.

National Recreation Association, (Bureau of Colored Work)
Director, Bureau of Colored Work, E. T. Attwell, 315 Fourth Ave., New York City
Organized: 1906, Washington, D. C.

National Urban League
President, William H. Baldwin, 1133 Broadway, New York City
Executive Secretary, Lester B. Granger, 1133 Broadway, New York City
Organized: 1910, New York City

Southern Negro Youth Congress
President, Rose Mae Catchings, 526-28 Masonic Temple Bldg., Birmingham, Ala.
Organized: 1937, Richmond, Va.

Organizations for Economic Advancement

Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen, Inc.
Grand President, S. H. Clark, 408 Gainsboro Ave., N. W., Roanoke, Va.
Organized: 1912, Knoxville, Tenn.

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
International President, A. Philip Randolph, 217 West 125th St., New York City
Organized: 1925, New York City

National Alliance of Postal Employees
President, Ashby B. Carter, 5633 So. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Organized: 1913, Chattanooga, Tenn.

National Association for Negroes in American Industry
President, David H. Sims, 716 S. 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Organized 1940, Philadelphia, Pa.

National Association of Negro Tailors, Designers, Dressmakers and Dry Cleaners, Inc.
President, W. S. Sparrow, 521 Columbus Ave., Boston, Mass.
Executive Secretary, M. K. Tyson, Burlington, N. C.
Organized: 1920, Burlington, N. C.

National Bankers Association
President, L. D. Milton, Citizens Trust Co., Atlanta, Ga.
Organized: 1917, Louisville, Ky.

National Beauty Culturists' League, Inc.
President, Mrs. Cordelia Greene Johnson, 294 Forest St., Jersey City, N. J.

National Builders Association
President, W. H. Aiken, 158 Auburn Ave., Atlanta, Ga.
Organized: 1923, Hampton Institute, Va.

National Negro Business League
President, A. G. Gaston, 5th Ave. and 16th St., N. Birmingham, Ala.
Organized: 1900, Boston, Mass.

National Negro Funeral Directors Association
President, Duplain Rhodes, 2616 So. Claiborne St., New Orleans, La.

National Negro Insurance Association
President, Charles Greene, 148 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.
Organized: 1921, Atlanta, Ga.

National Negro News Distributors Association
Chairman, Caroll M. Ellis, Chicago's National News Co., Chicago, Ill.
Organized: 1946, Chicago, Ill.

National Society of Accountants
President, J. B. Blayton, 239 Auburn Ave., Atlanta, Ga.
Organized: 1934, Atlanta, Ga.

National Technical Association, Inc.
President, William F. Thornton, 3207 So. Parkway, Chicago, Ill.
Organized: 1926, Springfield, Ill.

Negro Newspaper Publishers Association
President, Frank L. Stanley, The Louisville Defender, 418 So. Fifth St., Louisville, Ky.
Organized: 1940, Chicago, Ill.

New Farmers of America
Administrative Executive Secretary, A. W. Tenney, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C.
National Secretary, J. R. Thomas, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.
Organized: 1927, Virginia

United Beauty School Owners and Teachers Association
President, Mrs. Marjorie Stewart Joyner, Walker Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Organized: 1947, Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla.

Organizations for Professional Advancement

National Association of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
President, Mrs. Sadye J. Williams, 236 Gates Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses
President, Mrs. Mabel K. Staupers, 1790 Broadway, New York City
Organized: 1908, New York City

National Association of Dental Hygienists
President, Mrs. Myrtle Mackall, Washington, D. C.
Organized: 1939, New York City.

National Bar Association
President, Earl B. Dickerson, 3501 So. Parkway, Chicago, Ill.
Organized: 1923, Des Moines, Iowa.

National Conference of Hospital Administrators
Chairman, William M. Rich, Lincoln Hospital, Durham, N. C.
Organized: 1937, Durham, N. C.

National Dental Association
President, Dr. R. H. Thompson, Westfield, N. J.
Organized: 1918, Buckroe Beach, Va.

National Medical Association
President, Dr. E. I. Robinson, 2510 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Organized: 1895, Atlanta, Ga.

Negro Actors Guild of America, Inc.
President, Noble Sissle, 1674 Broadway, New York City
Administrative Secretary, Miss Mabel A. Roane, 1674 Broadway, New York City
Organized: 1936, New York City

Organizations in the Interest of Women

National Association of Colored Women, Inc.
Acting President and Executive Secretary, Mrs. Christine S. Smith, 1114 O St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
Organized: 1896, Washington, D. C.
National Association of Ministers' Wives
President, Mrs. Elizabeth Coles Bouey, 1827 Maplewood Ave., Richmond, Va.
Organized: 1941, Richmond, Va.
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
Founder-President, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, 1318 Vermont Ave., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
Organized: 1935, New York City.

College Fraternities

Alpha Phi Alpha
General President, Belford V. Lawson, 2001 Eleventh St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Organized: 1906, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Kappa Alpha Psi
President, Augustus G. Parker, 2584 E. 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Organized: 1911, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.
Omega Psi Phi
Grand Basileus, Col. Campbell C. Johnson, 1816 Twelfth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Organized: 1911, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
Phi Beta Sigma
National President, George A. Parker, 1922 13th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Organized: 1914, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

College Sororities

Alpha Kappa Alpha
Supreme Basileus, Mrs. Edna Over Gray, 1039 Edmondson Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Organized: 1908, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
Delta Sigma Theta
Grand President, Mrs. Mae Wright Downs, Box 121, Sewell, N. J.
Organized: 1913, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
Iota Phi Lambda
President, Mrs. Mildred R. Miller, 10817 Greenbarry Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Organized: 1929, Chicago, Ill.
Lambda Kappa Mu
Grand Basileus, Mrs. Rita L. D. Wilkins, 1226 Villa Place, Nashville, Tenn.
Organized: 1937.
Phi Delta Kappa (Teachers' sorority)
Supreme Basileus, Mrs. Gertrude A. Robinson, 596 Edgecombe Ave., New York City
Organized: 1923, Jersey City, N. J.
Sigma Gamma Rho
Grand Basileus, Miss Ethel R. Smith, 5044 So. Parkway, Chicago, Ill.
Organized: 1922, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind.
Zeta Phi Beta
Grand Basileus, Mrs. L. W. Harrison, 1721 Warm St., Houston, Texas.
Organized: 1920, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Secret Fraternal Orders

Afro-American Sons and Daughters
T. J. Huddleston, 511 Calhoun Ave., Yazoo City, Miss.
American Woodmen
B. H. Graham, Box 987, Denver, Colo.
Daughter Elks, Grand Temple of,
Secretary, Mrs. Buena Kelley Berry, 1021 Motly Ave., Norfolk, Va.
Daughters of Isis, Imperial Court
Mrs. Sadie E. Barnes, 405 7th Ave., Newark, N. J.
Eastern Star, Order of,
Mrs. C. N. Pitts, 1221 Hunter St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga.
Elks of the World, Improved Benevolent Protective Order
Grand Exalted Ruler, J. Finley Wilson, 1813 Vernon St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Good Samaritans, Independent Order of,
John H. Dale, Jr., 1269 Sumner Rd., S. E., Washington, D. C.
Household of Ruth, Grand, (Oddfellows),
Most Worthy Grand Superior, Mrs. Mary F. Hendley
Grand Recorder, Mrs. Elizabeth Delaney, 30 15th St., Covington, Ky.
Grand United Order of Moses
Mrs. Irene Brannock, 1521 T. St., Washington, D. C.
Grand United Order of Oddfellows
Grand Master, Ernest D. Cooke
Grand Secretary, Jesse L. Nicholas, 12th & Spruce Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
King David, Imperial Order of,
Miss Mary M. Scott, 1411 W. Leigh St., Richmond, Va.
Knight Templars
Edward Delon Allen, 355 Owen St., Detroit, Mich.
Knights of Peter Claver
President, Archie W. Armand, 2405 London Ave., New Orleans, La.
Knights of Pythias, Supreme Lodge
Secretary, J. Will Cooper, 4439 Lillibridge Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Mystic Shrine, Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order of Nobles
Imperial Potentate, Raymond E. Jackson, Buffalo, N. Y.
Reindeer, Benevolent Protective Order of,
Beresford T. Callender, 106 Macon St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
St. Luke, Independent Order of,
Mrs. Hattie N. F. Walker, 902-4 St. James St., Richmond, Va.
Tents, Grand United Order of,
Grand Matron, Mrs. J. B. Goldsboro, 116 Eagle St., Chester, Pa.

Young Men's Christian Association*

Locals Serving Colored Men and Boys

State and City—Branch

ALABAMA

Birmingham:
Colored Community Work Div., Central Branch Y. M. C. A., 526 N. 20th St.

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*Data furnished by the National Council of Y. M. C. A.'s.

Colored Division, Acipco Branch Y. M. C. A., 16th St. and 30th Ave.
Colored Division, Stockham Branch Y. M. C. A., Box 2592

Mobile:
Colored Branch Y. M. C. A., 504 St. Anthony St.

ARKANSAS

Little Rock:
Geo. Washington Carver Branch, 1100 W. 9th St.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles:
28th Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 1006 E. 28th St.

Oakland:
North Oakland Branch Y. M. C. A., 3716 San Pablo Ave., Emeryville

COLORADO

Denver:
Glenarm Branch Y. M. C. A., 2800 Glenarm Place

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport:
Colored Wk. Div., Central Branch Y. M. C. A., 651 State St.

DELAWARE

Wilmington:
Walnut Street Christian Assn., 10th and Walnut Sts.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington:
Twelfth Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 1816 12th St., N. W.

FLORIDA

Miami:
646 N. W. 2nd Ave.

St. Petersburg:
2026 Melrose Ave., So.

GEORGIA

Atlanta:
Butler Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 22 Butler St., N. W.

Columbus:
Ninth Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 521 Ninth St.

ILLINOIS

Chicago:
Wabash Avenue Dept. Y. M. C. A., 3763 S. Wabash Ave.
Maxwell Street Dept. Y. M. C. A., 1012 Maxwell St.

Evanston:
Emerson Street Dept. Y. M. C. A., 1014 Emerson St.

Waukegan:
Y. M. C. A.-Y. W. C. A. Center, 314 Besley Place

INDIANA

Indianapolis:
Senate Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A., 450 N. Senate Ave.

Muncie:
Willard Street Branch, 1421 E. Willard St.

IOWA

Des Moines:
Crocker Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 1022 Crocker St.

KANSAS

Wichita:
Water Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 302 N. Water St.

KENTUCKY

Covington:
Geo. Washington Carver Branch, 1044 Greenup St.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans:
Dryades Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 2220 Dryades St.

MARYLAND

Baltimore:
Druid Hill Ave. Branch Y. M. C. A., 1619 Druid Hill Ave.

MICHIGAN

Detroit:
St. Antoine Branch Y. M. C. A., 635 E. Elizabeth St.

MISSISSIPPI

Vicksburg:
Jackson Street Branch Y. M. C. A., Jackson and Walnut Sts.

MISSOURI

Kansas City:
Paseo Department Y. M. C. A., 1824 Paseo Blvd.

St. Joseph:
Colored Branch Y. M. C. A., 1621 Messanie St.

St. Louis:
Pine Street Dept. Y. M. C. A., 2846 Pine St.

NEBRASKA

Omaha:
2717 N. 24th Street

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City:
Arctic Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A., 1711 Arctic Ave.

Camden:
Hunton Branch Y. M. C. A., 1300 S. 6th St.

Hackensack:
Community Branch Y. M. C. A., Second and Clay Sts.

Jersey City:
Community Branch Y. M. C. A., 514 Jackson Ave.

Montclair:
Washington Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 42 Washington St.

Newark:
Court Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 153 Court St.

Orange:
Oakwood Department Y. M. C. A., 84 Oakwood Ave.

Plainfield:
Moorland Branch Y. M. C. A., 444 West 4th St.

Princeton:
Witherspoon Street Y. M. C. A., 102 Witherspoon St.

Red Bank:
West Side Branch Y. M. C. A., 140 W. Bergen Place

Summit:
Lincoln Y. M. C. A., 285 Broad St.

Trenton:
Colored Community Branch Y. M. C. A., 40 Fowler St.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn:
Carlton Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A., 405 Carlton Ave.

Buffalo:
Michigan Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A., 585 Michigan Ave.
Mount Vernon:
West Side Branch Y. M. C. A., 258 So. Seventh Ave.
New York:
Harlem Branch Y. M. C. A., 180 West 135th St.
Rochester:
West Side Branch Y. M. C. A., 133 Adams St.
White Plains:
Martine Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A., 29 Main St.

NORTH CAROLINA
Charlotte:
Colored Branch Y. M. C. A., 416 E. 2nd St.
Greensboro:
East White Oak Branch Y. M. C. A., 95 11th St.
Hayes-Taylor Memorial Branch Y. M. C. A., 1059 E. Market St.
Winston-Salem:
Patterson Ave. Branch Y. M. C. A., 410 N. Church St.

OHIO
Akron:
Glendale Community Branch Y. M. C. A., 80 W. Center St.
Cincinnati:
Ninth Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 636 West 9th St.
Walnut Hills Branch Y. M. C. A., 867 Altoona St.
(Lockland):
Lockland Branch Y. M. C. A., 310 N. Wayne Ave.
Cleveland:
Cedar Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A., 7615 Cedar Ave.
Columbus:
Spring Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 202 E. Spring St.
Southside Branch Y. M. C. A., 2096 Parsons Ave.
Dayton:
Fifth Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 905 W. Fifth St.
Springfield:
Center Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 521 S. Center St.
Toledo:
Indiana Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A., 669 Indiana Ave.
Youngstown:
W. Federal Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 962 W. Federal St.

OKLAHOMA
Tulsa:
W. L. Hutcherson Branch Y. M. C. A., 331 N. Greenwood St.

PENNSYLVANIA
Chester:
Colored Work Div., 7th and Edgmont St.
Germantown:
W. Rittenhouse Branch Y. M. C. A., 132 W. Rittenhouse St.
Harrisburg:
Forster Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 628 Forster St.
Philadelphia:
Christian Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 1724 Christian St.
Columbia Community Branch Y. M. C. A., 1639 N. Broad St.
Parkside Community Branch Y. M. C. A., 5924 Haverford Ave.
Pittsburgh:
Centre Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A., 2621 Centre Ave.
Wilkes-Barre:
Southside Branch Y. M. C. A., 434 S. Main St.
Wilmerding:
Patton Community House

TENNESSEE
Chattanooga:
J. A. Henry Branch Y. M. C. A., 793 E. 9th St.
Knoxville:
Cansler Branch Y. M. C. A., 208 E. Vine St.
Memphis:
Colored Branch Y. M. C. A., 254 Lauderdale Ave.
Nashville:
Colored Branch Y. M. C. A., 4th Ave. North and Cedar Sts.

TEXAS
Beaumont:
College Street Branch Y. M. C. A., 776 Neches St.
Dallas:
Moorland Branch Y. M. C. A., 2700 Flora St.
Fort Worth:
Colored Branch Y. M. C. A., 1600 Jones St.
Houston:
Colored Branch Y. M. C. A., 1217 Bagby St.
Port Arthur:
Colored Branch Y. M. C. A.
San Antonio:
Colored Branch Y. M. C. A., care of Central Branch Y. M. C. A., 301 E. Martin St.

VIRGINIA
Danville:
Watkin-Thompson Branch Y. M. C. A., 333 N. Union St.
Lynchburg:
Hunton Branch Y. M. C. A., 511 Taylor St.
Norfolk:
Hunton Branch Y. M. C. A., 440 E. Brambleton Ave.
Richmond:
Colored Y. M. C. A., 214 E. Leigh St.
Roanoke:
Hunton Branch Y. M. C. A., 436 Gainsboro Road, N. W.

WASHINGTON
Seattle:
East Madison Branch Y. M. C. A., 23rd and Olive Sts.

WISCONSIN
Milwaukee:
Booker T. Washington Branch Y. M. C. A., 735 W. Walnut St.

Young Women's Christian Association (Y. W. C. A.)

Negro Branches

Southern Region

ALABAMA
Birmingham:
8th Avenue Branch. 500 Eighth Ave., North.

Mobile:
Juliette Derricotte Branch, 552 St. Francis St.

ARKANSAS

Little Rock:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 924 Gaines St.

FLORIDA

Jacksonville:
A. L. Lewis Branch, 1215 Lee St.
Miami:
Murrell Branch, 1604 N. W. Third Ave.

GEORGIA

Atlanta:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 218 Boulevard, N. E.

KENTUCKY

Lexington:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 402 N. Upper St.
Louisville:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 528 South Sixth St.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans:
1609 N. Robertson St.

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 360 College St.
Charlotte:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 411 S. Brevard St.
Durham:
Harriet Tubman Branch, 312 Umstead St.
High Point:
Mary Bethune Branch, 730 E. Washington St.
Raleigh:
Sojourner Truth Branch, 13½ Hargett St.
Winston-Salem:
Chestnut Street Branch, 219 E. Sixth St.

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City:
300 North Stiles St.
Tulsa:
North Tulsa Branch, 621 E. Oklahoma Place

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston:
Coming Street Branch, 106 Coming St.
Columbia:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 1429 Park St.

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 924 E. Eighth St.
Knoxville:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 702 Temperance St.
Memphis:
Vance Avenue Branch, 541 Vance Ave.
Nashville:
Blue Triangle Branch, 436 Fifth Avenue, N.

TEXAS

Austin:
East Austin Branch, 1210 Rosewood Ave.
Beaumont:
Frances Morris Branch, 653 College St.
Dallas:
Maria Morgan Branch, 3525 State St.
Fort Worth:
1916 Crump Street
Galveston:
Mary Patrick Branch, 2823 Avenue K
Houston:
Blue Triangle Branch, 1419 Live Oak St.
San Antonio:
Pine Street Branch, 328 N. Pine St.
Waco:
Blue Triangle Branch, Earl & Cherry Sts., E. Waco

VIRGINIA

Lynchburg:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 613 Monroe St.
Newport News:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 842 Hampton Ave.
Norfolk:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 729 Washington St.
Richmond:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 515 N. Seventh St.
Roanoke:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 208 Second St., N. E.

Eastern Region

DELAWARE

Wilmington:
Walnut Street Branch, 10th and Walnut Sts.

MARYLAND

Baltimore:
Madison Avenue Branch, 2110 Madison Ave.

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City:
30 N. Ohio Ave.
Camden:
Frances Harper Branch, 822 Kaighn Ave.
Jersey City:
House of Friendliness, 43 Belmont Ave.
Newark:
Sojourner Truth, 52 Jones St.
Orange:
Oakwood Branch, 66 Oakwood Ave.
Plainfield:
East Fifth Street Branch, 302 E. Fifth St.
Trenton:
339 N. Montgomery St.

NEW YORK

New York:
Harlem Branch Y. W. C. A., 179 West 137th St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Germantown:
Germantown Branch, 6128 Germantown Ave.
Harrisburg:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 800 Cowden St.
New Castle:
140 Elm St.
Philadelphia:
Southwest-Belmont Branch, 1605 Catherine St.

Pittsburgh:
Centre Avenue Branch, 2044 Centre Ave.
Washington:
Lincoln Branch, 112 N. Lincoln St.

WEST VIRGINIA
Clarksburg:
Water Street Branch, 447 Water St.
Wheeling:
Blue Triangle Branch, 108 Twelfth St.

Central Region

INDIANA
Indianapolis:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 653 N. West St.
Muncie:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 1301 E. First St.

IOWA
Des Moines:
Blue Triangle Branch, 1407 Center St.

KANSAS
Kansas City:
Yates Branch, 644 Quindaro Blvd.
Wichita:
Mary B. Talbert Branch, 818 N. Water St.

MICHIGAN
Detroit:
Lucy Thurman Branch, 569 E. Elizabeth St.

MISSOURI
Kansas City:
Paseo Branch, 1501 E. 19th St.
St. Joseph:
Blue Triangle Branch, 110 S. 13th St.
St. Louis:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 2709 Locust St.

NEBRASKA
Omaha:
Northside Branch, 2216 North 22nd St.

OHIO
Cincinnati:
West End Branch, 702 W. Eighth St.
Columbus:
Blue Triangle Branch, 690 E. Long St.
Dayton:
West Side Branch, 236 S. Summit St.
Springfield:
Clark Street Branch, 134 W. Clark St.
Youngstown:
Belmont Branch, 248 Belmont Ave.

Western Region

CALIFORNIA
Los Angeles:
Woodlawn Branch, 4260 Woodlawn Ave.
San Diego:
Clay Avenue Branch, 2905 Clay Ave.

COLORADO
Denver:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 2460 Welton St.

WASHINGTON
Seattle:
Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 102 21st St., N.

Negro Centers

ARKANSAS
Fort Smith:
Margie K. Harrison Branch (Center), N. Ninth & K Sts.

CALIFORNIA
Oakland:
West Oakland Center, 828 Linden St.

CONNECTICUT
Bridgeport:
Phyllis Wheatley Center, 237 John St.

ILLINOIS
Chicago:
South Parkway Center, 4559 South Parkway

MISSISSIPPI
Laurel:
Madison at Second

NEW YORK
Rochester:
Clarissa Street Center, 192 Clarissa St.

WISCONSIN
Milwaukee:
738 W. Walnut St.

Affiliated Association (Independent)

WASHINGTON, D. C.
Phyllis Wheatley Y. W. C. A., 901 Rhode Island Ave., N. W.

Unaffiliated Association (Independent)

NEW JERSEY
Montclair:
Y. W. C. A., 159 Glenridge Ave.

The National Urban League For Social Service Among Negroes, Affiliates

ARIZONA
Phoenix:
Phoenix Urban League, 1202 E. Washington St.

ARKANSAS
Little Rock:
Urban League of Greater Little Rock, 914 Gaines St.

CALIFORNIA
Los Angeles:
Urban League of Los Angeles, 2510 South Central Ave.
San Francisco:
San Francisco Urban League, 1095 Market St., Room 202

COLORADO
Denver:
Denver Urban League, 2319 High St.

CONNECTICUT
Waterbury:
Pearl Street Neighborhood House, Cor. of Hopkins and Pearl St.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Washington:
Washington Urban League, 1538 New Jersey Ave., N. W.

FLORIDA
Miami:
The Negro Service Council, 646 N. W. Second Ave.
Tampa:
Tampa Urban League, 1615 Lamar Ave.

GEORGIA
Atlanta:
Atlanta Urban League, 239 Auburn Ave., N. E.

ILLINOIS
Chicago:
Chicago Urban League, 3032 South Wabash Ave.
Springfield:
Springfield Urban League, 234 South 15th St.

INDIANA
Anderson:
Negro Welfare Association, 1100 West 14th St.
Fort Wayne:
Wheatley Social Center, 421 East Douglas Ave.
Gary:
Gary Urban League, 1448 Broadway, Suite 5
Marion:
Carver Community Center, 1719 South Florence St.

KENTUCKY
Louisville:
Louisville Urban League, 418 South Fifth St.

LOUISIANA
New Orleans:
New Orleans Urban League, 1010 Dryades St.

MARYLAND
Baltimore:
Baltimore Urban League, 2404 Pennsylvania Ave.

MASSACHUSETTS
Boston:
Urban League of Greater Boston, 22 Whittier St.
Springfield:
Dunbar Community League, Inc., 643 Union St.

MICHIGAN
Detroit:
Detroit Urban League, 208 Mack Ave.
Flint:
Urban League of Flint, 415 CIO Bldg.
Grand Rapids:
Brough Community Association, 554 Henry St., N. W.

MINNESOTA:
Minneapolis:
Minneapolis Urban League, 240 South Fourth St.
St. Paul:
St. Paul Urban League, 402 Metropolitan Bank Bldg.

MISSOURI
Kansas City:
Urban League of Kansas City, 1805 Vine St.
St. Louis:
Urban League of St. Louis, 3017 Delmar Blvd.

NEBRASKA
Lincoln:
Lincoln Urban League, 2030 T St.
Omaha:
Omaha Urban League, 2213 Lake St.

NEW JERSEY
Elizabeth:
Urban League of Eastern Union County, 645 Elizabeth Ave.
Englewood:
Englewood Urban League, 34 E. Palisade Ave.
New Brunswick:
New Brunswick Urban League, 122 New St.
Newark:
New Jersey Urban League, 58 West Market St.

NEW YORK
Albany:
Albany Interracial Council, 122 Second St.
Buffalo:
Memorial Center and Urban League, Inc., 155 Cedar St.
New York:
Urban League of Greater New York
Brooklyn Branch, 105 Fleet Place
Manhattan Branch, 202 W. 136th St.
White Plains:
White Plains Urban League, 240 Grove St.

OHIO
Akron:
Association for Colored Community Work, 199 Perkins St.
Canton:
Canton Urban League, 819 Liberty Ave., S. E.
Cincinnati:
Division of Negro Welfare, the Community Chest of Cincinnati and Hamilton Co., 312 West 9th St.
Cleveland:
Cleveland Urban League, 8311 Quincy Ave.
Columbus:
Columbus Urban League, 107 North Monroe Ave.
Massillon:
Massillon Urban League, 113 Tremont Ave., S. W.
Toledo:
Frederick Douglass Community Association, 201 Pinewood Ave.
Warren:
Warren Urban League, 727 South Park Ave.

OKLAHOMA
Oklahoma City:
Oklahoma City Urban League, Y. W. C. A. Bldg., 320 N. W. First St.

OREGON
Portland:
Portland Urban League, 6 S. W. Sixth Ave.

PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia:
Armstrong Association, 1434 Lombard St.
Pittsburgh:
Urban League of Pittsburgh, 1300 Fifth Ave.

RHODE ISLAND

Providence:

Providence Urban League, 433 Westminister St., Room 14

TENNESSEE

Memphis:

Memphis Urban League, 546 Beale Ave.

TEXAS

Fort Worth:

Fort Worth Urban League, 411½ East Ninth St.

VIRGINIA

Richmond:

Richmond Urban League, 112 W. Charity St.

WASHINGTON

Seattle:

Seattle Urban League, 326 Railway Exchange Bldg., Second Ave. at Cherry St.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee:

Milwaukee Urban League, Cor. N. 9th and W. Pine Sts.

PART TWO

THE NEGRO IN AFRICA

DIVISION XXIII

POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF NEGRO AFRICA

By H. A. Wieschhoff

University of Pennsylvania

INTRODUCTION

For eight years there has been no chronicle of the events affecting the Negro in Africa—eight years which may justly be regarded as the most fateful years in the recent history of Negro Africa. This fact has placed a considerable burden on the compiler of this part. In view of limited space, the material has been selected in such a way as to present the most important aspects of recent African development. Thus, some important events had to be ignored, and others treated only casually. During the past eight years the African continent's position in the affairs of the world has taken on new significance. It has been the compiler's desire to take cognizance of this and to present information about Africa in such a way as to give the reader that background which is necessary for an understanding of present-day conditions. Thus, the title of this part may well have been *The African Negro of Today*.

SOME BASIC FACTS

Independent Countries

Liberia

(*Republic*)

Total area: 43,000 square miles.
Population: Africans, 1,500,000; Americo-Liberians, 15,000; Europeans, 300. Density, 46.5.
Principal exports: Paissava, fibre, palm kernels, rubber, gold.
Principal imports: Metal goods, machinery, textiles, food products.
Transport: Roads, some river navigation, air service.
Chief ports and towns: Monrovia, Bassa, Harper.

Ethiopia

(*Monarchy*)

Total area: 350,000 square miles.
Population: 8,490,000. Density, 24.3.
Principal exports: Hides, skins, coffee, grain, wax, civet, bananas, gold, cotton.
Principal imports: Salt, cotton piece-goods, cotton yarn, building materials, gasoline, sugar, glass, motor cars and soap.
Transport: Railroad (Jibuti-Addis Ababa); Roads (1,000 miles).
Principal cities: Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Harar, Gondar, Debra Markos.

British Dominion

Union of South Africa

(*Cape Province including Walvis Bay, Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State*)

Total area: 472,494 square miles.
Population: Africans, 7,391,872; Europeans, 2,003,857; Asiatics, 194,169. Density, 20.3.
Principal exports: Sugar, maize, hides and skins, gold, diamonds, citrus, asbestos, bark, butter, grapes, wines, meats, angora hair, ostrich feathers, fish.
Principal imports: Machinery, foodstuffs, motor cars, motor fuel, cotton piece-goods, other textiles, furniture, woolen piece-goods, wearing apparel, chemicals.
Transport: Railways (13,244 miles); Motor roads, (12,000 miles); Shipping; Air Service.
Chief ports and towns: Pretoria, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, East London, Pietermaritzburg.

Under Control of Great Britain

West Africa

The Gambia

(*Colony and Protectorate*)

Total area: 4,068 square miles.
Population: Africans, 213,000; European, 274; Asiatics, 90. Density, 52.7.
Principal exports: Peanuts, palm kernel, beeswax, hides and skins.
Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods, cotton, bags, sacks, rice, flour.
Transport: Gambia River.
Chief ports and towns: Bathurst, Georgetown.

Sierra Leone

(*Colony and Protectorate*)

Total area: 27,925 square miles.
Population: Africans, 1,766,613; European, 651; Asiatics, 1,216. Density, 63.3.
Principal exports: Cola nuts, ginger, paissava, iron ore, chrome ore, palm kernel, gold.

Principal imports: Rice, flour, meats, sugar, cotton manufactured goods, petroleum, iron and steel goods.

Transport: Railways (227 miles from Freetown to Pendembu; 83 miles from Banya Junction to Makeni); Roads, Coastal shipping.

Chief ports and towns: Freetown.

Gold Coast

(Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti—Colonies; Northern Territories—Protectorate)

Total area: 78,802 square miles.

Population: Africans, 3,264,697; Europeans, 4,274. Density, 42.9.

Principal exports: Cocoa, gold, manganese, diamonds, cola nuts, mahogany, palm kernels, rubber, copra, palm oil.

Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods, machinery, oils, petrol, iron and steel goods, cement, tobacco.

Transport: Railways (365 miles from Takoradi-to Kumasi-to Accra; 3 miles Takoradi to Sekundi, 19 miles Tarkwa to Prestea, 4 miles Aboso to Cinnamon Bippo, 99 miles Huni Valley to Kade); some 7,000 miles of motorable roads, air service.

Chief ports and towns: Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi, Cape Coast.

Nigeria

(Lagos, Colony; Eastern, Western and Northern Provinces, Protectorates)

Total area: 372,674 square miles.

Population: Africans, 20,035,922; Europeans, 4,798. Density, 53.8.

Principal exports: Palm oil, palm kernels, cotton lint, cocoa, mahogany, tin ore, gold, ground nuts, hides and skins, bananas, rubber, benniseed.

Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods, iron and steel goods, fish, salt.

Transport: Railways (843 miles Lagos to Kano and N'guru) 111 miles Minna to Baro, 133 miles Zaria to Jos, 137 miles Zaria to Kaura Namoda, 27 miles Ifo Junction to Idogo, 569 miles Port Harcourt to Kaduna.

Chief ports and towns: Lagos, Ibadan, Kano, Abeokuta, Oyo, Iwo, Ogbomosho, Ilorin, Iseyin, Ede, Oshogbo, Port Harcourt.

East Africa

British Somaliland (Somalia)

(Protectorate)

Total area: 68,000 square miles.

Population: Africans, 345,100; Europeans, 68; Asiatics, 2,215. Density, 5.1.

Principal exports: Skins and hides, gum, ghee.

Principal imports: Rice, dates, sugar, textiles.

Transport: Roads.

Chief ports and towns: Berbera, Hargeisa, Burao, Zeilah.

Kenya

(Colony and Protectorate)

Total area: 219,730 square miles.

Population: Africans, 3,253,698; Europeans, 16,812; Asiatics, 57,135. Density 15.1.

Principal exports: Coffee, sugar, tea, sisal, hides and skins, wattle bark, pyrethrum.

Principal imports: Grain and flour, tobacco, coal, cement, metal goods, machinery, oil.

Transport: Railways (879 miles Mombasa to Kampala) 134 miles Nakuru to Kisumu, 92 miles Voi to Kahe, 91 miles Konza to Magadi, 145 miles Nairobi-Nanyuki, 27 miles Rongai to Solai, 41 miles Leseru to Kitale, 48 miles Gilgil to Thomson's Falls, 43 miles to Kisumu-Butere Branch); Roads, Shipping, Aviation.

Chief ports and towns: Nairobi, Mombasa, Kilindini, Nakuru, Kisumu.

Uganda

(Protectorate)

Total area: 93,981 square miles.

Population: Africans, 3,536,267; Europeans, 2,100; Asiatics, 18,800. Density, 37.8.

Principal exports: Cotton, coffee, hides and skins, sugar, rubber, tea, ivory.

Principal imports: Cotton goods, metal goods.

Zanzibar and Pemba

(Protectorate)

Total area: 1,020 square miles.

Population: Africans, 186,466; Europeans, 278; Asiatics, 47,884. Density, 213.9 (for Zanzibar).

Principal exports: Cloves, copra.

Principal imports: Rice and grain, cotton piece-goods, petrol, tobacco, tea.

Transport: Roads (242 miles).

Chief ports and towns: Zanzibar.

Nyasaland

(Protectorate)

Total area: 37,000 square miles.

Population: Africans, 1,682,456; Europeans, 1,738; Asiatics, 1,851. Density, 45.6.

Principal exports: Tobacco, tea, cotton.

Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods, machinery, metal goods, motor spirits.

Transport: Railways (126 miles Chipoka to Port Herald), Roads (3,733 miles); Lake shipping.

Chief towns: Zomba, Blantyre, Limbe, Cholo, Lilongwe, Mlanje, Port Herald, Fort Johnston.

Southern Africa

Northern Rhodesia

(Protectorate)

Total area: 290,320 square miles.

Population: Africans, 1,372,235; Europeans, 13,846; Asiatics, 421. Density, 4.8.

Principal exports: Copper, zinc, cobalt, vanadium, corn (maize), tobacco, wood.

Principal imports: Machinery, coal, building material, tobacco.

Transport: Railways (507 miles), Roads (7,000 miles).

Chief towns: Lusaka, Broken Hill, Livingstone, Fort Jameson, Abercorn, Ndola, Mufulira.

Southern Rhodesia

(*Self-governing Colony*)

Total area: 150,333 square miles.
Population: Africans, 1,311,000; Europeans, 58,870; Asiatics, 5,670. Density, 9.0.
Principal exports: Gold, chrome ore, asbestos, coal, maize, tobacco.
Principal imports: Foodstuffs, cotton piece-goods, machinery, metal goods, chemicals.
Transport: Railways (1,360 miles), Motor roads (1,658 miles).
Chief cities: Salisbury, Bulawayo, Umtali, Gwelo, Gatooma, Wankie, Fort Victoria, Que Que.

Basutoland

(*Colony*)

Total area: 11,716 square miles.
Population: Africans, 560,536; Europeans, 1,434; Asiatics, 341. Density, 48.0.
Principal exports: Wool, mohair, wheat, sorghum, cattle.
Principal imports: Blankets, ploughs, clothing, tin ware.
Transport: Railways (16 miles), Roads.
Chief towns: Maseru.

Bechuanaland

(*Protectorate*)

Total area: 275,000 square miles.
Population: Africans, 257,064; Europeans, 1,899; Asiatics, 3,793. Density, 0.9.
Principal exports: Dairy products, cattle, sheep, goats, hides and skins.
Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods.
Transport: Railways (394 miles), Roads.
Chief towns: Mafeking (in Union), Serowe, Kanye.

Swaziland

(*Colony*)

Total area: 6,704 square miles.
Population: Africans, 153,270; Europeans, 2,740; Asiatics, 705. Density, 23.0.
Principal exports: Slaughter cattle, butter fat, hides and skins, tobacco.
Principal imports: Flour, wearing apparel, hardware, tobacco.
Transport: Motor Roads (329 miles).
Chief towns: Mbabane.

Under Joint British And Egyptian Control

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

(*Condominion*)

Total area: 967,500 square miles.
Population: Africans, 6,342,277; Europeans, 500. Density, 6.5.
Principal exports: Cotton, gum, sesame, senna leaves, groundnuts, dates, hides and skins.
Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods, tea, machinery, metal ware, timber, coffee, wheat, flour.
Transport: Railways (1,991 miles), Motor roads, River shipping.
Chief ports and towns: Khartoum, Omdurman, Wadi Halfa, Merowe, El Damer, Atbara, Port Sudan, Suakin, Kassala, El Obeid.

Under Control of France

French West Africa

(*Federation Government General*)

Total area: 1,844,166 square miles.
Population: Africans, 15,675,068; Europeans, 28,255; Asiatics, 6,992. Density, 8.5.

French West Africa consists of the following colonies:

Senegal

Total area: 77,730 square miles.
Population: Africans, 1,659,774; Europeans, 6,600. Density, 21.4.
Principal exports: Peanuts, turtles, hides and skins, peanut oil, gums.
Principal imports: Cotton goods, food stuffs, metal work, coal.
Transport: Railways (615 miles), Motor roads, River shipping.
Chief ports and towns: St. Louis, Kaolak, Dioubel, Thies.

French Guinea

Total area: 96,886 square miles.
Population: Africans, 2,060,927; Europeans, 3,600; Asiatics, 1,000. Density, 21.3.
Principal exports: Gold, hides, bananas, palm kernels, animal wax, orange oil.
Principal imports: Cotton fabrics, metal goods, motor oil, wines, motor cars, machinery, Phosphatic fertilizers.
Transport: Railways (386 miles), Roads (5,297 miles).
Chief ports and towns: Conakry, Kankan, Kindia, Mamou, Kouroussa, Labey, Boke.

Ivory Coast

Total area: 180,802 square miles.
Population: Africans, 3,973,425; Europeans, 3,784; Asiatics, 5,940. Density, 22.0.
Principal exports: Palm kernels, cacao, coffee, cabinet wood, bananas, cotton.
Principal imports: Cotton fabrics, wines, metal goods, automobiles.
Transport: Railways (594 miles), Roads (11,130 miles), Shipping.
Chief ports and towns: Abidjan, Bingerville, Port Bouet, Grand Bassam, Assinie, Grand Lahou, Ouagadougou, Bobo-Dioulasso.

Dahomey

Total area: 41,302 square miles.
Population: Africans, 1,288,115; Europeans, 1,013. Density, 31.2.
Principal exports: Palm kernels, palm oil, cotton, maize, dried fish.
Principal imports: Cotton goods, metal goods, tobacco, petrol.
Transport: Railway (431 miles), Roads (2,711 miles).
Chief ports and towns: Porto Novo, Cotonou, Save.

French Sudan

Total area: 590,966 square miles.
Population: Africans, 3,632,073; Europeans, 3,000. Density, 6.2.
Principal exports: Peanuts, cattle, gum, kopak, skins, cotton, wools, sisal, kariti, wax.

Principal imports: Cotton goods, foodstuffs, automobiles, motor spirits, building materials, sugar, salt.
Transport: Railway (760 miles), Roads, River shipping.
Chief towns: Bamako, Sikasso, Segou, Gao, Timbuktu, Djenne, Mopti.

Mauritania

Total area: 323,310 square miles.
Population: Africans, 370,389; Europeans, 375. Density, 1.1.
Principal exports: Peanuts, castor beans, gum, hides.
Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods, tobacco.
Transport: ——
Chief Towns: ——

Niger

Total area: 499,410 square miles.
Population: Africans, 1,809,076; Europeans, 500. Density, 3.6.
Principal exports: Peanuts, hides, castor beans.
Principal imports: Cotton piecegoods, tobacco, wines; machinery.
Transport: ——
Chief towns: Niamey, Zinder.

Dakar and Dependency

Total area: 60 square miles.
Population: Africans, 117,929; Europeans, 9,000. Density, 2,115.4.
Principal exports: Trans-shipping.
Principal imports: Trans-shipping.

French Equatorial Africa

(*Colony consisting of Gabun, Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari, Chad*)

Total area: 959,256 square miles.
Population: Africans, 3,418,066; Europeans, 4,949. Density, 3.6.
Principal exports: Timber, rubber, palm oil, copper, zinc, ivory.
Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods, metal goods, wines, tobacco.
Transport: Railways (318 miles), Roads (1,200 miles), River and coastal shipping.
Chief ports and towns: Brazzaville, Pointe-Noire, Bangui, Fort Lamcy, Port Gentil, Iibreville.

French Somaliland

(*Colony*)

Total area: 8,492 square miles.
Population: Africans, 44,420; Europeans, 1,971; Asiatics, 4,200. Density, 5.9.
Principal exports: Coffee, hides, salt.
Principal imports: Cotton goods, cattle, coal, sugar.
Transport: Railways (Djibouti-Addis Ababa, 485 miles), Shipping.
Chief port: Djibouti.

Under Control of Belgium

Belgian Congo

Total area: 899,702 square miles.
Population: Africans, 10,046,731; Europeans, 29,735. Density, 11.2.
Principal exports: Palm oil, palm kernels, copal, cotton, copper, diamonds, rubber, coffee, cocoa, ivory, fibre, cobalt, tin, manganese.
Principal imports: Cotton goods, machinery, metal goods, food stuffs, tobacco.
Transport: Railways (3,106 miles). Roads (53,775 miles), River shipping (6,279 miles), Air service.
Chief ports and towns: Leopoldville, Elisabethville, Matadi, Port Francqui, Stanleyville.

Under Portuguese Control

Portuguese Guinea

Total area: 13,944 square miles.
Population: Africans, 424,590; Europeans, 1,419. Density, 30.6.
Principal exports: Rice, wax, seeds.
Principal imports: Cotton goods.
Transport: Roads (1,863 miles), Coastal and River shipping.
Chief ports and town: Bissau, Bolama, Cacheu, Bubagne.

Angola and Cabinda

(*Portuguese West Africa*)

Total area: 487,788 square miles.
Population: Africans, 3,020,626; Europeans, 58,698; Asiatics, 18,957. Density, 6.4.
Principal exports: Coffee, maize, diamonds, sugar, wax, coconut.
Principal imports: Textiles, coal, foodstuffs.
Transport: Railways (1,442 miles), Roads (22,708 miles).
Chief ports and towns: S. Paulo de Loanda, Benguela, Mossamedes, Lobito, Malange, Huambo.

S. Tome and Principe

Total area: 597 square miles.
Population: Africans, 59,470; Europeans, 995; Asiatics, 112. Density, 101.4.
Principal exports: Cocoa, coffee, coconut, copra, palm oil, cinchona.
Principal imports: Textiles, foodstuffs.
Transport: Railways (10 miles), Roads (189 miles), Shipping.

Mozambique

(*Portuguese East Africa*)

Total area, 297,654 square mil[illegible]
Population: Africans, 5,043,052; Europeans, 27,438; Asiatics, 10,596. Density, 17.1.
Principal exports: Sugar, maize, cotton, copra, sisal, gold, peanuts.
Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods, machinery, building materials, foodstuffs.
Transport: Railways (860 miles), Roads (2,500 miles).
Chief ports and towns: Lourenco Marques, Beira, Chinde, Tete, Quelimane.

Under Control of Spain

Spanish Guinea

(*Continental Guinea, Rio Muni, and Fernando Po*)

Total area: 10,040 square miles.
Population: Africans, 119,573; Europeans, 955.
Principal exports: Cocoa, coffee, vegetables, wood.
Principal imports: Textiles, foodstuffs.
Transport: Shipping.
Chief ports and towns: Santa Isabel, Bata, Elobey.

Formerly Under Control of Italy

Eritrea

Total area: 15,754 square miles.
Population: Africans, 621,000; Europeans, 55,000. Density 42.9.
Principal exports: Gold, pearls, salt.
Principal imports: Cotton goods, food, metal goods, machinery, fuel, oil.
Transport: Railways (333 miles), Roads.
Chief ports and towns: Asmara, Massawah, Assab, Cheren.

Italian Somaliland

Total area: 194,000 square miles.
Population: Africans, 1,010,800; Europeans, 1,668; Density, 5.2.
Principal exports: Sesame oil, gum, hides, butter, cotton and cotton seed oil, resin, kapok, fruit, bananas.
Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods, sugar, rice, tea, coffee, metal goods, machinery, oils, tobacco, wines, timber.
Transport: Railways (70 miles), Roads (6,000 miles).
Chief ports and towns: Mogadiscio, Kismayu.

Mandates Under British Administration

Togo

Total area: 13,041 square miles.
Population: Africans, 370,227; Europeans, 54. Density, 28.4.
Principal exports: Palm oil, palm kernels, cocoa, cola nuts.
Principal imports: Cotton goods, salt, tobacco.

Cameroon

Total area: 34,081 square miles.
Population: Africans, 857,227; Europeans, 448. Density, 25.2.
Principal exports: Bananas, palm kernels, palm oil, cocoa, rubber.
Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods, metal goods, oils, fish, rice, tobacco.
Transport: Motor roads (200 miles), plantation railways.
Chief ports and towns: Buea, Victoria, Tiko.

Tanganyika

Total area: 360,000 square miles.
Population: Africans, 5,214,800; Europeans, 9,345; Asiatics, 33,784. Density, 14.5.
Principal exports: Sisal, cotton, coffee, peanuts, hides and skins, copra, grain, sesame, beeswax, ghee, diamonds, gold.
Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods, iron and steel goods, foodstuffs, machinery, building materials, oils.
Transport: Railways (273 miles Tanga-Moshi-Arusha, 775 miles Dar-es-Salaam-Kigoma, 236 miles Tabora-Mwanza, 93 miles Manyoni-Kinyangiri), Lake shipping, roads.
Chief ports and towns: Dar-es-Salaam, Tanga, Tabora, Arusha, Moshi, Dodoma.

Mandate Under Administration Of the Union of South Africa

South-West Africa

Total area: 317,725 square miles.
Population: Africans, 327,110; Europeans, 30,677. Density, 1.0.
Principal exports: Diamonds, vanadium, tin, butter, hides, karakul.
Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods, foodstuffs.
Transport: Railways (1,133 miles), Motor roads (1,774 miles).
Chief ports and towns: Windhock, Tsumeb, Luderitz Bay, Walvis Bay (belongs to Union).

Mandates Under French Administration

French Togo

Total area: 33,700 square miles.
Population: Africans, 763,360; Europeans, 383; Asiatics, 53. Density, 22.6.
Principal exports: Palm kernels, cocoa, ginned cotton, copra, corn.
Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods.
Transport: Railways (242 miles), Roads.
Chief ports and towns: Lome, Anecho.

Cameroon

Total area: 161,200 square miles.
Population: Africans, 2,606,273; Europeans, 3,227. Density, 16.1.
Principal exports: Peanuts, palm oil, almonds, hides, timber, cocoa, coffee, ivory.
Principal imports: Cotton goods, metal goods.
Transport: Railways (314 miles), Roads (3,105 miles), Coastal shipping.
Chief ports and towns: Yaounde, Douala, Kribi, Campo, Garoua.

Mandate Under Belgian Administration

Ruanda-Urundi

Total area: 20,152 square miles.
Population: Africans, 3,381,882; Europeans, 1,404; Asiatics, 714, Density, 167.9.
Principal exports: Cotton, coffee, hides, tin, gold.
Principal imports: Cotton piece-goods.
Transport: Roads (1,747 miles).
Chief towns: Usumbura, Astride.

POPULATION OF AFRICA

TERRITORIES	AREA	AFRICANS	EUROPEANS	ASIATICS	TOTAL	DENSITY
BRITISH.......	3,802,600	59,442,918	2,154,663	367,984	61,965,556	16.2
FRENCH.......	4,022,784	36,199,988	1,666,159	11,192	37,877,339	9.4
BELGIAN......	919,854	13,428,613	31,139	714	13,460,466	14.6
PORTUGUESE .	799,983	8,547,738	88,550	29,665	8,665,953	10.8
SPANISH.......	133,780	1,000,519	65,615	....	1,066,134	7.9
EX-ITALIAN...	889,112	2,425,025	151,844	....	2,576,869	2.9
INDEPENDENT	776,000	27,249,000	59,300	....	27,308,300	35.2
TOTAL.......	11,344,113	148,293,801	4,217,270	409,555	152,910,626	13.4

DIVISION XXIV

ETHIOPIA SINCE THE WAR

By H. A. Wieschhoff
University of Pennsylvania

ANGLO-ETHIOPIAN AGREEMENTS

Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement And Military Convention of 1942

The Italian conquest of Ethiopia was of short duration. Five years after Emperor Haile Selassie was expelled from his country, he re-entered his capital of Addis Ababa with detachments of British forces and accompanied by patriot bands of his own people on May 5, 1941. While Ethiopia remained for a while an "Enemy Occupied Territory," in 1942 Great Britain concluded an Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement and Military Convention with the Emperor, thus formally recognizing Haile Selassie as the sovereign ruler of Ethiopia and admitting his country to membership in the United Nations.

According to the Agreement of 1942, Great Britain held far-reaching control over Ethiopia's external as well as internal affairs—a control which then was deemed justified because of Ethiopia's unsettled conditions and on account of the Axis threat to the Allied position in the Near East. This agreement which expired on October 25, 1944, gave to the representatives of the British government not only unprecedented influence upon the administrative and judicial branches of the Ethiopian government, but the Ethiopian army in the process of modernization, was commanded by British officers. In return, the British government gave some financial assistance to Ethiopia.

Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1944

Upon the initiative of the Ethiopian government this agreement was substituted by the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1944 which went into effect on December 19, 1944, and is to expire in December, 1946.

The latter Agreement provided that whereas changed circumstances required modification of the Agreement of January 31, 1942, it was considered inopportune to negotiate a permanent treaty while the war was still going on. The new agreement was to remain in force for two years after which time either party might give three months' notice to terminate it.

The main provisions, as published in the British White Paper (*Cmd* 6, 584), are as follows:

> "*Article* 3— The Imperial Ethiopian Government will retain or appoint British or other foreign persons of experience and special qualifications to be advisers of officers of their administration and judges as they find necessary. The Government of the United Kingdom will assist the Imperial Ethiopian Government in finding suitable persons of British nationality whom they may desire to appoint.
>
> "*Article* 6—The Government of the United Kingdom will make available to the Imperial Ethiopian Government a military mission which shall be a unit of the military forces of His Majesty the King under the command of the Head of the Mission. It shall be called, 'The British Military Mission to Ethiopia'. . .
>
> "The British Military Mission shall be withdrawn during the currency of this agreement if, after consultation between the High Contracting Parties, either so desires and gives notice to the other to this effect. If any such notice is given the Mission shall be withdrawn three months after the date of receipt of notice.
>
> "*Article* 7—In order as an Ally to contribute to the effective prosecution of the war, and without prejudice to their underlying sovereignty, the Imperial Ethiopian Government hereby agrees that, for the duration of this Agreement, the territories designated as the Reserved Area and the Ogaden shall be under British Military Administration."

With regard to the territories remaining under British control, it was verbally agreed but confirmed by letter that "wherever in the Reserved Area and the Ogaden the British flag is flown by the British Military Administration, the Ethiopian flag will be flown beside it under the same conditions. Wherever in the Reserved Area and the Ogaden the Ethiopian flag is flown on Ethiopian Government offices, the British flag will be flown beside it under the same conditions."

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING ETHIOPIA

Since then Ethiopia has been confronted with two major problems: The first is that of internal readjustment, not only with respect to overcoming the results of occupation and war, but also to reorganize the country along modern lines. The second problem affects Ethiopia's external position, primarily the demand for an extension of her borders so as to secure for the land-locked country an outlet to the sea.

Internal Reconstruction

Regarding internal improvement, Norman Bentwich wrote in *Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somaliland* (1945): "Much has been done during the past four years for the advancement of order and law in the country, for the improvement of its agricultural production, for the starting of industries, for education and social services. Besides the British officials, British non-officials, notably teachers of the British Council and Christian Missions, and doctors and social workers of the Friends' Ambulance Unit and a few American teachers, are playing a part in this reconstruction. The Emperor has had also the help of the United States Government, which has supplied—or promised to supply—him with four aeroplanes for internal communication, and with silver for the coinage of dollars, in accordance with a Lease-Lend agreement."

Since the restoration of the Emperor a centralized civil administration has been reestablished. In this the Emperor has had the help of a few British advisers. He has restored the Ethiopian Parliament, which has advisory functions, and the Council of Ministers, with which he consults on all important executive matters. He is building up a central system of government and taxation in the provinces. The army and police force were reorganized with the support of British military advisers. The judicial administration has been completely reformed, by the establishment of a High Court with permanent professional judges who exercise jurisdiction over all persons, foreigners as well as Ethiopians, and also over officials who transgress the law. A criminal code based on the traditional law of Ethiopia has been promulgated.

Education

Some improvement in the educational system is noticeable. In Addis Ababa as well as other towns, there were 81 elementary schools in 1944. But only one secondary school exists in the capital for the training of administrators, civil servants and teachers. A few technical schools have also been founded.

With respect to education, Norman Bentwich, after a visit to Ethiopia, stated in October of 1944: "It is one of the wise measures of the Ethiopian Government to use all the foreign elements who can help in reconstruction. The girls' school of the Empress is directed by an English head-mistress, and amongst the mistresses are a Greek and an Armenian. Everywhere I went I found boys and girls ardent to learn, in order to make up for lost years when they were excluded from the schools by the Italians. Pupils come from all classes; the children of peasants are mingled with the children of the Rases, being chosen for their capacity by the local officials. Besides the modern schools, there are a number of the old kind which teach only in the Amharic or other Ethiopian vernaculars. The Emperor has also instituted a college for the modern education of priests of the Coptic Church. Another notable enterprise is the introduction in some of the provincial towns of a kind of community center for adult education, in order to give the people knowledge of agriculture, hygiene and simple crafts.

"Americans have begun to help in the cultural work; a few American Negro teachers have arrived, and are now working in the Government schools. Another is the editor of a weekly English paper, the *Ethiopian Herald*, which is published in Addis Ababa, and gives the outer world information of what is happening. Recently, a monthly English journal, the *Ethiopian Review*, has been started."[1]

Economy

The post-war orientation of Ethiopia's economy was analyzed in an address, *Ethiopian Commerce and Industries Since the Re-conquest—Future Possibilities*, by A. D. Bethell, former British Adviser on Commerce to the Ethiopian Government, before a joint meeting of the Royal African Society and the Royal Empire Society in 1944, published in *United Empire* (vol. XXXV, 1944, pp. 199-204). Mr. Bethell estimates that Ethiopian imports, even without improvement of present-day living standards, will reach about £3,000,000, whereas exports in 1944 still because of war orders, will fall so as to leave the country with an unfavorable trade balance of £1,000,000. This deficit, if foreign loans are to be avoided, must be met by expanding Ethiopia's output of potential export products, such as hard woods, hides, beeswax, coffee, cotton, tea and tobacco Exploitation of minerals—iron, wolfram, tungsten, asbestos, mica has long-range possibilities, but appears of little value in solving the immediate problems because of the capital required for mining development.

In uninformed quarters exaggerated importance was given to the fact that on September 7, 1945, the Sinclair Oil Company of New York announced that it had acquired the exclusive right to develop oil resources on over 350,000 square miles of Ethiopian territory. Since thus far there is no assurance of oil resources in commercial quantities, this agreement is largely meaningless and the company's agreement to expend certain sums in promoting welfare, health, and educational services of the country and to contribute toward the training of Ethiopian subjects in the United States is far from realization.

Of no small importance in Ethiopia's process of modernization is the United States' Economic Mission whose work began in May, 1944.

Currency System

Important for the economic development of the country has been the establishment of a fixed currency system which was established by the Currency and Legal Tender proclamation of May 23, 1945. The Maria Theresa dollar, which had been the traditional currency of the country, was replaced by the Ethiopian dollar divided into 100 cents. The value of this new monetary unit is to equal 5.52 grains of fine gold, or 40.25 United States cents. Paper notes have been issued for denominations of 1 dollar to 500 dollars in denominations as follows: 1, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 500. There also exists a .50 cents silver coin and copper coins for 1, 5, 10 and 25 cents. This new currency, paper and coin, has been made in the United States for the State Bank of Ethiopia, which has the sole right of issuing currency.

Article 4 of the Proclamation provides that "it shall be the duty of the State Bank of Ethiopia to establish and maintain a currency fund consisting of gold, silver and foreign currency bank balances of prime securities readily convertible into foreign currencies or bank balances to a minimum extent of 75% of the said fund and Imperial Treasury obligations to a maximum extent of 25% of the said fund. . . ."

The London *Economist* (April, 1945) commented that "The advantages claimed for the new currency are, first, that it provides a single currency in the country; secondly, that it will have a high reserve; and thirdly, that sufficient notes and coinage will in the future be available to meet the needs of the people." The Journal continues that "the issue of the new currency may be taken as a mark of Ethiopia's aspirations for economic independence. . . ."

Reparation Claims From Italy

Ethiopia has the hope that her internal economy will be strengthened by reparations from Italy. In a special memorandum which was submitted to the Council of Foreign Ministers in October of 1945, she demands a total of £184,746,023. This sum is specified as follows: (1) £26,813,155 represents the "cost to the Imperial Treasury of resisting aggression" which sum is said to cover the pay for the Ethiopian forces for ten months, supplies, equipment and clothing for troops, purchase of arms and the cost of twelve aircraft destroyed. (2) £25,402,868 representing the total of "Imperial rights and revenue seized by the Italians during occupation." (3) £132,530,000 is the total for personal claims covering the damages in losses to persons and institutions. The major part constitutes a claim of £100 per person for the 760,300 persons killed. Other claims included are £5 per head for 5,000,000 cattle looted or slaughtered; £1 per head for 7,000,000 sheep and goats; £5 each for 1,000,000 horses and mules; £10 each for 700,000 camels. £2,000,000 is claimed for destruction of religious institutions.

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[1] Abyssinia Association, Pamphlet No 21, March, 1945.

External Problems

Two border questions are confronting Ethiopia. The first affects the future status of the former Italian colony of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland; the second, the Ethiopian territories of Ogaden and the Reserved Areas, which are still under British Military Administration.

ETHIOPIA CLAIMS ERITREA AND ITALIAN SOMALILAND

Italian colonies: The Government of Ethiopia has officially put forth its claim for the annexation of the whole of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. In a memorandum submitted to the Council of Foreign Ministers during their London Conference in October, 1945, the Ethiopian government stated that, "in claiming the return of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland to the Empire, Ethiopia is seeking not reparations against Italy but simply the rectification of a wrong which for sixty years has deprived Ethiopia of the oldest part of the Empire and of access to the sea." The memorandum offers a brief historical review which is believed to demonstrate that both Eritrea and Somaliland intermittently have formed part of the Ethiopian Empire since the second and first millenium before Christ.

Better authenticated than these vague episodes of dynastic history are those sections of the memorandum dealing with more recent events. It is recalled that prior to the conquest of Ethiopia, the British miltiary authorities approved of and distributed to the Eritreans a proclamation by the Ethiopian Emperor which read: "Whether on this side or other side of the Mareb (the frontier river between Ethiopia and Eritrea) join in the struggle by the side of your Ethiopian brothers. Your destiny is strictly bound up with that of the rest of Ethiopia. . . ." Another proclamation by the Emperor which was also distributed by British forces, read: "I have come to restore the independence of my country, including Eritrea and the Benadir (Italian Somaliland) whose people will henceforth dwell under the Ethiopian flag."

Among other statements, the memorandum recalls that at the time of signing the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement, 1944, the British representative delivered to the Ethiopian Emperor "a note in which he stated that the British Government views with sympathy Ethiopian aspirations in regard to Eritrea and access to the sea." This assurance was renewed when the Ethiopian Emperor met the British Prime Minister in Cairo during February, 1945. Also the United States "in the persons of President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Hull and officials of the Department of State have formulated similar statements of attitude."

The most convincing sections of the memorandum are those which establish Ethiopia's need for free access to the sea. Not only did Ethiopia's inland position prove fatal to the country's defense against the Italian aggressor, but "in time of peace the lack of access to the sea has constituted a crushing burden upon the economy" of the country. It is explained that "by reason of the fact that all her exports must be shipped from foreign ports, Ethiopia is deprived of her foreign exchange. The consequence is that today Ethiopia is no longer in a position to buy or sell where she pleases, and has been compelled to reduce to a minimum her purchases of foreign merchandise and services which must be paid for in currencies which she is called upon to surender."

At the time this memorandum was submitted to the Foreign Ministers in London, Addis Ababa demonstrations were organized by the Ethiopico-Eritrean Unity Association demanding that Eritrea be united with Ethiopia. The Somali living in the capital went to the Imperial Palace and shouted: "We don't want Trusteeship; we want to be united to our mother-land Ethiopia—we want Haile Selassie." These demonstrators also visited the legations of the major powers and submitted formal appeals there.

The major powers seem generally agreed that once the problem of the disposition of Italian colonies is settled, Ethiopia should be given an outlet to the sea via Eritrea. But there seems very little inclination to accede to Ethiopia all that she has asked for nor does the cession of Italian Somaliland to Ethiopia seem to find support in any quarter. What precise form the partitioning of Eritrea will take is still doubtful, but that the port of Assab will come into Ethiopian control seems rather likely.

GREAT BRITAIN'S PROPOSALS REGARDING OGADEN AND THE RESERVED AREAS

Ogaden: Unofficial quarters had suspected that British insistence upon keeping the Ethiopian district of Ogaden and the so-called Reserved Areas under British Military Administration was designed to bring about the establishment of a greater Somaliland, combining under one administration British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland and Ogaden, sometimes called Ethiopian Somaliland. At the first Conference of the Foreign Ministers in Paris, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs made a proposal for the union of these territories, based on the grounds that they are inhabited by ethnically similar peoples and asked that this whole area be placed under British trusteeship administration.

Naturally the Ethiopian government did not take kindly to such a suggestion. The Emperor stated that "Ethiopia could not admit that any question should arise concerning the return to her of territories comprising the Ethiopian-Ogaden province, which was a purely war-time measure, contributed as an ally and without compensation to the effective prosecution of the war and should no more fall within the scope of the peace conference than similar war-time contributions of territories made by other allies."

African Transcripts No. 10, 1946, pp. 109-10 comments on this problem as follows: "There can be little doubt that the creation of a greater Somaliland . . . has much to recommend itself to those who like to see the reestablishment of ethnic groups in Africa. But how such a combined territory should be administered will present a difficult problem. As long as the philosophy predominates that trust areas are really 'belonging' to the administering authority, one can hardly advocate administration by any one power. On the other hand, the suggestion that all three territories be placed under the direct administration of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations will hardly strike a sympathetic cord in Great Britain, which would be asked to relinquish its jurisdiction over the Somaliland Protectorate. Empire strategists would hardly consent to such a move at a time when the British position on the northern entrance of the Red Sea begins to weaken. Thus it does not appear very likely that Somaliland unification is to be considered very seriously."

There cannot be the slightest doubt regarding the question of Ethiopia sovereignty in the Ogaden area. Any possible change must have the voluntary consent of Ethiopia.

DIVISION XXV

LIBERIA IN THE WORLD OF TODAY

By H. A. WIESCHHOFF

University of Pennsylvania

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In 1947 a century will have passed since the founding of the Negro Republic of Liberia. Although the country, now the size of the State of Ohio, was first settled by American Negroes in 1822, it was not before 1847 that its statehood was formally recognized by the then major powers. Since those days Liberia's history has not been uneventful. The settlers had to establish themselves in a country inhabited by African tribes which did not always submit themselves willingly to the rule by others, and many uprisings shook the foundations of this new State. Liberians had to defend themselves against the encroachments of European powers which did not take kindly to the founding of an independent State by Negroes. A large section of Liberia had to be surrendered to both Great Britain and to France. The country passed through many financial crises, its internal affairs became subject to investigation by the League of Nations. But Liberia succeeded in maintaining its national existence against the many attempts to reduce its status to that of a colony. Although most of these attacks were unprovoked, Liberians are to some degree responsible for some of the criticisms which have been leveled against her.

Elements in the Population

The internal structure of Liberia is complicated by the fact that there are two essentially different elements in the population; namely, some 15,000 so-called Americo-Liberians, the descendants of some 20,000 Negro immigrants; and the Natives, totaling more than 1,500,000. Whereas the first, inhabiting the coastal counties, maintain an American tradition which their fathers brought to Africa a century ago, the Natives, occupying the provinces of the hinterland, continue their life along traditional African lines. The former constitute the ruling element in the country and only small numbers of the educated Africans, often called the "civilized natives," have succeeded in joining the ranks of those who may be called the aristocrats.

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

The Constitution of the country is modelled on that of the United States and thus the government is based on the principle of separation of powers. There exists an elective legislature, Legislature and Senate, an elected President and an appointed Supreme Court. But the major participants in governmental affairs are almost exclusively members of the Americo-Liberian group who live in the coastal towns. Like America, Liberia has a two party system, but with rare exceptions the same party, the True Whigs, have had control. Occasionally an opposition party has come into existence, such as the Democratic Party in 1943, but in elections opposition parties have not done well.

One of the reasons that an opposition party has a difficult time in establishing itself is the existence of the Sedition Law of 1933, which was enacted during the administration of President Barclay and which was even strengthened in 1945 under President Tubman. According to this law, any criticism of the President or the government's policy towards Natives is punishable with imprisonment of from three to seven months and confiscation of property.

Americo-Liberians Control Government

The fact that the government of Liberia is strictly controlled by a small group of Americo-Liberians has been strongly criticized in recent years. Liberians themselves are often sensitive with respect to such criticism and are liable to accuse as prejudiced those who criticize.

Mrs. Paul Robeson, who may well be regarded as safe against such accusations, writes in *African Journey,* 1945 p. 8, "Liberia was to be the country where freed Negroes were to be really free, and were to help their African brothers. And what happened? In time the freed Negroes, Americo-Liberians as they are called, followed the pattern of other colonial peoples—exploiting and enslaving the Africans, the Liberians. Considering the high purpose for which this black colony was founded, and the brave democratic principles upon which this now so-called republic is supposed to rest, the backwardness, poverty and lack of franchise among the subject Liberian people as against the wealth and official corruption among the ruling Americo-Liberian citizens makes a shameful picture—a disgrace to the 'Republic' and to the United States which sponsors it."

Another American Negro, Dr. George W. Brown, states in *The Economic History of Liberia* (1944, pp. 213-14): "The Land of Liberty definitely fails to justify the modest hopes of strong sympathetic friends . . . Accusations of extortions, bribes, petty grafting, court and legal corruption, flagrant abuses against the persons and property of individuals by soldiers or minor officials, misappropriation of funds, and 'selling out the country' continue to revive among the unsavory charges made within and against the Republic."

There are hopeful signs, however, that a new policy is in the making. President W. V. S. Tubman, who took office in 1944, appears to be taking some strides towards reform. Although his election was accompanied by charges that it "was the most partial, the most unfair, the most brazenly corrupt,"[1] the new President is said to make "strenuous efforts toward winning the confidence of the masses and so toward eventually integrating them into the country's civic and social stream as citizens of Liberia."[2]

REFORMS NEEDED

In Politics

During the presidential campaign, Mr. Tubman had pledged himself as favoring the improvement of the political status of the Liberian Natives and for bringing them into active participation in the conduct of national affairs. The second session of the fortieth legislature, early in 1945, adopted by joint resolution a constitutional amendment revising the representational system and extending the rights of universal adult suffrage to the whole country. This amendment grants to each of the three provinces of the hinterland the right to send one representative to the national legislature. In order to insure the democratic election of these legislators, all citizens of these territories who have attained the age of twenty-three years and who are owners of a hut on which they pay the hut tax are invested with the right of suffrage.

In evaluating this concession to the Liberian Natives, it is necesary to remember that the 3 provincial members who will be representing more than 1,000,000 African-Liberians will have for all practical purposes, an impotent voice in shaping policies in opposition to the 21 county legislators who represent the 12,000 to 15,000 Americo-Liberians. Nor does the constitutional amendment grant senatorial representation to the hinterland provinces.

This point of view appears to be taken by the Liberian opposition party. Its mouth piece, the *Weekly Mirror* (May 11, 1945) in an editorial comment entitled, "On the Right Road But Doesn't Go Far Enough," contends that this reform falls short of the aim of equal representation of both provinces and counties set forth by the Democratic Party during the last presidential campaign. The *Mirror* states further, "Forever and a day cease the effort to make wards out of our Native population and forthwith extend to every man and woman in the republic full rights of citizenship. . . . What right have we, who are struggling with all our faults and shortcomings to learn self-government, to shut out of the schoolroom our blood brothers and our sisters on the ground that they do not know what we are trying to learn. . . . Furthermore, this question of self-government has been used from time immemorial as a smoke screen behind which the strong hide their pilfering of the weak. Every person, tribe, or nation has the inherent ability to govern itself and does govern itself until prevented by the encroachment of others. . . . The amazing opportunity of Liberia is to give her Native population the chance to give the colonial powers in West Africa an oracular demonstration of how well and how quickly the Natives may be expected to shoulder the responsibilities of self-direction in government."

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[1] The Weekly Mirror, May 7, 1943.

[2] Report from Liberia, Council on African Affairs, June 1945.

In Education

There is little disagreement regarding the need for reforms if Liberia is to meet the challenge of the twentieth century. Not only is it imperative that the political structure of the republic be overhauled, but even more so the economic and social pattern. In his inaugural address President Tubman expressed awareness for this need. It is noteworthy that two aspects were emphasized particularly; namely, education and agriculture. He stated regarding education, "One of the greatest demands of the present time, and one vitally essential to our national existence, is the removal of illiteracy from within our borders. We shall, therefore, endeavor to provide the best possible standard of education for our people. We shall endorse the principles of liberal appropriations for the purpose of education in its general and broadest aspects—vocational as well as agricultural. . . . We favour agricultural, mechanical and industrial education. We shall, therefore, seek to establish District Experimental Stations in districts, and secondary agricultural and mechanical schools in several counties. I am inclined to a system of education in which all of the schools would be classified into three divisions; viz., Elementary, Intermediate and College Preparatory. . . ."

In Agriculture

The part of his speech dealing with *agriculture* reads: "The surest test of national independence and stability lies in the ability of a people to sustain themselves, and this ability must come principally from the product and yield of the soil which can only be . . . operated by industry, skill and finance. . . . It is our hope to make arrangements that would improve agriculture, refine and stimulate production, facilitate the exchange of agricultural products and relieve the farmers by technical and financial assistance upon sound business security arrangements; but behind these efforts must be the sympathetic and co-operative support of the farmers and of the people in general."

That the agrarian reform is well under way is shown by the fact that the budget of the Bureau of Agriculture has been increased substantially and with the assistance of a United States Government expert, Charles E. Trout, it is hoped that agricultural methods will be improved, that land will be better utilized and that new crops will be introduced.

There cannot be any doubt that definite signs of economic and social uplift are noticeable in Liberia. But it will be a hard and long pull before Liberians will be able to satisfy even modest expectations, and there is no justification for the optimism as expressed in the mouthpiece of the government. Following the election of President Tubman this paper, *The African Nationalist* (August 7, 1943) expressed the belief that during this new administration Liberia would rise so as to "excel in grandeur, power and excellence ancient Rome." Neither does it seem realistic to write: "Our rich fertile soil upturned by ploughs and agricultural machinery, thus trebbling at least our production of foodstuffs. Our mountains and hills containing precious metals will be tunnelled, and deep shafts sunk to extract the billions worth of minerals which have been discovered; when employment would be available to every man, woman and child for the asking, at wages that will leave a comfortable margin to lay aside for sickness and the rainy day; when the coffers of the Republic will be filled with Liberian gold, and we would then be in position to seek no more loans from foreigners or their Governments."

This is wishful thinking in the extreme. The hard fact is that Liberia is still a poor country, that it needs foreign help to develop its resources, and that foreign help is available only at a price which does not help to fill "the coffers of the Republic." It is furthermore a fact that recent economic improvements have been made possible, at least partially, by the renewed interest that the United States has expressed in Liberia.

LIBERIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

In the past the United States' relation to Liberia had been that of a well-to-do person to a distant and poor relative. But owing to Liberia's strategic position on the African West

Coast, that country was drawn more prominently into good relations with the United States. When France fell in 1940 and the danger that Dakar might fall into unfriendly hands became a distinct possibility, Liberia became of considerable strategic importance to the United States. This interest of the United States, only feebly felt in the past, appears to have had a marked effect not only on Liberia's external position, but even more so on its internal development.

Pan American Airways Sign Contract

In July 1941, Pan American Airways signed a contract with the Liberian Government obtaining the right to operate in Liberia; and in an additional agreement the company received a ten-year lease on Roberts Field, where a modern land-plan field was created. At the same time an excellent seaplane base was installed at Fisherman Lake.

Defense Areas Agreement

Athough Liberia remained neutral in the early part of the war, it authorized the entry of American troops into the country and in March, 1942, Liberia and the United States signed the *Defense Areas Agreement* (United States, Executive Agreement Series 275) which provided among other things that, "the Government of Liberia has granted the Government of the United States in this emergency the right to construct, control, operate and defend at the sole cost and expense of the latter and without charge to the Republic of Liberia, such military and commercial airports in the Republic as in consultation with the Government of the Republic of Liberia may mutually be considered necessary; and the right also to assist in the protection and defense of any part of the Republic which might be liable to attack during the present war, said grant to include the right to construct access roads from Monrovia to the airport at Roberts Field on the Farmington River and the seaplane facilities at Fisherman Lake in the County of Grand Cape Mount."

Article 2 of the agreement states that Liberia shall retain "sovereignty over all such airports, fortifications and other defense areas as may be established" by the United States Government. It is also promised that the United States is to "withdraw all military forces" six months after the termination of the war.

Lend-Lease Agreement Signed

On June 8, 1943 the United States and Liberia signed a lend-lease agreement, known as the *Principles Applying to Mutual Aid for Defense* (United States, Executive Agreements Series 324) according to which the United States "will continue to supply the Government of the Republic of Liberia with such defense articles, defense services and defense information as the President of the United States of America shall authorize to be transferred or provided."

President Roosevelt Visits Liberia

The close relations between the United States and Liberia were outwardly indicated by President Roosevelt's visit to Liberia when he returned home from the Casablanca Conference in 1943 and by President Barclay's return visit accompanied by President-elect W. V. S. Tubman.

Liberia Enters World War II

Liberia entered into the war on January 24, 1944 when the Liberian legislature declared war against Germany and Japan and on April 10th of that year the country affixed its signature to the United Nations Declaration, the thirty-fifth signatory to do so.

The United States Constructs Modern Port Near Monrovia

Prior to this the United States and Liberia had entered into yet another agreement that provided for the construction of a modern port in Monrovia (*Construction of a Port and Port Works*, Executive Agreement Series 411). Although this agreement was signed on December 31, 1943, its publication was withheld until November, 1944. The agreement provides that the United States will construct a port and port works in the vicinity of Monrovia. Whereas the Liberian government will contribute the land, the United States will undertake the construction with lend-lease funds. Some $15,000,000 have been made available thus far. The agreement provides further that the port, which is to be a free port, shall be administered by an American company until the time that the loan for construction will be amortized. Article 6 states: "When amortization of the cost of the port, port works and access roads shall have been fully completed, operating control and ownership of all installations constructed from funds made available by the Government of the United States of America under the Mutual Aid Agreement of June 8, 1943, shall pass to the Government of the Republic of Liberia."

Of special significance is Article 7 of this agreement which states: "The Government of the Republic of Liberia, upon request, will grant to the Government of the United States of America the right to establish, use, maintain, improve, supplement, guard and control, in part or in their entirety, at the expense of the Government of the United States of America, such naval, air and military facilities and installations at the site of the port, and in the general vicinity thereof, as may be desired by the Government of the United States of America in the South Atlantic.

"The Government of the United States of America undertakes to respect, in the future as in the past, the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and political independence of the Republic of Liberia."

Construction is in the hands of the Raymond Concrete Pile Company of New York. It is expected that the port will be completed in 1947.

The United States Economic and Health Missions to Liberia

But United States relations to Liberia were strengthened in other ways. In November, 1944, the Foreign Economic Administration sent to the West African republic an economic mission, consisting of six experts, headed by Earl Parker Hanson, in order to assist Liberia in her economic development. The Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency dispatched a health mission consisting of eleven Negro physicians, engineers, entomologists and nurses, headed by Senior Surgeon John B. West, former health officer in New York City. This mission hopes to develop a health and sanitation program there. Other agencies of the United States government have given their support to Liberia. The Division of Cultural Relations of the State Department has made grants to improve nursing education, the Geological Survey made a survey of the country's iron-ore resources, the Department of Agriculture loaned an expert in order to assist in a program of improved agricultural methods.

Generally speaking, Liberians have welcomed these renewed interests on the part of Americans. The pro-government newspaper *African Nationalist* (August 13, 1944) in an editorial celebrating the 97th anniversary of Liberia's independence, states: "The big hand which the United States is handing out to us today has opened up new vistas of national progress which were undreamt of by the wildest optimist ninety-seven years ago."

But in an earlier issue (July 1, 1944) the same newspaper expressed a warning to its own countrymen: "The question of promoting the economy of this republic so that we may hold a comfortable place among prosperous nations is one which is primarily the business of us who are citizens of the country. Strangers may assist us, and we may welcome their help now and at any time in the future, but no matter how much assistance we may receive from our alien friends, nothing would take the place of our own efforts."

The Firestone Company In Liberia

Liberian economic life appears to be further strengthened by American concerns operating in Liberia. The Firestone Company established its rubber plantation in Liberia in 1926. Although the events leading up to the establishment of this American enterprise were not without friction and some Liberians remain in opposition to the various agreements into which the government entered, it is generally held that the Firestone rubber enterprise has proved a very productive venture for Liberia. Thus, President Tubman in his inaugural address stated: "The Firestone Plantations Company, the largest industrial organization in Liberia, foreign or domestic, has been, and still is, of great economic assistance to Liberia and her people. They employ more than 20,000 Liberians, assist Liberian planters in many ways. . . . We therefore give to this Company our expressions of the Nation's gratitude."

But this positive attitude did not prevent the President from also drawing attention to "certain of the personnel of this Company" who "regard themselves and the Company as separate and distinct national entities over-awing and over-lording everybody and everything."

The Lansdell K. Christie Concession

Now another American firm appears to enter the Liberian scene. On August 27, 1945 the Liberian government entered into an agreement with Lansdell K. Christie of New York granting him a concession for the exploitation of the iron ore in the Bomi Hill area of Liberia. During December, 1945 and January, 1946, both Houses of the Liberian Legislature discussed and approved this agreement which was signed into law by President Tubman in January, 1946.

The Liberian government thus grants to the concessionaire the right to explore and prospect a territory of some 25,000 acres "lying within a radius of forty miles from the place known as Bomi Hills." It gives him the right to construct a railroad from the port of Monrovia to the concession area and to maintain a hydro-electric plane, a radio station, a telephone system, as well as a smelting plant, if that should be desirable. The concession is to remain in force for eighty years.

In return for these rights, the concessionaire agrees to pay to the Liberian government certain fees. Aside from those small sums to be paid while prospecting is going on, the concessionaire will pay a rent of five cents per acre for the land selected and will pay an additional five cents for each ton of ore shipped.

Just as the Firestone agreement had caused a great deal of opposition in Liberia, so has the Bomi Hill Agreement. Although Liberian law requires that the Legislative proposals of the government are published prior to the sitting of the Legislature, this agreement was held rather confidential and few persons outside the Legislature were permitted to acquaint themselves with its details. The objections to the agreement appear very well summarized in a petition which was signed by fifty-seven Liberian citizens and submitted to the Legislature on January 15, 1946. The petition states, that the petitioners are: (1) "aggrieved over the fact that the Agreement . . . was not published by the State Department as required by the law . . . approved January 18, 1912"; (2) "opposed to the liberal terms offered the Concessionaire, especially the right to install radio and telegraph stations and hydro-electric plants for his exclusive use, the infinitesimal royal rate"; (3) "opposed to the granting of a concession . . . to one man"; (4) "opposed to the life of the concession for eighty years."

The merits and demerits of the Mining Concession will be evaluated some time in the future when its effects upon Liberia's economy have become obvious. But it is regrettable that the Liberian government did not give an opportunity to its people to discuss it. It moreover prosecuted some of those who opposed the government's action. Thus, a Monrovian Magistrate, one of the signers of the petition was informed by the President two days after the petition had been submitted, that, because the Magistrate had "engaged in activities of a political nature that tend to affect Government policy of development," he was requested to hand in his resignation as of the following day. Others who signed the petition were treated in a similar way.[3]

Who's Who In The Liberian Government

President:

Hon. William V. S. Tubman—born in 1895, graduated from Cape Palmas Seminary, Cuttington Institute and Liberia College. Attorney. Served as Collector of Internal Revenue of Maryland County from 1919 to 1922. Senator from 1923 to 1931 and then again from 1934 to 1937. Assistant Justice of the Supreme Court from 1937 until he was elected President in 1944.

Vice-President:

Hon. Clarence L. Simpson—born in 1896, graduated from College of West Africa and Liberia College. Attorney. Served as Collector of Customs from 1924 to 1926 and as County Attorney from 1926 to 1928. Was Secretary General of Post Office, 1928 to 1931 and acting Postmaster General in 1931. Served as Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1931 to 1934 when he was appointed as Delegate to the League of Nations. Elected Vice-President in 1944. Secretary of the Treasury in President Barclay's Cabinet from 1932 to 1940, and in 1943 as Head of the Liberian Delegation to the United Nations Conference on Food.

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[3] Weekly Mirror, January 25, 1946.

Secretary of State:

Hon. G. L. Dennis—born 1896, graduated from College of West Africa in 1915. Received Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws from Emporia College, U. S. A. Professor of Biology, College of West Africa and later appointed Vice-President of the College and President of the Board of Trustees. Served as Belgian Consul. Served as Secretary of the Treasury in President Barclay's Cabinet from 1932 to 1943 as Head of the Liberian Delegation to the United Nations Conference on Food.

Secretary of the Treasury:

Hon. William E. Dennis—born in 1904, graduated from Liberia College 1925. Attorney. Previous service in Treasury as Chief Clerk.

Attorney General:

Hon. Abayomi Cassell—born in 1906, graduated as Dux from Liberia College in 1926. Attorney. Served as Clerk of First Judicial Circuit after which he retired to practice law. Appointed Revenue Solicitor in Department of Justice in 1939 and resigned in 1940 to become one of the defense lawyers in the famous Sedition Case.

Secretary of the Interior:

Hon. S. David Coleman—born in 1895, graduated from College of West Africa. Attorney. In 1924 served as Solicitor General in President King's Cabinet and functioned as Legal Adviser to Colonel T. Elwood Davis, Special Commissioner and Military Commander during the civil disobedience in Grand Bassa County. Later, Assistant Secretary of State and Senator for Montserrado County. Retired from the Senate and resumed legal practice.

Secretary of Public Instruction:

Hon. J. W. Pearson, graduated from Cuttington Collegiate and Divinity School, Harper, Cape Palmas. Entered Protestant Episcopal Ministry and became Archdeacon of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Liberia. Served in House of Representatives of the Republic for two terms 1931 to 1939. Resigned from the Senate in that year because of his opposition to the Revenue Code and the Bill proposing a reduction in the salaries of Judges of the Courts.

Secretary of War:

Hon. William H. Tyler—Wealthy farmer, and Brigadier General in the Liberian Army. Served in the House of Representatives from 1931 to 1943. Was at one time Acting Speaker of the House. Was recently elected to the Senate whence he was called upon to enter the Cabinet as Secretary of War.

Under Secretary of State:

Hon. C. T. O. King—born in 1906, son of Ex-President C. D. B. King. Graduated from Liberia College in 1928. Acted as Junior Aide to his father. Major of the Liberian Army, he is also a member of the Bar and Counsellor of the Supreme Court. At the time of his appointment he was County Attorney for Montserrado County.

DIVISION XXVI

THE AFRICAN IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

By H. A. Wieschhoff
University of Pennsylvania

POPULATION OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Table 1.
Growth of the Population, 1904-1936

Year	Total	European	Non-European	Average % increase annual
1904.........	5,157,824	1,116,806	4,059,018	
1911.........	5,973,394	1,276,242	4,697,152	2.07
1921.........	6,928,580	1,519,488	5,409,092	1.49
1936.........	9,589,898	2,003,857	7,586,041	2.19
		Estimated Mean Population, 1944		
1944.........	11,068,500	2,300,000	8,768,500	

Table 2.
Distribution of the Population, 1936

	Europeans	Natives	Asiatics	Coloured	Total
URBAN:					
Cape..............	503,997	219,229	10,198	356,368	1,089,792
Natal.............	145,510	127,920	113,549	12,493	399,472
Transvaal.........	566,066	696,737	21,820	37,591	1,322,214
Orange Free State..	91,813	103,988	29	8,455	204,285
Union.............	1,307,386	1,147,874	145,596	414,907	3,015,763
RURAL:					
Cape..............	287,577	1,826,341	310	325,880	2,440,108
Natal.............	45,039	1,425,709	70,112	6,136	1,546,996
Transvaal	254,690	1,747,643	3,673	13,250	2,019,256
Orange Free State..	109,165	449,122	....	9,488	567,775
Union.............	696,471	5,448,815	74,095	354,754	6,574,135
Total.............	2,003,857	6,596,689	219,691	769,661	9,589,898

Table 3.
Distribution of the Native Population in 1936

Urban areas (towns)........................	390,395
Urban Locations........................	355,167
Rural suburbs (towns)........................	11,305
Rural Townships........................	35,845
Native Townships........................	31,794
Farms (European owned)........................	2,053,440
(Asiatic or Coloured)........................	26,946
Companies owned........................	101,417
Government........................	13,932
Native Areas: Crown Reserves........................	2,420,348
Mission Reserves........................	114,135
Tribal Farms........................	134,424
Native owned lands........................	143,110
Crown lands........................	24,632
Alluvial Diggings........................	150,371
Mine Compounds........................	386,858
Industrial compounds........................	113,736
Municipal compounds........................	36,058
Construction compounds........................	43,195
Other Areas........................	9,626
Total........................	6,596,689

The present (1945) estimate of the Native population of the Union is 7,630,500.

Table 4
Comparative Table of Population

Showing Europeans and Africans of the Union, Witwatersrand and Johannesburg in 1921, 1936, 1941.

Area and Race	Census 1921	Census 1936	Census 1941 *
Europeans:			
Union, All Areas	1,519,488	2,003,857	2,188,200
Union, Urban	847,508	1,307,386	1,500,000
Witwatersrand	231,111	402,223	498,000
Johannesburg & Suburbs	152,597	257,671	300,000
Natives (both sexes):			
Union, All Areas	4,697,813	6,596,689	7,250,700
Union, Urban	587,000	1,141,642	1,230,000
Witwatersrand	278,274	570,726	650,000
Johannesburg & Suburbs	118,138	229,122	270,000
Natives Females (all ages):			
Union, All Areas	2,315,416	3,284,038	3,617,400
Union, Urban	147,293	356,874	425,000
Witwatersrand	28,806	107,286	133,000
Johannesburg & Suburbs	13,479	60,992	75,000

*Estimated.

Table 5.
Estimates of Mean Population, 1943, 1944

Year	Natives	Asiatics	Coloured	Europeans	Totals
1943	7,503,500	245,000	874,000	2,265,000	10,888,500
1944	7,630,500	249,200	888,800	2,300,000	11,068,500

RACE RELATIONS AND DISABLING ACTS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Union of South Africa is a plural community, where 2,000,000 Europeans have succeeded in segregating and disenfranchising not only more than 7,000,000 Africans but also 1,000,000 persons of mixed blood and Indians. Color bar legislation affects every aspect of South African life.

Policy of Segregation Determines Public and Private Life

South African public and private life is determined by the policy of segregation, which is ostensibly designed to recognize the differences of origin and tradition of the African and the European sections of the South African population and "to set these differences in an economic and social framework within which each may retain its distinctive character without serious modification by contact with the other." M. Ballinger, who represents African interest in the South African Parliament, aptly characterizes this policy by stating that "its ideological inspiration is the supposed virtue of pure cultures and the right of every race to make its own contribution to the sum total of our civilized inheritance. By those who support this thesis, it is argued that justice demands the preservation of both the European and the African cultures . . . and that this can best be done—can only be done—by a policy of . . . separation. According to this policy, there must be separate areas within which each culture can not only maintain its integrity but may develop according to its own genius—along its own lines, in common South African parlance. Such a policy visualizes two mutually independent communities each with its own territorial basis, each with paramountcy of interests and opportunities in its own area and a corresponding place of secondary importance in the area claimed by the other."[1]

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[1] South African Affairs Pamphlets Nov. 4, 1944.

This policy is applied throughout South Africa, but it is not applied justly. There are two different communities not side by side, but one which enforces its will upon the other. Politically, socially, and economically European society is supreme. What has been termed "parallel development" is in reality synonymous with political, social, and economic discrimination against non-Europeans, not only in everyday affairs, but also in the laws of the country. Although many official attempts are made to justify this policy of discrimination as being made "in the interest of the Native population," actually it is based upon the fear of "black engulfment." The Europeans who consider South Africa as their home are afraid that even the faintest amelioration of segregation as it relates to Africans or Non-Europeans may potentially endanger their own position.

Attitude of South African Whites Toward the Color Policy

It is necessary to point out that the attitude of South African whites towards the color policy is not uniform. While it is difficult to associate any special group of Europeans with any definite Native policy, it is approximately correct to state that rural Europeans are more out-spoken proponents of racial segregation than urban dwellers. Generally speaking the Afrikaners, as the descendants of the Boers want to be called, are more insistent on color-bar legislation than the British elements in the country. These are generalizations which have to be understood as such. The different political parties are definitely white and favor color bar policies, although the largely Afrikaner-controlled Nationalists (Herenigde Party) are advocating stricter terms of segregation than the United Party which is largely, but by no means exclusively, British supported. Also the South African Labor Party adheres to a strict enforcement of such a policy.[2]

During the war, ministers of the South African government such as Jan Christian Smuts, Jan Hofmeyr and the late Colonel Deneys Reitz gave the impression that they championed a liberalization of existing color-bar legislation. Smuts in an address, "The Basis of Trusteeship," which was widely circularized by government agencies, attacked segregation as identical with the Nazi theory of a "master race," branded as outrageous the prevalent attitude that only Europeans and not the Africans counted or were worth counting, and advocated close contact between the various ethnic groups, stating that "isolation has gone, and I am afraid segregation has fallen on evil days too." At a later date, addressing Coloured groups in Cape Town, Smuts reiterated that policy by saying that "it will be a great moment in our history when all races, including coloured peoples, can feel themselves members of this great community of ours, of which future South Africans will be proud." Such speeches appear to have been motivated by war-time expediency. When in March, 1945, the South African Assembly debated South Africa's color problem, Smuts stated that "it was fixed policy to maintain white supremacy. . . . It had been so for the past 300 years, during which Europeans had kept their race pure, and this was something of which the country had reason to be proud. . . . In view of the fact that the Europeans had maintained their position for the past 300 years, there was no reason to fear a sudden change now. Matters were indeed improving and working in the opposite direction."[3] Regarding this statement of the Prime Minister, the *Cape Standard* (March 20, 1945), the mouthpiece of the Non-European, correctly remarked that all of the previous promises had been forgotten and that the South African slogan again is "maintaining white supremacy."

Native Land Acts Basic Disability of Africans

The basic disability of Africans is the policy of separate areas for Europeans and Africans as first established in the Native Land Act of 1913. The provisions of this Act were amended and somewhat improved by the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, which establishes a South African Native Trust with the duties to acquire land for African settlement, to develop such land, to promote agriculture and care for the general well-being of Africans.

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[2] See African Transcripts, Nov. 2, 1945, pp. 50-55.

[3] Cape Times, March 15, 1945

But this act also fixes the amount of land that the Trust may secure, namely 7¾ million morgen. If all of this land were purchased, Africans, constituting three-fourth of the population, would only have 13 per cent of the land of the country.

African Representation of Natives Act Establishes Political Status of Africans

The political status of the African is established by the Representation of Natives Act of 1936. According to this Act, Africans of the Cape Province, voting on a separate register, elect 3 out of 153 European representatives to the House of Assembly. All Africans of the Union elect 4 out of 44 members to the Senate. "For the purpose of this election, the country is divided into 4 electoral areas: Natal, the Transvaal and Free State as one, The Transkeian Territories, and the rest of the Cape Province. The Senator for the Transkei is elected by the Transkeian Territories General Council. For the other areas they are elected, not directly by the Bantu (African) taxpayers, but by an Electoral College which consists of recognised chiefs, Native Advisory Boards, and Bantus (African) elected by tax-outside a location (African settlements, payers on European farms or living new towns). Each of these is called an electoral unit and the units make up the Electoral College of the area. Each unit has as many votes as there are taxpayers in the area of that unit. Thus a chief might have 6,000 votes, or a Native Advisory Board in a town of 500."

"The Act also provides for a Native Representative Council, which consists of twenty-two members. Of these the Chairman is the Secretary of Native Affairs and the five Chief Native Commissioners are *ex-officio* members. The Government appoints four Bantu (African) members and the remaining twelve are elected in much the same way as the Senators are—three for each electoral area. The Council meets once a year in Pretoria and its functions are advisory. Any bills affecting the Bantu (African) population which the Government intends introducing into Parliament must first be sent to the Council for its opinion and advice."[4]

In an article in the *African World* (May, 1946), Senator Edgar H. Brooks, representing the Africans of Natal and Zululand in the Union Senate, makes the following critical observations: "And yet all is not well with the Representative Council. . . . Its own members are at times frustrated and dissatisfied. It canalises anti-Governmental feeling so effectively as to make it difficult for any member to be an active supporter of the Government, that it asks for the moon, that it passes too many resolutions, and that it is never satisfied.

"While some of these criticisms may be exaggerated, there is undoubtedly an element of truth in some of them. Before asking ourselves why this should be the case, we should do the members of the Council the justice to point out that they have never been non-co-operative as Gandhi would use that term, have never boycotted meetings or refused to work the machinery, have only very rarely been personally discourteous, and have never defied the authority of the Chair. If they have asked for much, they have never asked for anything that is inherently unreasonable.

"Many of the points urged against them are implicit in a Constitution which gives them unlimited rights to talk and no rights to act, which gives them influence without responsibility or executive authority. And this situation can only be remedied by altering the Constitution of the Council.

"As to tactics, opinion may legitimately differ as to whether the wiser course would have been to accept the present situation of the Africans as a starting-point, to work steadily forward on concrete issues year by year, to disarm criticism, to turn enemies into friends, to 'stoop to conquer,' to win confidence slowly and steadily; or alternately, to use the Representative Council as a forum, a sounding-board for opinion, and through it to formulate clearly and definitely and fully the needs and aspirations and ideals of the African people. Much is to be said for either method. Senators and members representing the Africans have had to face the same decision.

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[4] Marquard, L., The Native in South Africa. 2nd ed. rev. by J. Lewin, 1944, 60 p.

In the writer's opinion the former method would in the circumstances of South Africa have been the wiser and much the more fruitful one, and would have reaped dividends sooner than the second. But opinions differ on this, and it would have demanded a degree of restraint, wisdom, and patience perhaps hardly to be expected from any elected deliberative assembly. The tone has now been set, and the Representative Council has come to be an articulation of the natural opposition of an under-privileged race to the policies of a Government of the privileged.

"That the articulation should not take place is not to be expected. On the other hand it is hardly to be expected that a Government, depending mainly on the European vote, and well aware that anything it does for the Africans is liable to be exploited by Nationalist speakers, should welcome constant and embarrassing criticism. In the circumstances, the one positive line that can be taken appears to be to give the Representative Council some functions and responsibilities other than criticism. The Government could probably venture to take the risk of giving the Council executive and not merely advisory functions with regard to the spending of the money in the South African Native Trust Fund, and to make alterations in procedure which would allow a responsible Executive of the Council itself to present and defend such action as has met with its approval. The time is ripe for an increase of numbers, which should enable the Council to adapt itself better to a change in system such as is proposed above.

"Reference has been made to the fact that the Parliamentary representatives themselves have had to choose between the tactics of winning good will and of presenting challenging ideals. Divergencies of method and emphasis have been more noticeable among them than among the Representative Councillors, yet the seven have managed to maintain a considerable amount of unity, based largely on identity of ultimate ideals and on a sense of responsibility to their huge constituency. Last year Mrs. Ballinger, the eloquent and capable M. P. for Cape Eastern, was unanimously elected as leader of the group.

"In the House the three representatives have made a great name for themselves and their cause, and have been listened to with much attention and respect. They have also made enemies, as was to be expected. No fault can be found with their clear and forceful articulation of the case for the Africans. On the other hand they have annoyed enough people to make an increase of their numbers a very unlikely contingency.

"The Senators have had to face a quieter, less partisan, and less passionate body, yet they have had difficulties of their own, for the Senate when they entered it was at a very low ebb. The infusion into it of a group of men, with a definite and specific duty, and anxious to make a success of their job, has, it is not too much to say, revolutionized the life of the Senate and added much to its prestige. Quantity is not quality, but it is perhaps significant that the Senate Hansard today occupies three or four times the space that it did in 1936.

"Nonetheless, the Senate *is* the Senate and not the centre of Parliamentary attention and publicity. Hence the claim to have the Africans in all Provinces represented in the House of Assembly is bound to be made, and is from any impartial point of view unanswerable.

"Will the Union Parliament ever agree to have Africans representing their fellow-countrymen? It is the most logical and justifiable of requests, yet so strong is feeling on such matters in the Union that he would be a brave man who would prophesy this happening in his lifetime. Yet the new legislation for Indian representation will not only strengthen the numbers of those fighting the Colour Bar; it may bring the day nearer when the races will be represented by men of their own race. If and when the Union concedes it to Indians, it will be hard to refuse it to Africans.

"It should be noted that the Government has begun to use representatives of the Africans as members of policy-forming Committees and Commissions. One is a member of the Native Affairs Commission, and other bodies on which they serve are the Food Council, the Maize Board, and the Social and Economic Planning Council. One is

Chairman of the Government's University Committee.

"Much more could be said of the actual and potential representation of Africa on provincial and municipal bodies, but perhaps what has been said will suffice to indicate at any rate in some measure the opportunities, complexities, disappointments, and possibilities of African representation in a country where much of past history and tradition has been against it."

Urban Area Act Separates African And European Settlements

The position of those Africans who have moved into the towns of South Africa and are finding employment there is controlled by segregation which is legalized in the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923, amended in 1937. According to the provisions of this Act, African and European settlements are to be separated, the former moving into so-called locations, often far removed from the places of employment.

Pass Laws Objectionable To Africans

Most objectionable to the Africans are the Pass Laws, which not only apply to the country as a whole but consist of different laws in different areas. Passes, of which there are many different kinds, are, in general, identification cards or papers which are issued by a government official or an employer and are required to be carried by the Africans at all times. If an African should go from one place to another, he must have a pass, or if his work requires him to stay in an European settlement after the hour fixed for Africans as curfew hour, he needs still another pass. An African without his pass issued for a proper occasion, is subject to arrest, and, since traveling without a pass is a criminal offense, he can be fined or sent to prison.

The original object of the pass laws was, it is usually stated, to control the movements of the African and to protect settlers against vagrants and stock thieves; but in recent years other motives have been decisive in retaining and even extending the pass system. It serves to underline the segregation policy and to keep the African socially and politically in an inferior position. It also serves economic ends, in that a farmer in need of labor could, and does, force Africans to remain on his farms by refusing to issue passes which the African would need in order to look for work at another place.

Even those Africans who by virtue of high educational qualifications are exempt from carrying a certificate, do not feel that their "elevated" status is of any avail, inasmuch as when questioned by an official, they must produce proof of their exceptional status, which in practice is not very different from showing a pass.

Pass law violations are numerous. In 1936, 62,000 Africans were arrested for not being in possession of a pass, and between 1939 and 1941 no less than 297,659 Africans came in conflict with the law over this violation. Actual offenses against the numerous pass-law regulations must have been many times this number. As Sir John Harris puts it: "The pass laws superimposed upon mass poverty have accentuated native discontent, thousands of natives are being hurtled into prison for pass law offenses which have not the remotest connection either with crime or even with any desire to commit an offense. At the same time, the revenue benefits to the tune of £500,000 per annum."[5]

During the war, as a defense measure, the enforcement of pass laws was somewhat relaxed in the Rand mining districts. But when in March, 1944, Mr. D. Molteno, representing Africans of the Western Cape Province in the House of Assembly, made a strong plea for the abolition of the pass laws, Major Piet van der Byl, the Minister of Native Affairs, declared that no alternative had been found for the pass system. He stated that the aim of the pass laws was to protect a large section of the African people who were unsophisticated when they came into contact with the machinery of civilization.

Africans Call For Abolition of Pass Laws

Following this parliamentary debate, Africans called for an Anti-Pass Laws Campaign. Dr. A. B. Xuma, President General of the African National Congress, released a statement, which contained these paragraphs: "Pass Laws serve no good purpose for both White and Black; they are simply an instrument of oppression and repression intended to retard the progress of the African. They restrict his freedom of movement and therefore his ability to sell his labour at the highest market. They militate against the African becoming skilled as he may not wait for a job for more than 12 days after leaving one before taking another, since after such a period an African must either leave the area or be arrested when found in the area without a contract of service. A Pass-bearing Native is not recognized as a worker under the industrial Conciliation Act and thus his Trade Unions cannot be recognized or registered. He is thus denied the right of collective bargaining under the Act. For a Pass-bearing Native strike and breach of contract are criminal offenses. Pass Laws are factories of crime because tens of thousands of Africans are convicted each year under the Pass Laws and come in contact with seasoned criminals at police cells and awaiting trial. Experienced criminals may also be arrested under Pass offenses. In this way many first offenders under the Pass Laws are initiated into criminal careers through such contacts. For example, in 1939 alone 101,309 Natives were convicted under the Pass Laws. Perhaps three to ten times that number were accosted by the police under the pass regulations."

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[5] The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, 1938, p. 13.

"With our faith in humanity, we appeal in the name of democracy. Christianity and human decency, to all fairminded people, lovers of justice and fair play of all races and colours to sign the petition lists for abolition of pass laws and circulate them among others for signature and actively support the Anti-Pass Campaign in every possible way."[6]

During the 1944 session of the Natives' Representative Council, a motion to request the abolition of the pass laws was accepted unanimously and a deputation representing Africans from all parts of the Union went to Cape Town in June 1945 in order to present their demands to Parliament and to the Government. But the Acting Prime Minister, Prime Minister Smuts was in San Francisco, refused to see this delegation and demonstrations condemning pass-laws were stopped by police forces and the leaders of the demonstration found themselves in the Magistrate's Court.

"Civilized Labour Policy" Prohibits Africans From Becoming Skilled Workers

There are several laws on the statute books of the Union preventing Africans from participation in the country's economy in so far as they prohibit their becoming "skilled" workers, because, as it is explained, their inferior mentality does not permit them to do such complicated tasks as blasting, engine-driving and other skilled mechanical work. The laws regulating these phases of African life are commonly referred to as the "Civilized Labour Policy." It should be noted, however, that Africans actually do all of those jobs which they are supposedly unequipped to do, but since the law does not recognize such activities on the part of the African, he does not receive the pay of the skilled worker. It is important to point out that the European workers in South Africa are very insistent on the perpetuation of such discriminatory restrictions. They fear the potential competition of the African worker, so that now many European trade unions are insisting on the maintenance of such laws because they want to make sure that the jobs with high wages are reserved for European workers.

The "Colour Bar" Act

The basis of the "civilized labor policy" is the Mines and Works Act of 1911, substantially amended in 1926, and commonly referred to as the "Colour Bar" Act. Under this Act, certificates for almost all skilled work may be granted to Europeans, Cape Coloured, Mauritius Creoles, St. Helena persons, but not to Africans. Similar discrimination occurs in other industrial legislation. There are several Acts regulating African Labour, generally known as the "Masters and Servants Laws." The many individual laws which have been passed from time to time are all designed to give an employer effective control over his African worker and to make it possible for "masters" to prosecute their "servants" in a criminal court for a breach of contract. "Such a breach may be insubordination, refusal to carry out a specified piece of work, absence without leave, carelessness when in charge of stock and a variety of other things. Among Europeans, breach of contract is a civil and not a criminal offense. Contracts of less than one year need not, under these laws, be made in writing, and the absence of a written contract is a very serious cause of dispute between masters and servants and probably leads to most of the many cases that now come before the courts."[7]

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[6] Bantu World, March 25, 1944.

Native Policy

Margaret Ballinger evaluates the Union's policy towards Africans as follows: "All Union politics are Native Affairs. This is a thesis which most European South Africans are likely to find startling. It is easier for Europeans in South Africa to think of the population of this country in terms of the 2,000,000 of their own race than in those of the 10,500,000 of all races; and there is a common illusion that Native Affairs are something apart from the main stream of South African life, a sectional interest providing a happy hunting ground for intellectuals and philanthropists."

It is obvious that in a country where ever-increasing numbers of non-Europeans are drawn intô the industrial centers, where they are destined only to form the country's proletariat, they will become politically more articulate. Thus the *Cape Standard* (February 2, 1943) mouthpiece of the non-Europeans in South Africa, stated their position as follows: "We want full democratic rights. Give our men and women the vote when they turn twenty-one. Let them sit in the House of Assembly and in the Senate, and let them aspire to the very highest offices in the land. Do away with the Colour Bar Act, the White Labour Policy, and all other Acts, which differentiate against us on the grounds of colour. Let us enter the skilled trades and civil services. Let us send our children to any school we like, and let us have equality in hospitals and all other social services. This is democracy. This is what we want, and not any 'special' treatment as if we were 'permanent' children with a 'permanent' commission to reconcile us with a 'permanent' *herrenvolk*."

In describing the situation Dr. F. E. T. Krause, a European who was a former Judge-President of the Orange Free State, says: "The black man is a prisoner in the land of his birth, even though he does not happen to be detained behind iron bars or locked up in unhygienic and over-crowded prison cells." To this *The Bantu World* (February 26, 1944) adds editorially: "But the friends of liberty and justice are increasing in numbers; for sane men and women have come to realize the fact that 'every human being has a right to develop and to enjoy all the opportunities that a Divine Providence has vouchsafed him, and the only restriction the law should impose is that in the exercise of his rights he should not hinder or prevent his fellow human beings from doing the same'."

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Union African And Labor Unions

As a result of the so-called "Civilized Labour Laws" the Africans are prevented from forming effective Labor Unions which might help them to improve their economic position and under these laws they are forbidden to strike, since absence from work would constitute a criminal offense. This disability of the African to improve his economic condition is further complicated by the Industrial Conciliation Act. This Act, originally passed in 1924, gave legal status to trade unions both as to their right to exist as duly constituted bodies and to their right to function as bargaining agencies in trade disputes. By this Act and its subsequent amendments of 1930 and 1937, the right of workers to organize unions was restricted to those defined as, "employees." In defining this category, the act specifically excluded as employees all persons whose contract of service or labor was regulated by the various Masters and Servants Laws, thus prohibiting all union activities to workers of African descent. During the war, limited recognition of the African's right to engage in union activities was accorded and is affirmed by the circular letters of the Labour Department, saying that "Natives may be organized into separate bodies functioning under the aegis of a registered union, but if this procedure is adopted it must be clearly understood that the Native member of any such separate body could not in any way be member of a registered union."

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[7] Marquard, L., The Native in South Africa. 2nd ed. rev. by J. Lewin, 1944. 60 p.

Labor Unions With African Membership Refused Registration

The question of African participation in unions came to a legal dispute when the Sweetworkers Union applied for a declaration of rights entitling Africans to become members of registered, or European trade unions. The Labour Department refused to register the union on the grounds that fifty Africans were included in the membership of the union. The Sweetworkers Union took this question to the Cape Town Supreme Court for a decision. In presenting to the court the case for the African workers, the National Secretary of the Union stated that "there was nothing in the Industrial Conciliation Act which excluded Africans living and working in the Cape from the definition of employee." He said further: "The Union was registered on a membership which included Africans with full knowledge of the Department of Labour. . . . It would be irregular for the union to exclude members who abided by all the terms of the union's constitution."

The Supreme Court found that the union could not be registered, since it included in its membership Africans who could not be deemed "employees" as defined by the Industrial Conciliation Act. Mr. Justice Newton-Thompson, who rendered the judgment stated that "there is nothing in the Act which would prevent Natives who are not 'excluded Natives' from being regarded as 'employees' and therefor trade unions of which they are members would be a trade union as defined in the Act." Of course such a statement is of theoretical importance only. As *African Transcripts* (No. 8, 1946, pp. 62-63) states: "Until such time as the definition of 'employee' in the Industrial Conciliation Act is rewritten so as to remove the clause which requires that the vast majority of Union Natives be classified as 'servants' rather than as 'employees', the present judgment, in so far as it will admit any considerable body of Natives to membership in White Unions, is only so much legal shadow-boxing."

African Trade Unions Without Status

In 1942 the Smit Committee stated that there were some 33 African Trade Unions in Johannesburg and several others in other South African towns. But none of these Unions, although not unlawful, have status; they exist *de facto*, but not *de jure*. "In practice the officers of a union may and do approach the Department of Labour and employers on behalf of their members. They make representations for instance, about the underpayment of wages or about other conditions of work prescribed by determination under the Wage Act, and for many years they have given evidence on behalf of their members before the Wage Board. The fact, however, that the unions are not officially registered, handicaps them in dealing with employers, who have been known to say, 'We will recognize you when the Department of Labour does'."[8]

Following a prolonged period of labour unrest, many quarters in South Africa suggested that "Native Trade Unions" should be recognized as bargaining agencies. To this suggestion, the Johannesburg branch of the Society of Friends of Africa (Report 1945, p. 11-12) states: "There is considerable misunderstanding with regard to this matter. Many otherwise well-meaning people seem to think that recognition of 'Native Trade Unions' implied status for Africans as workers similar to that given to Europeans and certain other classes of non-Europeans in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act. It is nothing of the kind. Recognition of 'Native Trade Unions' is a suggested *via media* which involves the passing of special legislation that will in effect operate as discriminatory as between those who are at present covered by the Industrial Conciliation Act and Natives whose terms of contract and place in the social, economic and political structure of the country prevents them from being recognized as employees in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act. Moreover, if 'Native Trade Unions' are given statutory recognition they can operate only on a colour basis which is bound to have serious and some, at present, unforeseeable consequences."

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[8] L. Lewin, Race Relations XI, 1942, p. 111.

This paper states that what is necessary to keep as an objective is the ". . . recognition of the Native in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act as an employee, clear. This requires an amendment to the Act and certain other adjustments which will be opposed by organized employer, agricultural and mining interests. So far no Minister of Labour has been prepared to introduce the necessary Bill to amend the Act. Nevertheless most of the employers, outside of agriculture and mining, and a majority of European Trade Unions are agreed that an amendment of the Act is much preferable to placating interests opposed by offering discriminatory legislation such as is implied in recognition of 'Native Trade Unions'."

Strikes By Natives Not Permitted

That the African is still far from having reached that goal is demonstrated by the fact that many African strikers have been arrested, punished or put to hard labor, whereas European strikes have been permitted. A case not lacking its comical side may be offered as an example. "The efforts which have been in progress over the last few years to secure improvements in the wages and conditions of living of the workers engaged in coal delivery have been recorded from time to time in the reports of this Office. These reached a new stage early in June of this year when the failure of the workers to negotiate an increase in their wage rates resulted in a strike and the arrest under War Measure 145 of some 800 strikers, and the subsequent concession of arbitration by the Minister of Labour.

"It was originally intended that the workers engaged in coal delivery should be covered by Wage Determination 70: Commercial and Distributive Trades. Unfortunately, a weakness in the construction of the Determination enabled employers to evade it. Subsequently a new Determination (No. 91) specifically covering Timber and Coal was gazetted. This Determination provided for a minimum wage of 26/— (26 shillings)† per week, which, with a cost of living allowance of 5/— per week and a 'dirt allowance' of 1/2d, (1 shilling, 2 pence) per week, gave total weekly earnings of 32/2d. Under this Determination, the workers in the trade secured substantially what they would have secured under Determination 70 before the revision of that Determination recorded in our last Report. Determination 70 provided for a minimum weekly wage of 27/8d. in the Witwatersrand area which, with 5/— cost of living allowance, gave total weekly earnings of 32/8d. But when Determination 70 was revised to give 35/— per week minimum wage in this area, carrying a cost of living allowance of 6/— per week, making a weekly total of 41/—, it was natural that the coal delivery employees should seek a corresponding adjustment in their conditions of employment.

750 African Coal Delivery Workers Request Imprisonment With Leaders

"But, in their efforts to get the employers to revise Determination 91 along the lines of the revision of Determination 70, the officials of the African Coal Delivery Workers' Union met with many rebuffs and, in some instances, with point blank refusals to negotiate. A minority of employers were sympathetic and prepared to follow the lead of the commercial employers, although they were not prepared to concede the £3 (pounds) per week minimum wage demanded by the Union's officials. Eventually the Union presented an ultimatum to the employers. Before its expiration, however, the Secretary and the Treasurer of the Union, Messrs. D. Koza and A. Motau, were arrested for inciting to Strike. This action of the authorities, which they believed to be inspired by the Department of Labour, inflamed the African Coal Delivery workers who stopped work, marched in a body to police headquarters at Marshall Square, Johannesburg, where the two arrested officials of their Union were lodged awaiting trial, and asked to be arrested and confined with these two officials. The police acceded to this request reluctantly, being aware that the arrest of approximately 750 African Coal Delivery workers faced them with a problem of accommodation and feeding that seemed beyond their capacity to meet. The men were duly arrested, charged in terms of War Measure 145 with breaking the law by striking and lodged in two underground halls adjacent to the ordinary detention cells. These halls were fenced with iron grills and guarded by warders."

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†Editor's Note: These wages in terms of U. S. money are as follows: 1 pence (d) = 2.03 cents; 1 shilling (s) = 24⅓ cents; 1 pound (£) = $4.8665.

". . . Before the trial began, Mr. Berrange succeeded in getting the Department of Justice and Labour to agree to the release of all the accused on their own recognizance. For the trial itself, one of the underground halls that had been used as a cell while the men were in custody, was cleared and turned into a temporary court. On the opening day of the case, preparations for the Court began at 5:30 a. m. with the ticketing of the accused with numbers. Inevitably with 735 accused, many of whom had a very imperfect knowledge of the two official languages (Afrikaans and English), names and numbers got mixed, with the result that the Court failed to get under way until long after its appointed time. On the resumption of the trial, some days later, the same situation arose. On this day, when the Court was eventually constituted, twenty-five of the accused failed to answer to either name or number. Five were accounted for as being sick, one was reported as having been arrested for being drunk, while several others were stated to be on their way to the Court. The Public Prosecutor proceeded to ask for a remand of the case and the summary arrest of those of the accused who had failed to appear and for whose absence there was no acceptable excuse. While he was doing this, several of the missing men drifted in and took their places with the crowd, while others were reported as waiting outside to be checked and labelled with numbers. By this time it was becoming clear to most of the spectators that the proceedings were tending to become farcical. The Defense objected most strongly to the request of the Prosecutor for a remand of the case claiming that this procedure was designed simply to further the interests of the employers who were above all things anxious to get their workers back on to the job. The Magistrate pointed out that it would always be possible for the Defense to make the same appeal when the case should be resumed since, with over 700 accused it was very unlikely that they would ever all be there and that, thus in effect, the case would be likely never to come on. The Defense took up the line that this was a mere travesty of justice under which these men would resume their ordinary avocations but with a case always hanging over their heads to curb such freedom of action as they have.

"Fortunately at this point in the argument the tea interval supervened to relieve the increasing sense of tension. During the interval the legal men came together to see what order could be got out of the situation. The outstanding factors in the situation at this point were (a) the already announced decision of the Department of Labour to grant arbitration, (b) the urgent need on the part of the employers of their labour force, the strikers having chosen to abandon work in the midst of one of the sharpest cold snaps of Johannesburg's high veld winter and (c) the clear indication that our judicial machinery is not designed to cope with mass trials and that it was likely to break down under the pressure of this one in which the legal representatives of the workers were determined to give their clients the fullest service possible.

"In these circumstances, events began to move with bewildering rapidity and when the Magistrate resumed his seat on the Bench, the Public Prosecutor intimated that he had been ordered to close his case. Defending counsel interpreted this as tantamount to an invitation to the Magistrate to declare the accused not guilty. With due solemnity this was done and was conveyed to the accused through the interpreters who had been stationed at intervals among the serried squatting ranks of coal delivery workers extending right back into the gloomy recesses of the temporary court. Then, with no show of haste, but with some stretching and yawning, the accused got up from the granolithic floor on which they had been squatting. On the faces of some were grins that promised to broaden into smiles of derision, saying as plainly as words could have done, 'Don't these white people look funny when they dispense justice.' Sharp words of command from police and warders brought them to attention. At the double they trooped out to complete the formalities that would make them free to go and deliver coal for employers who were being inundated with frenzied requests for supplies from consumers unprepared for the rigors of the season."

Wage Increases in the South African Gold Mines

The Report of the Mine Natives' Wages Commission, published March 24, 1944, was the basis for the government's grant of wage increases to Native African mine workers effective as of April 1, 1944.

Throughout 1943 the Wages Commission investigated the living costs of African mine-workers and their families in order to establish a base for a fair wage. The Chamber of Mines had contended that in wage fixing it must be recognized that the Rand mines employed only Natives normally living on the reserves of the Union or on Native lands in adjacent territories and that, therefore, their earnings at the mines were supplemented, or vice versa by the income derived from these lands. The Commission conducted its own investigation to determine the validity of the Chamber's claim, and it found with respect to the Transkeian Territories that the dependents of those Natives employed by the mines had "been living very much below the bread (or mealie) line" and instead of contributing to the self-sufficiency of the reserves, made it necessary to import large quantities of mealie in order to maintain even this sub-standard living. The annual income which can be earned from the reserve farm does not exceed £17.15.2, and when the earnings of the mineworker (£30.12-0) are added, the total family income is £9.4.10 below the expenditure for minimum existence as estimated by the Commission.

Furthermore, the Chamber of Mines argues that the added working costs represented by the wage increase would shorten the life of the gold industry by making the mining of low grade ore unprofitable. The extension of the life of the gold mines naturally concerns the Union seriously, since the gold industry is eminently responsible for maintaining the country's public and private income. The Commission, in acknowledging this fact, pointed out that the unfortunate lot of the large body of Native workers had to be considered and that the system of unskilled labor had to be regarded as the basis of the industry's economic position. The Commission also reviewed the report of the Low Grade Ore Commission of 1930-32 which had suggested that the high grade ore mines contribute to an equalization fund which would enable the low grade ore mines to raise the wages of Native workers. This report appears not to have been embodied in the present Commission's recommendations.

The Government, considering the recommendations of its Commission and the objections raised by the Chamber of Mines, announced a wage increase of 4d. and 5d. per shift for Native surface and underground workers respectively and time and a half for overtime and Sundays. The announced wage increase represents a scaling down of the Commission's wage recommendation and the lopping off of recommended cost of living and equipment allowances. In the statement revealing the government's proposals, General Smuts said: "The Government recognizes that . . . the imposition of such a burden on the industry, involving as it does an increase in working costs of more than 7d. per ton milled, would have very serious consequences for the industry and the country. . . . The Government therefore considers it to be appropriate that the Gold Realization Charges which have since 1940 been collected . . . should be made available to meet this situation." This refund to the gold industry is expected to meet in full the estimated increased wage bill of £1,750,000 during the first twelve months.

European miners on the Rand also have demanded increased pay. In view of restricted mining operations, the Executive Committee of the Union voted on September 28, 1944, to accept the compromise proposal of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines in lieu of the thirty per cent raise they were seeking.[9] The settlement provides no direct benefits to the workers but instead the Chamber has agreed to make an immediate payment of £25,000 to the Union and five annual payments of £100,000 beginning October 1, 1944. The fund so created will be administered by a joint board representing the Union and the Chamber of Mines and will be expended on projects, such as housing and the development of co-operatives, which are considered beneficial to the Union's members.

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[9] Cape Times, September 28, 1944.

In dealing with the European miners, the Chamber adopted the attitude that the shortage of both African and European labor, difficulties in procuring supplies, and quota restrictions imposed on production placed the mines in a position where they were unable to meet the demands of the mine workers. The acceptance of the compromise proposal of the Chamber of Mines by the Executive Committee of the Mine-Workers Union on September 28, 1944, involved the Union in an agreement not to "make any claim for a general increase in wages . . . until existing conditions undergo a material change." "On their part, the Gold Producers Committee pledges "to maintain the existing minimum wage scale (etc.) . . . unless and until compared with the existing position, there has been very material alteration operating to the disadvantage of the mining industry."[10] The rank and file of the Union membership has not reacted favorably to the action of the Executive Committee, being greatly disappointed in not receiving direct benefits from the settlement of their wage grievances, and the dissatisfaction threatens to create a schism in the ranks of the European mine workers.

Famine in South Africa

The rural reserve areas of South Africa, in particular the Ciskei and Transkei regions, have this year been affected more severely by famine and drought than at any time since 1927.[11] Although some sources indicate that land restrictions and various economic and civil barriers are the underlying causes of the present critical situation, unusually bad weather conditions, almost no rain for two years, together with general world shortage of food because of the war, are acknowledged as contributing factors.

In July, mealie stocks were not expected to last until December and as a result, mealie rations were reduced to three-quarters of a pound per person per day. This and the meat from the carcases of dead cattle—which were plentiful—was the food available to keep the population's diet "above the nutritional danger line."[12] Acting to meet the situation, the Government set up an emergency pre-school feeding scheme which, because of the fact that "the necessary basic ingredients, such as mealie meal, soya beans and milk powder, do not exist in the required quantities," could not be extended to children of school age and the adult native population. However, immediate steps were being taken to make available a consignment of rice from Portuguese East Africa, ". . . when it will be seen whether, or not the natives are prepared to supplement their mealie diet with rice, which is a new food to them."[13]

Animals were dying on an unprecedented scale; ten per cent of the cattle were already dead from starvation in July; seventy per cent of those left were expected to die; and it was estimated that the remaining thirty per cent would be unable to pull the ploughs to prepare the land for planting when the rains did come. In this, however, one encouraging "bright spot" was found, ". . . nature in its terrible form of a death-bringing drought is solving drastically the root problem of overstocking."[14] Sheep losses were considerable, although not as heavy as cattle losses which in August were estimated at £500,000 in the four districts of East London, Komgha, Peddie and King William's Town. "In other words," commented the *Cape Standard* (August 7, 1945), ". . . God is supporting the Government's scheme for the 'Rehabilitation of the Reserves' by a merciless delimitation of the stock which the African people refused to kill under the 'Second Nangquause Scheme.'" To take the place of oxen during the emergency period the Government began negotiations with the Defense Department to provide tractors and the necessary ploughs. In August, eighteen tractors were on the way and sixteen pumping plants had arrived and were being installed in the southern districts of the Ciskei without water.

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[10] Cape Times, September 28, 1944.

[11] Bantu World, July 14, 1945.

[12] Ibid, July 28, 1945.

[13] Cape Times, July 20, 1945.

[14] Cape Times, July 14, 1945.

Although the situation in the Ciskei was growing steadily worse, the Native Affairs Department was satisfied that even on their reduced rations the natives "appear to be coming out on what they are getting."[55] The same optimism, however, was not revealed in a report from the Middledrift District where Dr. R. T. Bokwe, Assistant District Surgeon, described the natives as victims of "an insidious but certain process of starvation (usually politely termed 'malnutrition') . . ."[56] Dependent upon what food they could obtain from their small holdings of drought-devastated land and from what they could purchase with the bare living wages earned at the mines in Johannesburg, everywhere could be heard the dramatic cry of *Siyalamba* (we are starving). Mealie was available at a price ranging from £1 a bag upwards; beans were virtually unobtainable even at 9d. to 1s. a pound; dead cattle-meat was plentiful but there was no kaffir-corn (except ". . . as kaffir-beer in some Municipal-controlled beer halls"), no milk, no green vegetables or potatoes or rice. The two hundred cooking centres which the government had set up throughout the Ciskeian drought area were providing young children with one meal of mealie-meal gruel a day, but this affected only a small section of the starving population. Realizing this, the Native Affairs Department "prevailed upon the Food Control Department to release some quantities of beans, rice and condensed milk for sale to African families. . . . A lorry loaded with these commodities goes from location to location and *attempts* to serve populations of some forty to fifty thousand people." Dr. Bokwe considered the problem beyond the control of a "mere department of State. It is now a *National* problem . . ." and contrary to the belief that the current drought was an "Act of God" the present starvation of the people is an "Act of Man." In his work to see that the distribution of food was not limited to young children, Dr. Bokwe proposed setting up small committees in each location to consist of the Headman, the Teacher and one other to recommend any person or family it felt was deserving of assistance.

In view of the "prevailing feeling of uncertainty among the public about the Union's food position" a statement on the maize situation was issued by Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, Minister of Agriculture, who in estimating the needs that will have to be met, calculated that ". . . by February, the requirements of rural natives will decline as green mealies become available. Other products could, of course, be grown much sooner after rain has fallen, but through force of habit natives, unfortunately, still rely on maize. . . . Consumption so far and the estimates for the coming months . . . amount to 11,500,000 bags. Against this, supplies available for the season as a whole are 11,250,000 bags. The Government's control measures have, therefore, been effective; and with continued strict economy it is confidently expected that the country will just about manage until the next crop, though not without great inconvenience and some genuine hardship."[57]

With prospects for the next crop growing increasingly grim, notwithstanding the government's confident expectations, the Cape Branch of the South Africa Red Cross acted in an effort to alleviate some of the hardship already evident among the Native of the Ciskei. Three thousand pounds of soup-mix and powdered milk were sent as an emergency measure "entirely supplemental to government relief" and "intended to reach those who have not benefited by the official measures. . . ."[58]

In spite of General Smuts' promise that "we shall do our best to see that the people of this country are properly fed," no governmental relief measures for the adult population were forthcoming. To aid in this respect, therefore, a volunteer agency has been established in Cape Town to help secure food and money for stricken families, with many contributions coming from a large group meeting in New York recently under the sponsorship of the Council on African Affairs. At a relief rally held on January 7, 1946, in which Miss Marian Anderson and Paul Robeson participated, a resolution was drafted and addressed to General Smuts, protesting the refusal of the South African Government to "co-operate with our relief efforts by granting free entrance to shipments of relief foodstuffs."[19]

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[55] Cape Times, August 10, 1945.

[56] South African Outlook, November 1, 1945.

[57] Cape Times, November 10, 1945.

[58] Cape Times, November 16, 1945.

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[19] News release of Council on African Affairs, January 11, 1946.

DIVISION XXVII

AFRICANS AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By H. A. Wieschhoff
University of Pennsylvania

THE THEORY OF BRITISH COLONIAL RULE

The British aim for the colonial empire has been reiterated time and time again, namely, the maximum of self-government *within* the Empire at the earliest practicable time. Self-government, in contrast to independence, it is argued, is to the real advantage of the colonial territories in Africa as well as in the interest of the world. The "splinterization" of the colonial empire into some forty independent but small States is regarded as detrimental to world peace.

This policy has often been expressed by official spokesmen of the British government and was restated on July 9, 1946 in a debate of the British House of Commons, when the Colonial Secretary of the present Labor government stated that it is British policy "to develop the colonies and their resources in such a way as to enable their peoples speedily and substantially to improve their economic and social conditions and as soon as may be practicable to attain responsible self-government."

The way of gaining self-government is explained as gradual association of Africans with the government of the territories, particularly by adding African representatives to the legislative councils. As Lord Hailey, British colonial expert, explains in *Britain and Her Dependencies* (1943, p. 42): "If the further development of self-government is to follow the normal course prescribed by British tradition, the next stages would be to enlarge the franchise, to withdraw the nominated or official elements in the legislature, to remove the exercise of restrictions on its lawmaking authority through the use of the veto or the 'reserved' powers, and finally to place it in full control of the executive functions of government through its own minister."

At the present time the British controlled territories of Africa have the following types of legislative Councils:

1. No Legislature: Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, British Somaliland, Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, Northern Province of Nigeria (for this latter territory the constitution proposals for Nigeria may bring a change in status soon).
2. Legislatures but no elected Members: Nyasaland, Tanganyika, (2 Africans appointed), Uganda (3 Africans appointed), Zanzibar (1 African appointed), Gambia.
3. Legislature with nominated and elected members, but a majority of official members: Kenya (2 Africans), Northern Rhodesia, Nigeria (15 Africans of which 4 are elected), Sierra Leone (3 elected Africans).
4. Legislature with unofficial African majority: Gold Coast.

In evaluating the importance of these legislative bodies, it should be kept in mind that the decisions of the legislature can be overruled by the Governor, who in all cases retains the authority to veto decisions of the Council.

In discussing the development of self-government in the British territories of Africa, a distinction has to be made between two types of territories; namely, those which have an almost exclusive African population such as Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Somaliland, Uganda, etc. and those with a large African population and a small, but articulate European element such as Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, and to a lesser degree Nyasaland. The mandate of Tanganyika as well as the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia, although different in political status, fall into this latter category.

In the purely African territories, political advance has been more noteworthy, because the population is politically better trained and more articulate. Although the political development appears still out of step with the aspirations of the local African leadership, by comparison with other sections of British Africa, the Gold Coast and Nigeria are outstanding.

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE

Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 Expanded

Beginning April 1, 1946, the British Government will spend £120,000,000 for a ten year period on Colonial Development and Welfare. This Act will expand the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 which allocated annual sums of £5,000,000 for development and £500,000 for research for ten years beginning in 1941. The new Act will extend the grant period from 1951 to 1956 and will be more than double the rate of expenditure.

Purpose of Funds Allocated to Colonial Development and Welfare

The British Colonial Secretary in speaking about this fund said: ". . . the sum proposed in the Bill was not intended to be the sole and permanent support of all the social requirements of the whole of the colonial Empire. In the long run the social standard of a country depended upon its own resources and upon the skill and energy of its people. It would be neither right nor healthy for Britain to attempt to maintain from the efforts of her own people the social standards of colonial territories. The aim of the Bill was to give the colonies the help they must have if they were to start the process of social development for themselves. The sum which the House was being asked to approve was not the only source upon which the colonies could draw for that purpose. During the war many colonies had built up considerable balance of their own, which in many cases had been lent to His Majesty's Government for war purposes free of interest. . . . There was also in some colonies the possibility of raising internal loan capital for national expenditures. It was only if we would get sufficient assistance from private capital that a full measure of development would be possible, because the resources of both the colonial governments and His Majesty's Government here would be fully allocated on the national development side. So the Government would welcome the introduction of private capital."

Colonel Stanley, while inviting private investors to participate in colonial development gave this warning: "To all those, in this country or elsewhere, who wish to and thought of investing after the war in productive work in the colonies, he would say that he did not believe that there would be an opening after the war for the "get rich quick" type of private investors, people who were prepared to face losses, but, in turn, expected for it staggering profits. There would be opportunity for a reasonable dividend and for reasonable security. The private capitalist, if he invested in colonial territories had no right to expect, and could not expect, any privileged position; he had a right to and would expect, and, he hoped, get a position of equity and fairness, but he had no right to ask for more than that. Again, he would have to come into the territory as a partner, and not as a master. There could be no question in the future of private enterprise acquiring, as in the past they had sometimes done in some corners of the Colonial Empire, what was almost a dominant position, from which they attempted to threaten the authority of the Government itself."

The Colonial Secretary continued that he believed ". . . there would be a growing opportunity to private investment from capital inside the territories. It was obviously desirable that the people of the territories should be linked, through their capital contributions, with the industries of their own country. They had undoubtedly growing resources at their command for such purposes, but there were certain difficulties in the way at the moment of any large-scale private investment. The first was that the ordinary capitalist in many of the colonial territories today expected much too big a return on his available capital and was apt to find that the only productive brands of industry which would give a return of that kind were the old-fashioned industry of money-lending. He would have to go through a period of education, so that he would be prepared to accept a smaller return and a less risk in the more reputable forms of industrial production."

In this speech Colonel Stanley also pointed to the possibility that the Government might consider the establishment of colonial development companies, run by the colonial governments. "Those would be able to provide capital and managerial experience to assist the local investor, and to enter into partnership with the investor from outside, not with the idea of itself forever going into industrial businesses and running those industries, but with the idea of filling this gap, of giving a start, and of gradually being able to pass over to the private investor in the colony both the capital burden and the managerial responsibility in the industries. . . ."

The British Secretary of State for the Colonies despatched on November 12, 1945 (date of publication as a Command Paper is December 12, 1945) a circular addressed to the Colonial Governments, referring to the allocations of funds for colonial development as provided for by the Act. The Act, permitting the amount of £120,000,000 to be spent in colonial areas, can be utilized at any time within the ten year period, subject to a maximum of £17,500,000 to be allocated in any one year. The Act also provides that "the maximum assistance towards Colonial research shall not, in the aggregate, exceed £1,000,000 in any financial year."

The Colonial Secretary is emphatic in stressing that these financial contributions to be made from the Imperial Exchequer are "a real burden on the United Kingdom taxpayer" and that "in spite of the manifold difficulties confronting the United Kingdom on all sides, the additional effort necessary to provide the funds set aside under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act will be gladly made because of the desire to see Colonial development and welfare advanced, but it is equally expected that the Colonial Dependencies will play their part in the joint effort, as it is indeed in their own interests to do. Rates of taxation vary considerably from one Colonial territory to another, and it is important that direct taxation borne mainly by the richer members of the community should be reviewed, if this has not been done recently, so as to insure that local revenues are making an adequate and fair contribution towards the cost of the development and advancement of the territory."

Allocation of Funds

The allocation of funds falls into three groups. Of the total sum of £120,000,000, £23,500,000 have been set aside for schemes to be administered centrally by the Colonial Office. Research (£8,500,000), Higher Education (£4,500,000), Training Schemes for the Colonial Service (£2,500,000) constitute the most important items of this group. £85,500,000 have been allocated to the Colonial Territories and £11,000,000 form a General Reserve for such supplementary allocations as may become necessary during the next ten years.

African territories will absorb each £54,000,000 with Nigeria receiving the largest share; namely, £23,000,000.

Allocations for African territories are as follows:

West Africa	
Gambia	£ 1,300,000
Sierra Leone	2,600,000
Gold Coast	3,500,000
Nigeria	23,000,000
	£30,400,000
East Africa	
Somaliland	750,000
Kenya	3,500,000
Uganda	2,500,000
Tanganyika	5,250,000
Zanzibar	750,000
East Africa—General	3,500,000
	£16,250,000
Central Africa	
Nyasaland	2,000,000
Northern Rhodesia	2,500,000
Central Africa—General	1,000,000
	£ 5,500,000
South Africa	
High Commission territories	2,500,000
Total for African territories	£54,650,000

WEST AFRICA AND THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

In August, 1943, a West African Press Delegation representing the four British territories in West Africa made an official visit to Great Britain. On that occasion they drafted a memorandum on post-war reconstruction of the colonies and protectorates of British West Africa. This memorandum was issued under the title, "The Atlantic Charter and British West Africa." Some essential parts follow:

> "Mr. Winston Churchill has declared that the present war is being fought 'to revive the stature of man.' Appreciating this declaration, the Colonies and Protectorates of British West Africa have cooperated with and stood by Britain at this critical phase of world history. We have contributed our manpower, our resources, and our money to support and win this modern war. Time will tell whether this is appreciated. But plans are being made for post-war reconstruction, not only in Britain and among the allied nations but also in certain sections of the British Colonial Empire. . . .

"We have listened attentively to the orations of our leaders on war and peace aims. We have read the declaration of policy contained in the Atlantic Charter. The undersigned, in fact, asked the Prime Minister whether this historic document was applicable to the British Colonial Empire, and he replied that the provisions made therein were not inconsistent with the declared Colonial Policy of His Majesty's Government.

"But it has become clear to us in British West Africa that unless we make known our feelings and aspirations we may be left in the lurch in the post-war days to come. Quite recently, we were moved by a statement of Dr. Haden Guset, MP, reported in a London paper, that England stands for democracy and is defending its cause today, but the democracy is not for England alone. It is also for Africa. We of the Labour Party are out for the best possible conditions for the largest possible number, whether white, black or otherwise. In short, the freedom and liberty and all rights and privileges to be derived from and enjoyed under democracy are also for all African people. But it is the duty of the Africans themselves to get together now and hammer out unceasingly what they want for Africa.

"Colonel The Rt. Hon. Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, recently made it clear, in speaking of the future of the colonies, that 'We should be ready now for the developments which are bound to take place after the war. . . . We have got to think things out in advance and to be ready for them when they come. Otherwise we will have nothing but a series of make-shifts, of improvisations and of half measures, which can only result in chaos.'

"What sort of changes are desired in British West Africa? Mainly constitutional reforms which embody social, economic, and political programmes of reconstruction which will 'revive the stature of man.' Such reforms would no more than compensate our loyalty and the moral and material support we are giving in this war.

"British spokesmen, official and unofficial, have declared the aim of British Colonial Policy to be the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in the various territories of the Colonial Empire, with full self-government as the ultimate objective. They claim to be exercising Trusteeship for their colonial wards; and Trusteeship has been defined to mean the paramountcy of the interest of the African when it clashes with that of the non-African. Now a new political conception of Partnership is gaining precedence, implying equalitarian rights which, presumably, can be defined to mean fraternalism in the realm of government.

"The definition given to Colonial Protectorates gives the impression that the period of tutelage from political adolescence to maturity is not intended to be perpetual. Therefore, to prolong 'protectorate' status indefinitely would be inconsistent, as inconsistent as the connotations of 'Colonial status' with the conception of fraternal partnership.

"Convinced that factors of capitalism and imperialism have stultified the normal growth of these territories, the framers of this Memorandum believe that it is now necessary for them to evolve into full-fledged democratic states. We believe that only through the crystallization of democracy in the social, economic, and political life of the territories concerned can they progress a pace with other units of the British Empire; and we are confident that full control of the essential means of production and distribution by the indigenous communities of the territories will effectively promote social equality and communal welfare.

"Basing our claims upon the declaration of Clause 3 of the Atlantic Charter that the signatories thereto respect the right of all people to choose the form of Government under which they may live, we put forward the following proposals:

"1. Immediate abrogation of the 'Crown Colony' system of Government and administration in the Colonies of British West Africa.

"2. The substitution therefor with representative Government (i.e., internal responsible self-government) for a period of ten years.

"3. The introduction of full responsible Government for a period of five years.

"This procedure would enable the different territories to become independent and sovereign political entities, aligned or associated with the British Commonwealth of Nations. As autonomous communities they would be equal in status, and in no way subordinate to any unit of the Commonwealth in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, although united by common allegiance."

NIGERIAN CONSTITUTION

The struggle of West Africans for a new status of the colonial organization became apparent when on March 5, 1945, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies released a White Paper on "Proposals for the Revision of the Constitution of Nigeria" (Cmd 6599). On the same day the White Paper was presented by Nigeria's Governor, Sir Arthur Richards, to the Nigerian Legislative Council, then in session at Lagos.

The proposals of the Governor provided for an extension of the Legislative Council to those parts of Nigeria, such as the Northern Provinces, which heretofore had not been represented in that body, and for a change in the composition of the Council from one in which official representatives held a majority to one with a majority of unofficial representation. Such constitutional changes were said to be motivated by the desire "to promote the unity of Nigeria; to provide adequately within that unity for the diverse elements which make up the country; and to secure greater participation by Africans in the discussion of their own affairs."

The basis for the reorganization is the establishment of Regional Councils for the Northern, Western, and Eastern Provinces. Whereas in the Western and Eastern Provinces single-chambered Houses of Assembly are to be created, in the Northern Provinces, where well organized states exist, the Regional Council would consist of a House of Chiefs and a House of Assembly.

The Houses of Assembly in the Western and Eastern Provinces would consist respectively of fourteen and thirteen official members and fifteen and fourteen unofficial ones who are partially nominated by the Governor after consultation with Africans (eight and five) and partially selected by Native authorities (seven and nine). The House of Assembly for the Northern Provinces follows the same pattern; it is to be composed of nineteen official and twenty unofficial members, of whom fourteen are to be selected by Native authorities and six to be nominated by the Governor. The House of Chiefs would follow the pattern previously established by the annual Chief's Conference. At the beginning all of the thirteen First-class Chiefs are invited, and of the twenty-nine Second-class Chiefs, who are grouped provincially, ten, that is one of each group, will be invited annually.

These Regional Councils, while acting primarily as electoral colleges for the Legislative Council, would in a limited way constitute provincial advisory councils. The Legislative Council which heretofore did not legislate for the Northern Provinces, should become the Central Legislature for the whole of Nigeria and is to be composed of twenty official and twenty-nine unofficial members. Four of the latter representing banking, shipping, industry and commerce, and mining will be nominated by the Governor. The remaining twenty-five will be selected according to the following plan: Four emirs (chiefs) to be nominated by the House of Chiefs, Northern Provinces; two chiefs, to be nominated by the Governor from among the three chiefs who are members of the House of Assembly, Western Provinces; five from the Northern Provinces to be nominated from their own body by the unofficial members of the House of Assembly; four from the Western Provinces, to be nominated by the unofficial members of the House of Assembly from their own body; and five from the Eastern Province to be nominated by the unofficial members of the House of Assembly from their own body; one member to be elected from the municipal area of Calabar, three to be elected in Lagos, and one representing the Colony (the districts surrounding Lagos), to be nominated by the Governor after consultation with the Native authorities.

"The Governor would have a casting vote only, and the Council would thus have an unofficial majority of twenty-nine to twenty, and, on the assumption that the four members representing banking, shipping, industry and commerce and mining would as at present be Europeans, an African majority of twenty-five to twenty-four. The Governor would be provided under the Constitution with the usual reserve powers to be exercised, if necessary, in the interests of public faith, public order, and good government."

Although the Nigerian Legislative Council debated the new proposals on March 23, 1946 and endorsed them except for a few minor amendments, Nigerians in general do not take too friendly to them. It appears that almost all of the trade unions, political parties, professional organizations, and tribal unions are unanimous in their demand that the African members of the Legislative Council did not represent the wishes of Nigerians. Even political groups which otherwise are not too harmonious in their relations, agree in their criticism of the constitutional proposals.

Nigerian criticism appears well crystallized in a paper "The Nigerian Constitution, Proposals for Reform," by H. O. Davies, former Secretary General of the Nigerian Youth Movement.[1] Among the objections the following appear to be most prominent:

1. Paragraph 3 of the proposals state that the new constitution was designed "to secure greater participation by Africans in the discussion

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[1] West African Review, May, 1945.

of their own affairs." "Discussion," writes Mr. Davies, "seems to be the crux of the matter. There is neither the intention nor the pretension to secure greater participation by the Africans in the direction, management, or control of their own affairs." He continues: "No attempt is made to democratize . . . bureaucratic rule or make it sensitive to public opinion. The public have no say in the selection, mediately or immediately of the head of Department or his deputy. Yet the latter is the technical expert, the legislator, and the executive. . . . He formulates policy, he legislates it, and afterwards administers it. When he makes the policy, he does not consult the public, for he is not responsible to them. In the legislative Council he is supported by the official majority (see below) . . . and as an executive he is irresponsibly backed by the law and all its sanctions." Mr. Davies believes that "this bureaucratic Leviathan" must be brought "under the influence of . . . responsible public opinion."

2. The unofficial majority of the Legislative Council as well as that of the Regional Councils is questioned and is regarded as one in name only. Objections center primarily around the role of the chiefs or natural rulers who are to be unofficial representatives; namely, the four Emirs from Northern Nigeria and the two Chiefs of the Western Provinces. These chiefs, it is claimed, are in reality government officials, appointed by and under the control of the government.
3. Aside from the position of the chiefs, the representation of unofficials in the Regional and the Legislative Councils is subjected to criticism, since it "is not an outcome of a natural division of the country on a basis of population, revenue, or other criterion," as H. O. Davies remarks. On the contrary, he continues, "it is a system whereby the number of European officials and merchants available are first determined, and the chiefs and the African representatives arranged to give a majority of one to oppose them." It is felt that some criterion must be found "for grading the Native Authorities so that each unit will be entitled to send forth one representative to the Regional and one to the Central Legislative."
4. The procedure according to which the representatives are to be selected is attacked by many groups. Of the twenty-five Africans to sit on the Legislative Council, only four (those representing the municipalities of Lagos and Calabar) are elected, and all of the others are to be nominated in the manner outlined above.
5. Numerous other objections are raised regarding:
   a. The veto power of the governor;
   b. The representation of vested European interests such as banking, shipping, industry and commerce, mining;
   c. The renunciation of the secret ballot;
   d. The non-extension of municipal status to such towns as Abeokuto, Ibadan, Warri, Onitsha, Benin, Port Harcourt, Enugu, Kaduna (it is also demanded that representative governments be instituted in these towns and that they be represented in the various councils);
   e. Non-representation of Africans in the executive branches of the government.

Approval of the Richards Constitution has come from Omo N'oba N'Edo Akenzua II, the Oba of Benin, who declared when welcoming the Acting Chief Commissioner in his town: ". . . I believe the Richards political and constitutional reform for Nigeria is, without mincing words, the best that Nigeria can have at the present moment. While foreseeing the danger in placing power, as in Germany, in the hands of political fanatics, the new Richards Constitution has prepared the way for the gradual and natural growth of the people in the art of democratic self-government. Although it is generally admitted that democracy is the best form of government, one may say that democracy based more or less on the tradition of a people is the best form of government; a careful, critical, and scientific study of the governments of the democracy-loving nations of the world may reveal that their democracies are built more or less on their own traditions and customs.

"In view of this Sir Arthur Richards and our legislators may be congratulated for their keen foresight in giving Nigeria this new constitution which seems to be most practical politics."[3]

GOLD COAST CONSTITUTION

Unlike Nigeria, the Gold Coast Constitution was not presented as "proposals," but as a *fait accompli.* On October 5, 1944 the new Constitution affecting primarily the Legislative Council was announced in the British House of Commons and it became effective on March 29, 1946. There was little comment in the African press. Although many observations were made, on the whole the announcement was taken as a step in the right direction.

The Legislative Council, which heretofore had a majority of officially nominated members, will in the future have a majority of unofficial African members. The Council will be composed of thirty voting members, six of whom are official and twenty-four unofficial, of which eighteen will be elected. Five of these, called Municipal Members, are to be elected by ballot in Accra (2), Cape Coast (1), Sekoudi-Takoradi (1), Kumasi (1); four will be elected by the Ashanti Confederacy Council (Ashanti did not have any representation under the Old Constitution); and nine, representing the two provinces, Eastern (5) and Western (4), will be elected by the Joint Provincial Council. The Governor, who no longer has a vote, will act as President of the Council, but he has the authority to veto decisions of the Legislative Council "in the interest of public order, public faith, or good government."

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[3] Daily Service, April 25, 1945.

RACE RELATIONS IN KENYA

Difference Between Professed Principles and Practice By British Government

In 1923 the British government established its policy in Kenya with the following words: "Primarily, Kenya is an African territory and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount and that if, and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail. Obviously the interests of the other communities, European, Indian or Arab, must severally be safeguarded. Whatever the circumstances in which members of these communities have entered Kenya, there will be no drastic action or reversal of measures already introduced, such as may have been contemplated in some quarters, the result of which might be to destroy or impair the existing interests of those who have already settled in Kenya. But in the administration of Kenya, His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and they are able to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races. It is not necessary to attempt to elaborate this position; the lines of development are as yet in certain directions undetermined, and many difficult problems arise which require time for their solution. But there can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the African towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level than that which they had reached when the Crown assumed the responsibility for the administration of this territory. At present, special consideration is being given to economic development in the native reserves, and within the limits imposed by the finances of the Colony all that is possible for the advancement and development of the Africans, both inside and outside the native reserves, will be done."

But in 1944 the Fabian Colonial Bureau in a pamphlet called *Kenya, White Man's Country?* evaluated British policy in the following words: ". . . History, I think, teaches us one lesson at any rate—that great empires may be founded, but cannot be permanently based, on political cant and social hypocrisy. However good our intentions, if our practice is not in accordance with our principles, it is the practice which will hunt us down in the long corridors of history. And social shame and political dishonesty cannot be confined to specific and limited departments of national life. If we are politically dishonest with ourselves in Kenya, we shall not long remain politically honest with ourselves in London, and while individuals and societies may persist and even for some time flourish by being dishonest to others, if they are not honest with themselves, the inexorable logic of facts will rapidly hunt them down and justly destroy them.

"In Kenya our professed principles and our political practice have contradicted each other ever since the beginning of the century. For forty years the interests of three million Africans have been sacrificed to those of a handful of Europeans. To say that the Kenya Government during those years has administered the country in the interests of the African people or treated their prosperity and progress as 'a sacred trust' would be a hypocritical lie. Kenya has during that time been consistently governed in the interests of its white population, and the well-being of three million Africans has been sacrificed for that of 20,000 Europeans, whenever and wherever they conflicted.

"It is not the settlers, but the system, economic and political, and the Government which maintains that system, on whom the blame for this situation must rest. The settlers are not the villains but the victims of a pernicious policy which has attempted successfully to turn Kenya, which has barely sufficient good land and resources to maintain its native population, under present conditions, into what is called a white man's country. The evil began when the Government recklessly alienated to white settlers large areas of land in the Kenya Highlands, ruthlessly dispossessing African tribes where this was necessary for their purpose. That the policy has failed in its object is proved by the facts given in this pamphlet; the number of farmer-settlers is still after 40 years under 2,000; of the land alienated to them only a small area had been cultivated; the economic exploitation has had negligible results when measured in products.

"Neither the settlers nor the Government openly admit the failure of the policy, though every now and again they do so tacitly. At intervals new settlement schemes are started with the object of increasing the European population and so of really making Kenya a white man's country. The scheme for settling soldiers on the land after the last war was typical. Money is spent, land sold, promises made, and white men are induced to settle on farms in the Highlands. The result has been consistently failure, despite the fact that the white immigrant has been given a privileged economic and political position in the country and his interests are in practice treated as paramount."

Attitude of Kenya Europeans Toward Kenya Africans

Kenya Europeans regard such statements as unjust accusations. They will point out that what prosperity is found among the Kenya Africans has been the result of their contact with the Europeans. Africans would "still be savages." This attitude is well expressed by Christopher J. Wilson in a booklet called, *One African Colony* (London, 1945). Mr. Wilson, who once represented Africans in the Kenya Legislative Council, writes (pp. 4-5) as follows: "The fact is that the East African has hitherto failed to develop the mental and moral character which would justify his being placed in authority over his fellow Africans to the extent implied by democratic self-government for the colony as a unit. And I can find no evidence, either from past history or present experience, to demonstrate that the African will develop the necessary qualities within any predictable period. If this is so, as I am compelled by the evidence to believe, then the phrase 'self-government at the earliest possible date' loses all practical meaning.

"This is a hard saying; but it is better to work from hard facts than to toy with pleasant dreams. Whatever may be our hopes for the future development of African character, our immediate policy must be based on present facts and past history. History has clearly demonstrated, and it is confirmed by present experience in those parts of the world where Africans are in power, that the African has not yet shown those qualities which would justify us in allowing him to assume uncontrolled authority over his fellow Africans; that is, if we intend that the mass of the natives for whom we now accept responsibility shall be ruled according to what we assume to be minimum principles of honesty and justice.

"This plain statement may displease and distress many sincere and well-meaning friends of the African; but it will be difficult for its truth to be denied by those who have had first-hand experience of African native administration. In Kenya, where considerable and increasing authority is given to African subordinates to carry out the work of native administration, there are constantly recurring complaints by Africans of acts of injustice and corrupt practices on the part of these subordinate African officials, and it is the continual anxiety of British Administrative officers to check and prevent such acts and practices. In other territories, where the policy of indirect rule is carried further, the greater responsibility placed upon the African official increases the danger and the degree of the abuse of authority. In those few countries where

African rule is supreme we see the results of these defects in African character at their ultimate worst."

Inter-territorial Organization Proposal With Racial Equality Clause Rejected

The question of the relationship between Africans and Europeans came to the fore when in December, 1945, the British Government made proposals for an Inter-territorial Organization of the British Territories of East Africa; namely, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda (*Colonial No.* 191). In order to bring about some administrative coordination the proposal called, among other provisions, for a "Central Legislature" which should be composed of official and unofficial members. In securing the unofficial members, "racial equality" between Africans, Europeans and Indians was proposed. Although the British Government had stated that there appeared no "logical alternative to equal representation," Kenya and Tanganyika settlers objected strenuously to what they called "the racial equality clause," although, according to this plan more than 11,000,000 Africans would have been represented by the same number of representatives as some 30,000 Europeans. The Europeans finally rejected the Government's proposals, stating that they believed "that no basis of racial representation can be found at present." Kenya Africans, on the other hand, approved the proposals. The Kenya African Union "resolved to acknowledge the impartial motive contained in the far reaching proposals . . . which refute the racial domination of a minority." It added, "Racial harmony and understanding in East Africa entirely rest on the acceptance of the principle of equality between the races."

The Kipande System

Among the many practices of racial discriminations against Kenya Africans none appears as repulsive to Africans as the Kenya equivalent of the South African pass laws, here known as the Kipande System. A conference of the Kenya African Union, in demanding its immediate withdrawal, called the Kipande System "an affront to the dignity and freedom of the loyal African people."

Mwalimu, Nairobi African weekly, in a series of editorials discussed the Kipande System calling for its abolition. In the issue of June 12, 1946 we read: "The origin of Kipande dates back to the year 1921. At that period, after the first Great War, many European veterans of the war decided to settle in Kenya. They obtained farms and experienced some difficulty in obtaining labourers. The shortage of labourers was due to insufficient inducement because the pay offered in the European farms was very low. The Africans preferred to stay in their Reserves and cultivate their own shambas. Some European farmers saw that they could not carry on their work without the help of the African labourer, and so were prepared to pay attractive wages in order to induce the African to come out of his Reserve and work for him. The majority of the Europeans did not like this, because if they had to pay high wages, their income would not allow them to live luxurious lives and maintain their high standard of living.

"But the African had to find some money to pay the Government poll tax. He was untrained in modern ways of cultivation. And he could not cultivate large patches of land and earn sufficient money from the sales of his produce. So the African offered himself for employment. But he only went to the Bwana (master) who was willing to pay better wages, and thus the majority of the Europeans suffered. The settlers did not like the spirit of competition which they were now being forced into. And so they sought ways and means of controlling the wages of the African labourer. And this is how the Kipande was considered as being the only answer.

". . . that the principal object of the Kipande is the limitation of labour wages, and the desire to keep them at a level which makes the employer get the maximum benefit from the task performed by his labourer. Kipande ties a man down to his job because he cannot leave unless his Bwana gets a substitute or is willing to dispense with his services. He cannot change his job as often as he likes because he will be suspected as being an undesirable person. His wages are regulated because he cannot be offered higher wages than that which appears in his Kipande. He cannot change his Kipande because his thumb prints have been taken and he would sooner or later be detected.

"Now let us briefly examine why the Kipande is a barrier to our freedom. No African is free to move about anywhere without a Kipande. He is liable to be challenged in his district, in his location, and even in his own house. In town it is even worse. No African can walk about with his wife and family without being molested and arrested and sent to the Police Station even in the middle of the day if he has no Kipande on his person. To an outsider, this may appear strange and even fabulous. But it is a fact. We ourselves have been harassed many times. Policemen have entered our houses and demanded that we should produce our Kipandes."

RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Race Relations Based on Policy of Segregation

Race relations in Southern Rhodesia are based on a policy of segregation, or as it is called on "parallel development." This so-called self-governing colony, self-governing as far as the small European community of 60,000 is concerned, models its policy regarding Africans on that of the Union, but has as yet not gone to the same extremes as the Union.

It is important to point out that although Southern Rhodesia has a Constitution which grants to the colony internal self-government, the British government has the right to approve or disapprove of any laws which would subject Africans to any conditions, liabilities or restrictions to which persons of European descent are not also subjected or made liable. Unfortunately, the British government has not made use of this right, so that the position of Africans in Southern Rhodesia is not substantially better than that of their racial brethren in the Union. As *Empire* (March-April, 1946) remarks, the British government "have allowed these discriminatory laws to go through year after year. It might be argued that it is not easy, after this record of supine acquiescence in evil, for the British Government now to start disallowing further legislation of the same sort. Yet the coming to power of a Labour Government ought to rule out such arguments. It is still absolutely within the power of the British Government to refuse assent to discriminatory laws. There can be no excuse for a Labour Government following without question along the weak paths of its predecessors."

Meaning of Parallel Development

The official policy is expressed as one of parallel development, one for Africans and the other for Europeans. This policy was outlined in a White Paper in 1941. It was stated that there were three possibilities; namely, (1) The European may become like the African, termed as backward and generally indolent. (2) The African may except for color become like the European. (3) The European may deteriorate and tend to become more like the African and the African may advance to this reduced European standard. Confronted with this choice, which is of course a debatable one, the Government selected alternative (2) and believed that that goal could be expressed in a policy of segregation, so as to leave the European undiluted.

Segregation Policy Most Clearly Expressed in Land Apportionment Act

Segregation policy is most clearly expressed in the dividing of the land. This was done in Southern Rhodesia by the Land Apportionment Act of 1931, as amended in 1941. The Act divided the colony's land, 96,000,000 acres into four major areas, each scattered all over the country: (1) European Area, consisting of both alienated and unalienated land, and amounting to nearly 49,000,000 acres; (2) Native Reserves consisting of 21,000,000 acres; (3) Native Area, some 8,000,000 acres, of previously unoccupied land in which individual Africans may settle; (4) Unassigned Area of almost 18,000,000 acres, which is now unsuitable for use but may be allocated to either or both groups later. Thus the 60,000 Europeans control actually more land than the 1,500,000 Africans and the quality of the European held land is at that the best land in the colony.

The land Act is only now being applied, so that "Africans are finding themselves ordered off land on which they have lived for years and has now been sold by a former owner to a new European owner."[3]

Pass Laws

Like the Union of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia has its pass laws, introduced in 1914 by a law requiring the registration of all Africans. *Empire* (March-April, 1946) summarizes the pass regulations as follows: "Under the provisions for registration of Natives, all Natives in a town, except those living on their employers' premises are to be segregated. Each town will appoint a Town Pass Officer and a Registrar of Natives. Natives seeking employment or visiting must have a pass, and they may only absent themselves from their locations between 9 p. m. and 5 a. m. if they have written permits.

"Perhaps the most brutal feature in this Act is the scale of penalties laid down for offenses against the registration laws. A Native who is absent from the location between 9 p. m. and 5 a. m. may be fined £2 or imprisoned for one month; for a second offense the fine is raised to a maximum of £5 and a period of imprisonment of 3 months. If a pass or certificate is used by other than the lawful holder, or even if a Native *mutilates* any pass or certificate, he may be fined up to £5 or imprisoned up to 3 months for the first offense, or fined up to £10 and imprisoned up to 6 months for the second offense. When one thinks of the climate of Southern Rhodesia and the miserable clothing of the majority of unskilled Native workers, one wonders indeed where they are to carry all these certificates or how it is possible for them not to be 'mutilated.'

"The wretched results of penalties for this kind of offense are already well known in Southern Rhodesia. In May, 1944, a question was asked in the British Parliament: 'Whether the number of offenses and imprisonments under the Southern Rhodesian pass laws relating to Africans is diminishing.' The reply was: 'The number of convictions under the Southern Rhodesian Native Passes Act in 1938 was 13,272 and 1939, 19,890. The figures for prosecutions from 1940-1942 show some increase.' In other words, about one per cent of the whole African population was convicted in one year under this Act."

THE URBANIZED AFRICAN

Committee Investigates Condition Of Employed Africans

The position of the urbanized African was made subject to an investigation in 1945 and was published as a report of the *Committee to Investigate the Economic, Social and Health Conditions of Africans Employed in Urban Areas in Southern Rhodesia.*

The Committee's investigations extensively covered urban centers in Southern Rhodesia. Over 120 witnesses from both the European and African populations were heard in Bulawayo, Gatooma, Gwelo, Que Que, Salisbury, Selukwe and Umtali. In addition to oral testimony the Committee received and considered a large number of memoranda which furnished added data from which to formulate recommendations. Furthermore, the Committee was exceedingly fortunate in having as a check on their work the *Report on a Survey of Urban African Conditions* prepared independently by the Reverend Percy Ibbotson. Mr. Ibbotson also gave generously of his time in appearing as a witness before the Committee.

Prevailing Wage Scale For Africans

In preparing the section of the report dealing with wage problems the Committee acknowledged their considerable debt to Mr. Ibbotson's report. From the statistics he collected on 26,494 town dwelling Africans, it was revealed that 21.7 per cent were receiving only cash wages for their labor. Those who were provided with both food and accommodations in addition to cash wages comprised 65.9 per cent of those studied. The remaining 12.4 per cent were given either food or accommodations as part of their wage. The cash wages paid to 15.7 per cent of the urban Natives investigated was less than £1 per month and of these 5 per cent received neither food nor accommodations in addition to cash.

The examination of wage scales prevailing under the Industrial Conciliation Act showed these rates to be deficient and particularly so in the case of married workers. In the building trades in Salisbury, the Midlands and Umtali, the minimum monthly rate for Africans was 26s. (1½d. per hour) plus food and accommodations. However, when these were provided, employers were permitted to deduct 8s. for the value of food issued. In Bulawayo, minimum rates in the same industry were 47s. 8d. plus 4s. cost of living allowance. This higher cash rate is largely offset by failure to provide either food or accommodations. The extent to which these wage standards fail to assure the maintenance of even minimal living standards is apparent when the wages earned are compared to the minimal income of 4.15s. 0d. necessary for a family of four as calculated by Mr. Ibbotson. In view of the glaring inadequacy of wage standards the Committee recommended that before the scope of the Industrial Conciliation Act is extended to other Africans and before existing wage agreements under the Act are reviewed, that an advisor representing African interests be appointed.

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[3] Rev. E. F. Paget, in Race Relations, XII, 1945, p. 44.

Possibility of Wage Differentials Considered For Married and Single Workers

The second wage problem considered by the Committee was the possibility of providing a wage differential for married and single workers. In view of the numerous social and health advantages to be obtained from promoting family living in urban areas, the Committee approached employers regarding the economic advisability of encouraging family life by paying higher wages to heads of families. Although many employers readily admitted that married workers were generally more stable and better producers, the majority still retained the opinion that "we pay a man for the value of the work he does, we are not concerned with his wife and family." After considering various means of economically supporting family living as an urban pattern, the Committee recommended that the Government make inquiries into the subject of paying marriage allowance from public revenues.

Competition of Juveniles and Transients With Urban Workers

A final recommendation regarding wages attempts to eliminate one of the most widespread causes for low wages in Africa: namely, the competition which juveniles and transient visitors from the reserves offer to the permanent urban workers. The wages at which transients and juveniles are engaged range between 5s. and 12s. 6d. per month. In the Committee's opinion such wages are only possible where the position involves "so little work as to be sheer waste of labor and inefficiency . . ." or where ignorance leads a raw recruit to accept such pay or where a visitor is set only to making a particular sum to pay an immediate obligation such as a tax. To render the employment of such workers unprofitable and thereby protecting the wage standards of urban Natives, the Committee proposes the establishment of a minimum wage of 20s per month for all Africans including women and juveniles.

Those Southern Rhodesians who are supporting legislation designed to extend the already too severe segregation policy of the territory, may be advised to re-read with care the section of the Report dealing with the social problems of urban areas. After a brief but excellent review of the artificial social structure which has characterized urban Africans in the past the Committee pointedly states regarding the effects of segregation:

Necessity For Provision and Maintenance of Homes

"Segregation has not only tended to suppress family life, but to place most strenuous obstacles in the way of those who have sought to set up homes in urban areas and the consequence ramify into every field of the economic, industrial, moral and social order. . . . The European, by his demand for labour, is responsible for uprooting the old traditional standards of African life; on him, therefore, devolves the responsibility of re-creating new standards. . . . The Committee, therefore, feels that it cannot over-emphasize the paramount importance of focusing Urban Native policy on the provision and maintenance of homes."

Women's Hostels Needed

Other social measures recommended are the provision of hostels for women to provide accommmodations for the large number of women now flocking to urban areas and the extension of educational facilities with free compulsory education for all Africans between the ages of eight and fifteen years. The latter would be expected to reduce the problem of juvenile delinquency.

Recommended Solutions For Health and Other Social Problems

As in the case of many social maladjustments, numerous health problems have their roots in the absence of family life and the poor conditions offered to families in urban areas. Malnutrition is more prevalent among bachelors than among the married. The high incidence of venereal diseases is traceable to limited opportunity for establishing legitimate sexual unions. Over-crowding and malnutrition are the prime contributors to the spread of tuberculosis which occurs with such frequency that one medical witness termed it "one of the commonest diseases." As solutions to these problems the Committee offered many excellent recommendations:

1. The treatment of tubercular patients be transferred from Government hospitals to "farm type sanitariums" where patients would live in "village like" surroundings.
2. A balanced minimum scale of rations be adopted and made obligatory for all employers to issue these rations to all Africans employed in urban and commonage areas.
3. The institution of municipal eating houses in locations and towns. The meals served would be carefully compounded and cooked, containing high protective value and sold at subsidized prices.
4. Community feeding schemes should be connected with educational centers. All children should receive free milk and a mid-day meal. In selecting menus attention should be paid to the educational value of teaching the Africans what they should eat.
5. In view of the considerable evidence as to the value of Kaffir beer in preventing malnutrition, and in view of the high prices charged in municipal beer halls which tend to limit its consumption, the Committee recommends that legislation be passed so that the maximum selling price could not exceed 25 per cent on cost of manufacture.
6. That local authorities when expending beer hall profits should take primary cognizance of the need for subsidized food and milk schemes to combat malnutrition.

Adequate Housing a Necessity

The final problem equaling in importance those previously discussed, is the provision of adequate housing. In all towns and locations, accommodations were found to be over-crowded, unsanitary and ill-suited to family living. The three recommendations proposed by the Committee would, if adopted, go a long way to break the bottleneck in housing:

1. The present practice of making short term loans at 4½ per cent to municipalities for house construction be revised to provide for sub-economic loans covering a thirty-year period.
2. Africans should be employed in house construction.
3. A central committee should be set up to pool information and recommend a standard type of building.

In concluding their report the Committee gives the following interesting interpretation of the significance of their findings:

> "To some it may appear that the Committee has over-portrayed a disordered and confused world in which there is a constant struggle with disease, poverty, industrial difficulties and social disorganization. The realities of what is so unconcernedly called 'the Native Problem' require to be faced not only by those who hardly give a thought to the problem and react with prejudice, but also by those whose humanitarian assumptions lead them astray into wishful thinking."

DIVISION XXVIII

AFRICANS AND THE FRENCH UNION

By H. A. Wieschhoff
University of Pennsylvania

THE THEORY OF FRENCH COLONIAL RULE

The theory of French colonial rule has always been determined by a desire to establish a Greater France which would include as integral parts the metropolitan area as well as all overseas possessions. The French Constitution of 1848 stated that colonies are French territory in the same way as the metropole and enjoy the same position in public and private law. The people inhabiting these territories were and still are regarded as future Frenchmen, even though of a different skin color, Frenchmen nevertheless. France considered it her duty to assist the Africans along a path which would ultimately give them status as Frenchmen in the cultural, social, and political sense of the word. The object of French colonial policy has been one of assimilation in that the French anticipate for their African colonies an evolution which will result in eventual suffrage and citizenship rights for all her African subjects. It must be emphasized that this is the theory of rule as applied before World War II.[1]

EBOUE POLICY

This policy was subjected to criticism by Felix Eboue, a Negro, who became Governor General of French Equatorial Africa. On November 8, 1941, he issued to his administrative officers a "General Circular on Native Policy" from which a few pertinent excerpts follow: "Any attempt to create or re-create a society in our (European) own image, or even in conformity with our mental habits, is bound to fail. The natives have habits, laws, a homeland of their own which are unlike ours. We shall not ensure their happiness by applying to them the principles of the French Revolution, which is our Revolution, or the Napoleonic Code, which is our Code, or by substituting our government officials for their chiefs, because our officials will think instead of the natives, but they will neither think for them, nor express their viewpoint.

"On the contrary, we shall ensure the mental equilibrium of the natives if we treat them, so to speak, from the inside, not as isolated and interchangeable individuals, but as human beings with traditions, as members of a family, a village or a tribe capable of progress within their own environment but very probably lost if they are removed from it. We shall concentrate on developing their consciousness of their own dignity and responsibility and on ensuring their prosperity, thus providing at the same time for their moral and their material progress; but we shall do this within the framework of the natives' natural institution. If these institutions have deteriorated as a result of contact with us, we shall reorganize them, under new forms necessarily, yet sufficiently close to the natives to preserve their attachment to their country, and to encourage them to demonstrate their ability to manage their own affairs. Then further steps can be taken. Briefly, we shall restore to the native what no man can be deprived of without harm; we shall make him no illusory gifts, but we shall restore to him the deepest meaning of life and the desire to perpetuate it."

"Lyautey has shown us the way. Let us listen to his quotations from Lanessan, his first teacher in colonial affairs: 'In every country there is an organized leadership, an elite. The great mistake for a European nation which enters such a country as a conqueror is to destroy this leadership. Deprived of this organization the country becomes a prey to anarchy. You have to govern with the mandarin, and not against the mandarin. The Europeans do not have numerical superiority and cannot substitute themselves for the natives. But they must guide them.' And Lyautey himself adds: 'Consequently, it is imperative not to interfere with any tradition, not to change any custom. *In every society, there is a leading class, born for leadership and without which nothing can be accomplished.* It must be drawn into the orbit of our interests.'

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[1] See also H. A. Wieschhoff, Colonial Policies in Africa. African Handbooks 5, 1944.

"Guided by such a principle, we shall have, first of all, to consolidate or reinstate and, in all cases, to promote the political institutions of the natives. Let me make this clear: Political customs are not to be considered as something fixed and immutable. Our aim is not to perpetuate museum curios. It is obvious that customs change and will change, and that it is not our purpose to make them sterile and stagnant. What we must do is penetrate the depth of their meaning and consider them as no less essential than the tradition and the feeling from which they originated. This tradition is that of the country or the tribe; this feeling is that of the homeland. To deprive the natives of these two driving forces of human life would be to take from them without any compensation. It would be as absurd as to take away from a French peasant his field, his vineyard, his cows and his vegetable garden and to make of him just another chain-worker whose job is to handle the products of an industralized countryside.

"Our Aim is not to create, by contact with us, a mob of proletarians, more or less ill-clothed, more or less able to speak the French language; it should be the creation of an elite, beginning with the elite of the chiefs and notables who, entrusted by us with the personal responsibility of power, will progress in the face of difficulties, will apply themselves to the task and thereby gain a deserved pre-eminence in their country to the benefit of their country."

BRAZZAVILLE CONFERENCE

Before his sudden death Eboue was in a position to put his stamp on French colonial planning. On January 31, 1944, the French Committee on National Liberation opened a conference in Brazzaville for the discussion of future French Policy in Africa. It was here that the nucleus for the concept of the French Federal Union was established and the colonial administrators who met in Brazzaville forthwith drew up recommendations for the reorganization of the French colonial empire. Regarding the political organization of the French colonies the Conference stated that:

> "1. It is desirable and even indispensable that the colonies be represented in the future Assembly whose task will be to draw up the new Constitution of France.
>
> "2. It is indispensable to ensure that the colonies be represented in the central government in Metropolitan France in a much more comprehensive and much more effective manner than in the past.
>
> "3. In any case, the new body to be created, Colonial Parliament or, preferably Federal Assembly, must fulfill the following purposes: Proclaim and guarantee the indissoluble political unity of the French world—respect the regional life and freedom of each of the territories members of the bloc, composed of France and her colonies (of 'French Federation,' if this term is accepted, in spite of the objections which may be raised against it). With this view it will be necessary to define, with great accuracy and precision, the power reserved to the central authority or federating body on the one hand, and those allotted to the colonies, on the other hand."

Eboue's Policy Adopted By Brazzaville Conference

With reference to the organization of African society, the conference adopted Eboue's policy. It stated:

> "The traditional political institutions should be maintained, not because of their intrinsic value, but because they provide a framework, through the medium of which municipal and regional life can be expressed even now, as fully as possible. The Administration must follow and control the functioning of these institutions, so as to direct their evolution towards a rapid accession of the natives to political responsibility."

FRENCH FEDERAL UNION

French Federal Union New Concept Of Colonial Organization

France's new concept of the organization of her empire is that of the French Federal Union. As *Free France* (April 1, 1945) explains: "A Federal Union of French nations, in which North Africa, Black Africa, Madagascar, and Indo-China, together with European France would constitute so many Federations with a very large measure of political and economic autonomy. Their respective populations would enjoy the rights of a national citizenship, with local Councils or Parliaments and, in addition, a Union citizenship, common to all. The latter would mean election to a Parliament, sitting at Paris of two types of representatives: Deputies in numbers proportional to the populations of the various Federations and deputies representing the nationalities."

The new philosophy underlying

French colonial policy has been expressed by Jean de la Roche as follows: "One of the characteristics of the French conception, as opposed to British and Dutch ideas, is that, in conformity with the tendency of assimilation, it seeks to include in its new Constitution the whole French domain. But in reading the recommendations of Brazzaville and the articles and speeches published both in the official and the private press, it is clear that the importance of the doctrines of subjection and of autonomy will be greatly modified by the fact that the legal relations of France and her colonies will in the future rely on a spirit of cooperation rather than on the fact of subordination. The maintenance of a single supreme authority will be tempered by wide local franchises, which will be allowed to develop freely."

The concepts of the French Union are interpreted more authoritatively by Henri Laurentie, Director of Political Affairs in the Ministry of Overseas France. In *Renaissances* (October, 1945) he states that the prime objective of the French Union is the establishment of "equality and liberty in the moral and political order." He explains further: "Whatever may be the diversity of their territorial status, the Union will grant all its members the same status within the Union. A joint effort toward social equality will thus be made possible and it will become the moral foundation of the Union."

New Concepts of Federal Union Embodied in New Constitution

These new concepts of a French Union, emanating from the Brazzaville Conference have been embodied into the new French Constitution. Although this Constitution was rejected by the French people, there was no debate over the colonial provisions and it may be regarded as certain that in any new constitution the text dealing with the French overseas territories will remain essentially the same. The Constitution defines the French Union with the following words: "France forms, together with her overseas territories on the one hand and with association of states no the other hand, a union formed by free consent. All the component parts of the Union are equal irrespective of race and origin."

Three types of representative bodies will constitute the legislative branches of the Union:

1. The National Assembly. Overseas territories will elect deputies to the National Assembly and this Assembly will have sole power to make laws which are to be applicable both to France and the overseas territories.
2. Consultative Council of the French Union. This body will be composed of delegates of local assemblies overseas and in metropolitan France. This Council, which has advisory functions only, will be consulted on matters pertaining to the Union.
3. Local Assemblies. These will deal with the affairs of local territories and will be composed of delegates elected on the basis of adult suffrage.

This framework will no doubt integrate more closely metropolitan France and the former colonial areas. But for a correct evaluation, one must not forget that this framework is a theoretical one only. To what degree Africans will be permitted to participate in the affairs of the Union and to what extent they will be permitted to develop along their own lines still remains to be seen.

LABOR LEGISLATION FOR FRENCH TERRITORIES IN AFRICA

On June 18, 1945, France issued a Decree regulating labor conditions for French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, French Cameroons, Togoland and Somaliland.

The Decree establishes the right of Africans to choose their work freely and charges the administration with the responsibility of seeing that that right is respected and is exercised under conditions favorable to the general interest, the welfare of the workers, and social progress. The Decree is very detailed and the following resume of its provisions should provide sufficient detail for an understanding of its purposes.

Resume of Decree Regulating Labor Conditions

Recruiting and contracts of employment—Governors may by order forbid or restrict recruiting and issue regulations to control it. The employers are responsible for all expenses incurred in the recruitment of a worker and his family and their subsequent repatriation. The labour inspector, for his part, is instructed to see that as far as possible labour is recruited from the same ethnic group for a single undertaking.

A worker may be hired for a definite or indefinite period of time (this period limited to one year if the worker is without his family and to two years if he is accompanied by his family), with the provision that the unjustified breaking of either of these contracts gives the other the right to damages.

Provisions are made for single and collective labor contracts (the latter concern contracts with trade unions or any group of workers with the head of the administrative district acting as their representative). A single contract may be drawn up for one worker or all workers recruited at the same time, and must include all the necessary particulars as to "the employer and the worker: The place, nature, and duration of the work to be performed; the rate of wages, which must be at least equal to the minimum rates in force; the time of payment; the nature and quantity of rations to be provided; housing conditions; advances of wages arranged for at the time of engagement and the manner of repayment; special clauses relating to cancellation of the contract; and the arrangements made at the place of employment for members of the worker's family who are not in the service of the employer." Failure to observe the terms of collective agreements or individual contracts of employment may give rise to judicial proceedings instituted by the employer, the worker, or the representatives of the trade union or association, or, if there is no trade union, by the labour inspector or his substitute on behalf of the worker only.

Conditions of Employment—Certain conditions are fixed by the Decree and are to be amplified by Orders of the governor, who may make provisions more advantageous than those set forth in the Decree.

Employment of women and young persons—The Decree forbids the hiring of young persons under the age of 14 with the exception that children between the ages of 12 and 14 may be hired for "light work in agriculture or domestic service, subject to authorization by the head of the administrative district. . . ." The Decree also stipulates that a woman worker is to be given 10 consecutive weeks maternity leave (which may be extended to 12 weeks), for which her contract of employment may not be broken by the employer and that she is entitled to free medical care and subsistence allowance for herself and child.

A further provision states that the authorities may "require a medical examination to be made of women and young persons to make sure that they are not performing work beyond their strength, and may order that any woman or young person shall be given work consonant with his or her strength, or, if no such work is available, that he or she shall leave the undertaking."

Hours of work and Holidays—An eight hour day is provided for and can only be extended in "exceptional emergency work" by Order of the Governor, "provided the working week does not exceed 48 hours."

It is also provided that "the worker must be allowed 24 consecutive hours' rest a week . . . and that he is entitled to a holiday of 10 days on full pay after a year's employment by the same employer, on condition that he has worked at least 240 days during the year." If the contract is for two full years, the entire holiday may be held until the expiration of the contract, but payment of compensation for the holiday cannot be substituted.

Remuneration—Wages by week, job or piece may not be less than the minimum fixed by Order of the Governor, which is issued after consultation with the labor inspector. The principle of equal pay for equal work (men and women) is recognized, and it is further stipulated that wages must be paid in legal currency and that all payments in kind are forbidden.

Fines against workers are also forbidden and it is noted that the only deductions that may be made from wages, not to exceed one-quarter of the cash wages earned during the month, are for advances made to the worker.

Daily food rations are to be furnished by the employer "the composition of which is fixed by Order of the Governor," or he may replace these rations in whole or in part, by a food allowance on the authorization of the head of the administrative district.

Pensions—The right to a pension after a certain number of years of service is recognized and an "Order will determine the conditions for eligibility for a pension, its amount, and methods of payment, as well as the amount of the employer's contribution." Until this Order is issued a pension fund is established by the Decree, from a reserve made up of employer's contributions proportionate to the total wages paid.

Protection of the Family—This section provides for a matrimonial fund (dowry, etc.) for unmarried workers (male) to be set up by Order of the Governor. The fund will be made up of contributions both from employer and employee.

The Decree also states that members of the worker's family are "entitled to a dwelling and a plot of land" and that "any food grown there will be the property of the worker." There will also be a system of family allowances for all classes of wage earners having legitimate children. There is a further stipulation that there are to be separate camps for unattached women and for single men.

Medical Care—The Decree provides for the services of a doctor or medical assistant for undertakings of an average of 1000 workers (average number of workers does not include wives and children) and a doctor for an undertaking of 1500 workers. In mines, the average is lowered to 500 workers per undertaking and for all undertakings of 100 workers, a Native nurse approved by the labor inspector must be available.

Any undertaking employing more than 100 workers must have a hospital; for less than 100 workers, medical equipment and supplies, and for less than 20 only first aid-kit.

The employer is required to furnish medical care and medicine free of charge to a worker and his family. He must provide food for the sick worker but not wages unless mentioned otherwise in the working contract. The employer is also required to pay the expenses of treatment and hospitalization of his workers in official health centers for a maximum period of thirty days. Permanent incapacity or death of the worker is to be compensated either to the worker in case of incapacitation or to the legally recognized dependents in case of death.

Industrial Accidents—The Decree reads that "Except in the case of misconduct on the part of the worker, any accident arising out of, or, in the course of employment and resulting in even temporary incapacity gives the victim the right to compensation, whatever the cause of the accident." The specific amounts of compensation of temporary, permanent disabilities and death are also mentioned in this section. It is further provided that the head of the administrative district must be notified regarding all serious cases and that employers are required to carry industrial accident insurance (Workers accident compensation claims are not liable to transfer or attachment).

"*Economats*" (an establishment where the employer directly or indirectly sells or advances goods to workers in his undertaking)—These establishments are subject to authorization and closure by the Governor and are to be operated under the supervision of the labor inspector. In dealing in these establishments the worker is protected by the following provisions: They must not be forced to deal there; it must be a non-profit establishment; only cash sales are allowed; the price of goods must be clearly marked; and the accounts must be kept separately from those of the rest of the undertaking.

Records—This provision is concerned with the keeping of the names, positions, wages etc. of all workers in an undertaking by both the head of the administrative district and the employer, with both sets of records open to each. It also provides for the issuance of a work card to each employee stating his identity, and all the information contained in the work books of the employer.

Inspection and Arbitration—Labor relations are supervised by the labor inspector and in each administrative district by the head of the district. An advisory committee is also set up to function under the labor inspector, composed of an equal number of employer and employee representatives. The employee representatives are appointed by the Governor "from the most representative trade union," wherever that is possible, and all members are appointed for not more than five years. Women technical advisors are to be consulted concerning the employment of women and young persons.

Arbitration boards set up by Orders of the Governor will make decisions concerning the interpretation of contracts, their validity and execution, and they will also make the final decisions in suits which do not involve more than 1,000 francs.

DIVISION XXIX

AFRICANS AND THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

By H. A. Wieschhoff
University of Pennsylvania

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PORTUGUESE COLONIAL RULE

In *Colonial Policies in Africa* (African Handbooks No. 5, 1944, p. 105), Portuguese Colonial Policy is summarized in the following words: "Unfortunately there is no dispute for the statement that the Portuguese colonies are the most backward in Africa, a statement which embraces all aspects of Native colonial development; economic improvement and trade, social and political betterment, establishment of medical and educational facilities, and, above all, the elimination of abuses inflicted upon the Native population. Although these abuses are not officially sanctioned, they are far too excessive to be ignored in any evaluation of the stated policy. And we may add, that at a time when colonial policies will be judged, if not by the letter then by the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, errors of omission are as serious as those of commission. That Portugal puts into actual practice the policy which she has so nobly expressed in words, and thereby gives her Native population the equipment with which to face the twentieth century, is still far from having been accomplished."

A. Q. Maisel in *Africa, Facts and Forecasts* (1943, p. 261) is more devastating in his criticism. He states: "Any improvement in native conditions in these Portuguese regions must arise either from a change in sovereignty or a change in the government of Portugal itself."

Colonial Act of 1935 Basis of Portuguese Colonial Rule

The basis of Portuguese colonial rule is the Colonial Act of 1935. The position of the Africans is outlined in the second part of the Act. It states:

"15. The State guarantees the protection and defense of the natives of the colonies, in accordance with the principles of humanity and sovereignty, the provisions of this Part and the international conventions which are at present in force or may come into operation. The colonial authorities shall prevent and punish in accordance with the law all abuses against the persons and property of natives.

"16. The State shall establish public institutions and encourage the creation of private institutions, in both cases Portuguese, to uphold the rights of natives or to render them assistance.

"17. The law guarantees to the natives, in the terms stated therein, the ownership and possession of their lands and crops, and this principle must be respected in all the concessions granted by the State.

"18. The labour of natives in the service of the State or in that of administrative bodies shall be prohibited.

"19. The following shall be prohibited:

(1) All systems under which the State undertakes to furnish native labourers to any enterprises working for their own economic development;

(2) All systems under which the natives in any territorial area are compelled to furnish labour to the said enterprise for any consideration.

"20. The State may only compel natives to labour on public works of general benefit to the community, in occupations the proceeds of which will be enjoyed by them, in execution of judicial decisions of a penal nature or for the fulfillment of fiscal obligations.

"21. The system of contracting native labour shall be based on individual liberty and on the right to a fair wage and assistance, the public authorities intervening only for purposes of supervision.

"22. Attention shall be paid in the colonies to the stage of evolution of the native people. There shall be special statutes regarding natives which, under the authority of Portuguese public and private law, shall establish for them juridical rules in keeping with their individual, domestic and social usages and customs, provided that these are not incompatible with morality and the dictates of humanity.

"23. The State shall ensure in all its overseas territories liberty of conscience and the free exercise of the various religions, subject to the restrictions necessitated by rights and interests of the sovereignty of Portugal, the maintenance of public order and consonance with international treaties and conventions.

"24. Portuguese Catholic missions overseas, being an instrument of civilization and national influence, and establishments for the training of staffs, for service therein and in the Portuguese Padroado, shall possess juridical personality and shall be protected and assisted by the State as educational institutions."

Native Policy Directed Toward Assimilation

Portuguese colonial policy is directed towards full assimilation of the African. The absence of an outspoken racial policy, and the absence of racial discrimination, is theoretically conducive to such a policy, but the African is still regarded as ill-prepared. Thus the fostering of African traditional life is discouraged, African languages are slowly but systematically superseded by Portuguese, and everything possible is done to imbue the African with Portuguese cultural ideals. This is not accomplished very rapidly since the individual Portuguese is not too aggressive in his cultural mission and often is himself assimilated by African life and culture.

Work the Motto of Portuguese Colonial Policy

But aside from such general statements,, the motto of Portuguese colonial policy seems to be to make the African work. Upon this the colonial administrators have insisted and in this respect a great many abuses have occurred which cannot be harmonized with the ideals of the Colonial Act. These abuses have been only too frequent. It is with references to these that the Portuguese Minister of Colonies, Vierira Machado stated in Lourenco Marques on August 17, 1942: "The Native must be protected against abuses and provided with an adequate diet, housing, assistance in case of sickness, and decent clothing. It is essential to raise the moral and physical standards of the Natives by teaching them improved methods of production and educating them to new needs, while at the same time providing the means of satisfying such needs; otherwise we shall have a dissatisfied and rebellious population."

But he reiterated at the same time: "We must impress upon the Native the idea that he must work and give up idleness and vice if we wish to exercise a protecting and colonizing influence. If vagrancy and crime are punishable offenses for whites, we cannot condone them for blacks. If we apply to the white man who lives on the work of a woman an epithet so derogatory that we have had to borrow it from a foreign language, we cannot tolerate such conduct on the part of the Native. If we want to civilize the Native, we must teach him to accept the elementary moral principle that no one has the right to live without working."

DIVISION XXX

THE BELGIAN CONGO

By H. A. Wieschhoff
University of Pennsylvania

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE BASIS OF THE BELGIAN POLICY

It has frequently been stated that Belgium has no colonial policy with respect to the Belgian Congo. If colonial policy were to be defined as a policy primarily aimed at the political advancement of the Africans, then such a statement may be largely correct, but to date Belgium has no specific plan regarding the ultimate political status of the Congo. Rather her chief concern has been an efficient and scientific development of the mineral and agricultural resources of the country. In pursuance of this policy liberal encouragement has been given to the Africans, and it is believed that by drawing the Africans as laborers into the Congo's industry they will improve their standards of living and thus will gradually become adjusted to modern conditions. As M. Q. de Vleeschauwer, Belgian Minister of Colonies during the war, stated, the Belgian policy is to strive "to ameliorate the life and conditions of the Native inhabitants by developing both individuals and groups and organizing the great expanse of the country materially and economically. The pursuit of moral and social well-being is closely linked with the development of material well-being, the one being the mainstay of the other."

In accordance with this program, the Belgians have devoted much attention to the improvement of African health, the establishment of housing and hospitals and great awareness for African welfare in general. Urbanized Africans, those living in "extra-traditional townships" (*centres extra-contumiers*) have been given better care than similar groups in other parts of Africa. Thus, in contrast to the Union of South Africa, where Africans are debarred from becoming skilled workers, in the Belgian Congo Africans work as clerks, railway employees, locomotive drivers, chauffeurs of trucks, and as first class mechanics in almost all industries. And according to African standards they are comparatively well paid.

In their desire to develop the country, the Belgians, as wise industralists, have realized that well-fed, well-housed, well-trained, and contented Africans make better and more efficient laborers than those who are ill-cared for. In this connection it is not unimportant to point out that in contrast to many other industrial undertakings in other parts of Africa, Belgian industry has been established with a view to the future and it has been recognized that there is a definite relation between the expansion of the industry and available human resources.

Such Industrial establishments, as the *Union miniere du Haute Katanga*, the chief copper-mining company, for example, have attempted with considerable success to stabilize their labor supply by inducing their employees to bring their wives and families (not normally favored in other African industries). They quartered their workers in attractively located brick-and-cement houses and at the same time supplied them with many of the amenities of European life. Under government regulation the food provided is normally superior to that offered African workers elsewhere. In order to secure a well-trained labor supply for the future, the companies provide good educational facilities and of course, maternity services. Thus, any contrast of the living standards of Africans in the Belgian copper belt with those of Africans employed in the adjacent copper mines in Northern Rhodesia are generally favorable to the Belgians.

The policy of economic development is not only pursued in industrial areas, but is carried into the agricultural sections by the compulsory cultivation of specified crops. African growers are obliged, by threat of penal sanctions, to cultivate a fixed amount of land with crops specified by the authorities according to local needs and local conditions, thus expanding the cultivation of subsistence crops and some export crops, chiefly cotton, and, to a lesser extent, coffee. Although such a forced procedure is often regarded as a hardship on the African, authorities claim that this *travail educatif*, or agricultural education, has transformed many a backward section of the Belgian Congo into a comparatively prosperous territory. The criticism leveled against this system points out that if it paid the African to grow these crops, compulsion should no longer be necessary. This criticism appears to be particularly valid in view of the fact that some companies hold monopolies in some specified zones for the marketing of African grown produce which they buy at prices fixed by the government. Thus the charge that compulsory production serves only private interests has never effectively been refuted.

CONGO NATIVE POLICY OF 1943

With respect to the administration of Africans, the Congo initiated a new policy in 1943. At that time an increased amount of local administration was entrusted into the hands of traditional chiefs, subject to the control exercised by Belgian administrators. The chief was regarded as the middle man who, as the official announcement put it, became a link between African and European organizations. While the chief retained some judicial authority, he was primarily responsible for the local enforcement of Belgian policy, such as the development of organizations for production, and the supervision of educational and medical work. Under this new policy, Africans, while permitted to follow their traditional life and while in theory associated with their own administration under their own customary law, were, in reality, under the complete control of Belgian officialdom.

Belgian officials interpret the Congo Native policy as follows: "The fact is that the natives are associated with their own administration and with their own laws when they follow their customs of tribal life and when they leave their ancestral homes to live a more individualistic life in new centers, they are given an appropriate form of self-administration. Conforming to the conception that colonization must be made in the interest of the natives, the Belgians intend to pursue progressively the emancipation of their native people. By emancipation is meant the chance of conducting themselves independently of the mother country. But the Belgians believe that a durable autonomy must begin from the bottom, that is to say the education of the small cells of colonial territory. . . . The natives also administer their own laws. Justice is meted out by native tribunals according to their tribal law. The designed judges cannot, however, apply customs which are contrary to public order; neither can they enforce customs which contravene legislature brought about in the interest of native welfare. . . . The rapid evolution of a new country like the Congo brings about situations completely strange to the old framework of the tribes. One sees natives of different origin mingling together in the industrial and commercial centers and missions. These gatherings have been organized under a separate form of 'extra-custom centers,' special native communities and towns, where the state selects the chief, picks his council, and these administer the community not according to any one tribal custom but by common tribal principles. A white official assists them with his counsel. Under this system, Leopoldville has an extra-custom center of 50,000 natives, while Elisabethville has an equally important community. There are many more with smaller populations. Each day brings added proof of the success of the venture and gives great hope for the future."[1]

CONGO ADVISORY COUNCIL OF 1945

In evaluating such official Belgian announcements it must not be forgotten that they were made during the war when references to the "association" of Africans with government were made by all colonial powers. In reality, the political advancement of Africans in the Belgian Congo has been slow. In July, 1945, the Belgian government established for the Congo an Advisory Council to discuss such governmental matters as may be submitted to the Council by government agencies. This council of some forty-five members will include eight persons who are to represent the African population. But these will not be Africans; since the decree establishing the Council states that these eight persons should be selected from retired officials, from missionaries, from the members of the "Commission for the Protection of the Natives," and from the Africans themselves. Thus, the native population of 10,000,000 may have some 2 or 3 representatives on this Council, whereas the 30,000 Europeans of the colony will have 22 representatives, not counting the official government members.

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[1] de Vleeschauwer, Belgian Colonial Policy, Belgian Information Center, New York, 1943, pp. 27-28.

BELGIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CONGO

There can be little doubt that Belgian Colonial policy is basically unchanged. Major emphasis is placed on economic development and in that respect European settlers and "colonists" are accorded a prominent position. In spite of many "idealistic" statements, the Congo is managed like a huge industrial establishment, subsequent to the needs of the metropolitan country. Belgian attitude towards the Congo appears well expressed in a speech delivered by Pierre Orts, Belgian Minister Plenipotentiary, who in discussing his experience in the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations stated: "Unfortunately, the spirit of these international meetings was hostile to the Colonial Powers. Thirty-five nations, including the United States, Soviet Russia and her satellites, the Latin American countries, and the Arab states, were downright hostile to the ownership of colonies—so much so, that they were even unwilling to use the word 'colony.' Unfortunately, also . . . the Preparatory Commission and the Assembly itself aggravated the Charter by going beyond its text.

"At the general meeting of United Nations Organization, therefore, the Belgian delegate thought it necessary to point out that the natives of Ruanda-Urundi, like those of the Congo and of other colonies, had no political aspirations, and that if Colonial Powers withdrew the result would be a return to savagery. But this call to reality was fruitless, and the next delegate expressed the hope that all dependencies would soon take their places among the United Nations." That must have been indeed a repelling thought to one who feels that "the Charter would suppress the pre-eminence of the white race, and thus mark the opening of a new chapter in the history of the colonies." Mr. Orts declared further that ". . . the tendencies apparent at San Francisco and the United Nations Organization meeting in London called for vigilance from the Colonial and Mandatory Powers. To avoid difficulties, therefore, the Colonial and Mandatory Powers should adopt as their rule: The Charter, the whole Charter, but nothing beyond."[2]

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[2] African World, June 1946.

DIVISION XXXI

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

By H. A. WIESCHHOFF
University of Pennsylvania

In the past, African economic life was self-sufficient, although often near the mark of minimum existence. With European penetration the continent's economy became more and more integrated with that of Europe and the world. Basically it has remained an agricultural area although in a few territories mining industries have come into existence and as a result of the war secondary industries have been developed in some territories.

AGRICULTURE

The former self-sufficiency of African communities has been seriously affected by the European sponsored encouragement of such productions as were most needed by the industrial nations of Europe and America. (For details see The Food Resources of Africa, *African Handbooks* No. 3, 1943.) In a paper, *The Economic Development of Africa*, Sir Alan W. Pim evaluates this situation with the following words: "Agricultural activities have taken the dual form of increasing the production of previously existing natural staples such as the palm oil, ground nuts, and hides, of West Africa and establishing new industries such as the cocoa of West Africa, and the sisal, coffee, and tea of East Africa. The production of the earlier natural staples and of some new products including cocoa are examples of native initiative, but in the main the new crops have been the fruit of European enterprise and capital. The result of this concentration on certain types of exports has been to make these territories dependent on a very limited number of raw materials and therefore peculiarly susceptible to the vagaries of the world markets more especially to the disparity between the prices of raw materials and of manufactured goods."

Development of One-Crop Cultivation Disastrous

The development of cash-crop or one-crop cultivation, mostly without any guidance and control, has often had disastrous affects upon Africans. In years when such products as cocoa, peanuts, and maize were in demand, African growers extended and intensified their production, only to discover that a period of comparative prosperity was followed by one of depression. Their goods were either not marketable at all or only marketable at greatly depressed prices. Furthermore, those who had turned to cash-crop cultivation became more and more dependent on imported food products for which prices remained more or less stable. It is now generally realized that this trend should be reversed and that the African territories should achieve a certain degree of self-sufficient economy, in order to become economically balanced.

Fear of African Competition

In areas in which Europeans compete with Africans, many obstacles are met in bringing African agriculture up to European standards. The fear appears to exist that Africans trained in European agricultural methods might become unwanted competitors and that by producing more efficiently, the Africans will be less inclined to seek employment on European plantations. In some territories African production is controlled. Thus in prewar times there was a maize control board operating in Southern Rhodesia which set one quota and price level for African produce and another for European, the prices not necessarily being based on qualitative differences. In Nyasaland where Europeans grow tobacco there was considerable agitation against African tobacco growers. Coffee growing by Africans was prohibited altogether in Kenya, while in Tanganyika the European coffee planters succeeded at least in curtailing African competition by claiming that African coffee growers did not take proper care of their plants and therefore were apt to infect European estates with their pests.

Conservation and Development Of the Land Needed

One of the most fundamental problems of African agriculture is the conservation and development of the land. Although much has been said about the over-cultivation and over-grazing of the land and about the effect which it has on soil deterioration, few positive steps have been taken to correct these deplorable conditions. The traditional methods of African agriculture are in need of revision in terms of modern and scientific methods. Since agriculturists everywhere are traditionally minded, it will be some time before the African peasant will be ready to adopt new methods of cultivation.

MINERAL RESOURCES

Although Africa is far from being surveyed geologically, there is a great variety of minerals.[1] The importance of the mineral resources for the economic development in Africa has been stated by Pim: "So far as has been ascertained up to the present, they (mineral resources) are mainly concentrated in a few territories, more especially the Belgian Congo, Northern Rhodesia, and the Gold Coast, but the raw materials necessary for the establishment of heavy industries, coal and iron, are at present only represented by the coal of Enugu in Nigeria and the iron of Sierra Leone widely separated from each other. The copper mines of the Belgian Katanga and of Northern Rhodesia are served by the Wankie coal mines in Southern Rhodesia and though there has been a good deal of mention lately of the exploitation of coal in Portuguese East Africa those mines are even further removed from the main possible future industrial areas. Apart from the copper of the Belgian Congo and Northern Rhodesia, mineral development has hitherto been mainly directed to gold, and a large proportion of the deposits worked up to the present have been short term propositions. The same description applies to the tin mines of Nigeria so far as is known up till now. A long term policy such as that worked out for the Gold Mines on the Rand (Union of South Africa) is therefore difficult to envisage. In British Territories mineral production has been left to European private enterprise except for the Government coal mines at Enugu. In the Belgian Congo the State has played a large part both in finance and control. Native participation has in the main been confined to unskilled labour, though an advance towards a share in the more skilled branches of industry has been noticeable more especially in the Belgian Congo. In the French territories, mining on primitive lines has been left largely in African hands."

Exploitation of Mineral Resources By European Powers Criticized

In recent years there has been a great deal of criticism regarding the exploitation of mineral resources by European powers. Rita Hinden in an article *The Challenge of African Poverty* (p. 58) writes: "Minerals are one of Africa's most precious assets, yet the mines are almost always operated by European capitalist companies, which pay dividends to their overseas shareholders, heavy remunerations to their directors, as likely as not the lion's share of their taxes to the British Exchequer, royalties to venerable but functionless companies, and enormous wages to local European employees. What remains for the African workers and for the African Exchequers are the crumbs from the rich man's table."

In accordance with such arguments the viewpoint is growing that in the future a fair share of the profits and royalties from industrial enterprises should accrue for the development of social services within the colony.

Africans themselves are increasingly opposing the exploitation of their territories' mineral resources. This opposition was highlighted in Nigeria where in March, 1945, the Nigerian Government proposed a new minerals and mining ordinance which was to amend and consolidate existing mineral and mining legislation. The cardinal provision of the new bill was the vesting of property rights of all minerals in Nigeria and the mandated territory of British Cameroon and control over these rights in the British Crown.[2] The African newspapers, (*West African Pilot* and *Daily Service*) protested against the provisions of the bill, primarily on legal grounds. It is argued that the territory of Nigeria (outside the colony of Lagos) is a protectorate in alien territory under British protection and consequently the assignment of mineral property to the Crown is unconstitutional. The status of the protectorate is determined by the treaties between the British Crown and the Native African States and these treaties define the rights of the protecting power as trustee over protectorate lands. As these treaties pertain only to commercial relations, general pacts of friendship between the contracting parties and the suppression of the slave trade, it is concluded that these treaties do not grant to Great Britain any rights which can be construed as justifying the vesting of mineral property in the Crown.

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[1] For details consult The Mineral Resources of Africa, African Handbooks No. 2, 1943.

[2] See Gazette Extraordinary, Supplement No. 4, January 17, 1945.

Therefore it is demanded that "the mineral resources of Nigeria should be vested in the people of Nigeria. There is no earthly reason why anyone should assume that a government in which they hardly have any voice should have all of the rights. . . . In our opinion . . . the Nigerian government is just another name for the British government in Nigeria." (*Daily Service*, February 8, 1945).

Although the major objections raised by the Nigerian press have revolved around questions of ownership, the exploitation of mineral resources under a licensed-leasing system has also aroused opposition. Writing very pessimistically of this system, the *Daily Service* (January 24, 1945) says, "If enacted into law it will virtually oust Africans from the mining profession." The *West African Pilot* (January 26, 1945) supplements this complaint by stating: "The people of Nigeria become perplexed when they realize the fact that they are relegated by their trustees to the unenviable position of users only of the surface of the soil of their God-given lands, without any right or claim to the minerals which are under the surface of their lands, while Europeans, Syrians, Lebanese, and non-Africans have been granted licenses by virtue of which they dig and take away minerals worth millions of pounds year in and year out."

Similar arguments are set forth in other African territories. There can be little doubt that if the social services in the colonies are to be improved, a fair share of the profits and royalties from industrial activities should be retained in the colonies. It is of course anomalous that the mining companies registered in London pay the major part of the taxes to the Imperial Government; receipts deriving from taxation of profits should go to the colonies directly.

SECONDARY INDUSTRIES

Development of Secondary Industries Essential

It is generally recognized that if African dependencies are to be improved economically, it will be necessary to introduce some secondary industries. A reasonable amount of industrialization would help the predominantly agricultural economy of Africa in that the dependencies would free themselves from the comparatively expensive imports of European-manufactured goods. Since during the war some goods normally imported from abroad were no longer available, some local industries have been developed, and their beneficial effects upon African economy is already noticeable. It is felt that the further development of secondary industries is essential to the African colonies in order to secure a more balanced internal economy, for any price depression, which most seriously affects the producers of raw materials, will be partially off-set if the raw materials necessary for local consumption can be produced locally at lower production costs. It is obvious that an industrial development must be carefully planned if the establishment of secondary industries for prestige purposes only is to be avoided. In territories with large populations, the problem should be simple; but in smaller and less populated areas, the interrelation between consumption potentialities and production demands a careful investigation. It is, of course, incomprehensible why an African territory, producing large quantities of palm oil, should export oil to be manufactured into soap and then have this product sent back for sale. Any local soap factory could have produced this soap without the additional cost of shipping or without the added comparatively high European wages.

War Aids Movement Toward Industrialization

Contingencies of wartime foreign trade have set many African territories on the march toward industrialization. Although such developments are most apparent in the Union of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and the Belgian Congo, other sections of Africa have been affected by the factors necessitating mills and factories to process Africa's raw materials. Shortages of imported civilian goods required the production of substitutes in almost all African territories. Noteworthy developments have taken place in the manufacture of textiles, glassware, pottery, metal goods, and other products.

Cotton Textile Mills Opened

The opening of cotton textile mills has been reported from Southern Rhodesia, Uganda, Angola, and Mozambique. Thus, two factories were established in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, one producing underwear and the other cotton piece goods. The output of the underwear factory, it is estimated, will be sufficient to supply both of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, while the cotton goods which the other factory plans to turn out annually represents about twenty-five per cent of Southern Rhodesia's pre-war imports. At Jinja, Uganda, mills have been opened with textile machinery released by the British Board of Trade. The market for these mills will be the twelve million Africans in East Africa, who before the war bought Japanese merchandise. The elimination of this country from the African market will offer opportunities for the new African textile industry. The Portuguese government has announced the establishment of spinning and weaving mills in Angola and Mozambique.

Wool Factory Opened

Although the Union of South Africa has long been a leading world producer of wool, only a negligible quantity has been manufactured locally. Now, however, a wool factory has been opened at Uitenhage producing woolen goods for the African market.

Glass Factory and Pottery Works Opened

To meet the acute shortage of glass table wear and crockery cooking utensils, a glass factory has opened in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and pottery works in Kenya and Uganda. Using scrap glass as raw material, the Sudan factory has been able to attain a daily production of four hundred coffee cups, saucers and drinking tumblers. Efforts are being made to discover glass sands in the Red Sea hills which will assure a supply of raw materials for future operations. The newly established Kenya pottery has proved to be of good quality, and the Post-War Industrial Planning Commission of the Colony expects the industry to survive the war emergency.

Metal Products Manufactured

Considerable progress in the manufacture of metal products has been made in the Belgian Congo and Southern Rhodesia. In fact, the former colony, cut off from all trade relations with Belgium, has been forced to industralize on broad lines. The electrical and machine shops of the Congo have manufactured such metal products as copper wire, small tools and agricultural implements and in addition have been assembling metal barges.

Other Industries Develop

Industrial development in Southern Rhodesia has probably exceeded that of the Congo. The wide variety of products now being made in Southern Rhodesia include crusher jaws, cast iron pipe, valves, aeroplane parts in aluminum alloy, shoes and dies for the mines, and fabricated structural steel which can now compete in price with the imported product.

A long list of minor industrial developments can be cited for other African territories: Soap making factories (Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, French West Africa); silk mills (French West Africa, Belgian Congo); tanneries (Nigeria, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Sierra Leone, Southern Rhodesia); chemicals (sodium sulphate and quinine from the Belgian Congo and mining explosives and cattle dip from Southern Rhodesia); shoe factories (Belgian Congo, Union of South Africa); furniture (Sierra Leone, Southern Rhodesia, Union of South Africa); chocolate and cocoa butter (Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone); starch (Belgian Congo, Sierra Leone); sugar refineries (Nigeria, Ruanda-Urundi, Mozambique); tobacco processing (Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone); food processing including creameries and dehydrating factories (French West and French Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, Angola); rope making (Belgian Congo, Sierra Leone); prefabricated houses (Southern Rhodesia);

and medical wadding and gauze (Belgian Congo). In addition to the industries enumerated above which are organized on European lines there has been a marked stimulation of Native crafts of which cloth-making is outstanding.

There are definite signs that the industrialization of Africa on a moderate scale is going to continue in the future. Due to the training African soldiers have received while in the Army, Africa will have a larger reservoir of skilled labor than ever before. If these are to be employed in keeping with their training, a continuation of the industrial program is a necessary requirement. How far the competition of foreign manufacturers will interfere with such a development remains to be seen.

Industrial Development Should Be In Harmony With Local Traditions

Sir Alan Pim regards industrialization "the most efficient means of raising the standards of living as labour in general is much more productive in secondary and tertiary than in primary industries." But he believes that the industries "should as far as possible be in harmony with local traditions or else the new industries may be socially disruptive." He writes: "The types to be encouraged would mainly depend on the character and extent of the local resources both human and material. The conditions necessary for the establishment of heavy industries do not appear to be present in Central Africa and the chief opportunities seem to be in the direction of processing and of the lighter industries to meet day to day requirements in which labour costs are of most importance."

At this stage of development, Sir Alan Pim believes that emphasis on small scale industries carried on by individual craftsmen, or groups of craftsmen is better than large scale industries. He writes: "There are strong social reasons for encouraging local craft industries as the best method of industrializing Africa at this present stage of creating a few large manufacturing centres. They would enrich and add to village life and communal activities by providing the much wanted alternative or supplementary activities, unlike large manufacturing centres which accelerate the breaking up of that life and are likely to weaken the position of agriculture."

COMPETITION FOR LAND BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND AFRICANS

In many parts of Africa, particularly those in which Europeans have settled, the shortage of land is one of the most crucial problems facing the African. Some 50 years ago the African had a great surplus of land which was not used to its best and fullest advantage, according to European standards; for African economy was based on the frequent rotation of fields for gardens and pasture, a system requiring extensive acreage. In the competition between Europeans and Africans for land, both groups were in need of the same type of land suitable for agricultural and pastural purposes. Invariably this competition ended in the defeat of the Africans, who had to content themselves with the least desirable sections.

Alienation of Land in The Union Of South Africa

In the Union of South Africa the alienation of African land has reached greatest proportions. Although Europeans constitute only 20 per cent of the population, of which only one-third live on farms, they control better than 87 per cent (or 415,000 square miles) of the land, while non-Europeans, constituting approximately 80 per cent of the population, are left with less than 13 per cent (or 58,000 square miles) of the land. At that, this latter figure includes improved conditions resulting from the native Land Act of 1936.

Alienation of Land in Southern Rhodesia

Similar conditions prevail in Southern Rhodesia with a population of about 1,300,000, of which about 60,000 are Europeans. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 divided the 96,000,000 acres of the Territory as follows: 47,176,000 acres of the best land were given to Europeans; 21,600,000 acres remained as Native reserves in the hands of the African population; 7,500,000 acres are known as Native area, set aside for settlement of detribalized Africans; and 17,800,000 acres of unassigned land are still to be allocated to either group.

Alienation of Land in Northern Rhodesia

In Northern Rhodesia, where the European population is about 10,000 and the African 1,365,000, more than half of the country's acreage has been set aside for non-African settlement and mining. Although the largest part of this land is as yet not used by Europeans, future needs are being anticipated.

Alienation of Land in Kenya

Although the extent to which African land was expropriated in the Union of South Africa cannot be duplicated anywhere in Africa, Kenya approaches Union standards. Out of a total area of 225,000 square miles, about 11,000 square miles have been alienated. That does not appear to be an excessive figure, but if one takes into consideration that the greatest part of Kenya is unsuitable for human habitation, the percentage takes on a different meaning. Sir Alan Pim has pointed out that only some 61,000 square miles are useable so that some 20,000 Europeans control 11,000 square miles and some 3,000,000 Africans occupy 50,000 square miles. Thus the "Native Lands"—as they are called—are overcrowded. The area inhabited by the Kikuyu tribe, for instance, has an average density of 28.3 per square mile. In view of the fact that this is only an average density and in view of the fact that it is considerably higher in the more desirable areas of the reserves, this situation is truly serious.

On the other hand, Europeans do not utilize the land they have reserved for them. In 1934, according to Lord Hailey's *African Survey* (p. 743), 6,543,360 acres of land had actually been alienated and of this, 1,405,036 were unoccupied. The remaining 5,138,324 acres were held by 2,027 occupiers, giving an average of 2,534 acres per occupier. But only 274 acres per occupier, or about 11 per cent of the whole, was actually under cultivation.

In the pamphlet, *Kenya: White Man's Country?* published by the Fabian Colonial Bureau in 1944, we read these comments: "The alienation of 11,000 square miles of good land in the midst of a dense native population has naturally caused endless trouble. It is now generally admitted that many grave blunders were made. The apparently empty lands were found in the end not to have been really empty but only to have appeared so owing to native methods of cultivation. It soon appeared that the administration had underestimated the extent to which natives could assert claims to the apparently empty lands of the highland area; it was at all events clear that by recognizing native occupation only over land in actual cultivation and by allowing grants to be made over that used for grazing, Europeans had been permitted to acquire land in a manner that was beginning to cause hardship to the tribes concerned. To quote an expression subsequently used, the alienation process rapidly 'got out of hand.'

"There is a long history of trouble, misunderstanding and conflict in the handling of the Kenya land situation. Areas which were proclaimed native reserves were not in fact reserved and alienations continued to be made in them. The limits of European occupation were not clearly defined in the first instance. Cattle-owning tribes were deprived of essential pasture and watering places. Tribes were moved off one area and settled in another claimed by other tribes. By the 1920's the Africans had lost their belief in the good faith of the Government and were conscious of a deep feeling of insecurity and hostility. Different Commissions of Inquiry recognized this feeling, admitted in varying degree its justification and urged the necessity for restoring a sense of security—at least as far as tenure in the native reserves was concerned. The need for an inquiry into the adequacy of the existing reserves was also admitted. The famous Kenya Land Commission of 1933 was, therefore, set to work, but its recommendations brought little satisfaction to the Africans. The Commission 'clearly felt itself precluded from making any recommendation which would involve a material reduction in the area which Europeans had desired to see reserved. Their report appears to have proceeded on the assumption that the highland area which they were instructed to define was one to which Europeans had a claim as of right.'"

Alienation of Land in British West Africa

In British West Africa alienation of African land has progressed without much friction. Settlers are absent and the companies concerned in the exploitation of the natural resources are only interested in securing comparatively small tracts of land. In all of the British West Coast territories, Africans continue to hold their land in accordance with traditional law, the governments having reserved only the rights to alienate such land as may be necessary for public purposes. If land should be required for commercial or industrial enterprise, special ordinances are passed, arranging for the lease of the land for a fixed period of years. Under such agreements, concessions have been granted to the mining companies for the establishment of the gold and manganese mines in the Gold Coast, of tin mines in Nigeria and of rubber and oil-palm plantations by the United Africa Company (12,400 acres) in Nigeria. There is no land shortage in these sections of Africa.

Alienation of Land in The French Territories

Since outside of French North Africa, there are no large numbers of French settlers in the French territories of Negro Africa, the French are not as a rule confronted with a land problem of the kind to be found in Kenya. In the past, the French pursued large scale alienation of land in favor of companies which ruthlessly exploited colonial territories, particularly French Equatorial Africa. Now that the ill-fated concession policy has come to an end, there no longer exists any serious land problem. The French Government nevertheless is greatly concerned about a land policy endeavoring to introduce land laws analogous to those in force in France proper. By a decree of November 15, 1935 the French government has legally resolved all questions pertaining to land, declaring that all land not occupied by Africans automatically became state land. Likewise, the government has retained the right to grant concessions for the exploitation of natural resources. But all these government rights, irrespective of the legal implications which they may involve, have thus far had little effect on the Africans who feel secure in their land holdings in these territories. It should be noted that the land situation in French North Africa, particularly in Algeria, where the Frenchman is competing with the Native for his land, is similar to that in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia.

Alienation of Land in The Belgian Congo

The land problem in the Belgian Congo is, generally speaking, not serious due to the fact that there are vast unused areas of land which are considered unsuitable for European settlement. The Belgian Congo grants concessions to European companies, but this concession policy has not been excessive. In 1937 a total area of about 5,275,000 hectares* out of a total area of 235,000,000 hectares had been alienated. In granting concessions, areas held by Africans are normally exempt unless the concessionaire can come to a direct agreement with the African. Such transactions, however, must be approved by the authorities in order to protect the African landholder against unfair dealings. As an additional safeguard against exploitation, the African has the right to contest the evidence of the transaction for a period of two years. But in spite of these protective clauses, the African land rights are not always safeguarded. African land has never been delimited, so that if concessions are granted, long disputes over land rights within a concession area often arise, and the African in most cases, the sufferer. A case in question is the *Huileries du Congo Belge*, a subsidiary of Lever Brothers, which secured a concession of 750,000 hectares in the western sections of the Belgian Congo. Within the concession area was a great amount of land held by Africans, the boundaries of which had never been defined. After the concession was granted, the Africans continued as before to use the land and its usufruct which they had always regarded as theirs. The Huileries charged, however, that the Africans were trespassing on their property. After a long dispute, a settlement was reached which secured results desirable to the company; namely, that the Africans be allowed to collect the palm-oil fruit in company territory with the provision that they must sell it to the company at prices fixed by the Government. There can be little doubt that here, as in other territories, such a land policy limiting the rights of the African has as its chief objective the forcing of Africans into the employment of European enterprises. While in this particular instance the African was not directly employed by the company, he became, in a modified form, a share cropper.

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*Editor's Note: One hectare equals 2.47 acres.

Land Problem Summarized

In the recently published *Fabian Colonial Essays* (p. 55), the land problem is summarized as follows: "It is dishonest, when discussing the availability of land in the settler countries, to talk in terms of total square mileage. There are enormous arid, barren wastes in these territories. The good land is divided up with preposterous inequity between a few hundred or a few thousand of European settlers on the one hand, and millions of African peasants on the other. The results have been inevitable and obvious. Crowded into the reserves, their cattle increasing, but still uneducated in better methods of agriculture and the preservation of the soil, still unprovided with irrigation facilities, the Africans are rapidly sucking dry the fertility of even what they have. . . . So fertility dwindles and soil erosion is today pointed to, with graving alarm, as one of the major problems."

Paris Conference of 1945 Makes Recommendation Concerning Alienation of Agricultural Lands

The importance of the land question for peoples in colonial areas has been recognized by the International Labour Organization. The Paris Conference of 1945 recommended to "the competent authorities" that they should consider "the control of the alienation of agricultural land to non-agriculturalists so as to ensure that such alienation takes place only when it is in the best interest of the territory."

DIVISION XXXII

THE AFRICAN AS A WAGE EARNER

By H. A. Wieschhoff
University of Pennsylvania

AFRICA AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

Many abuses which only a decade ago were everyday occurrences in the handling of Africans as laborers have been greatly ameliorated by the activities of the International Labour Organization. Although the organization has no right to enforce its recommendations by spotlighting various deplorable conditions, it has substantially helped in improving them. Of particular importance in this respect is the Social Policy in Dependent Territories Recommendation adopted in Philadelphia in 1944 and the Supplementary Provisions adopted in Paris in 1945. But even before the International Labour Organization had these Recommendations adopted by its member nations, it succeeded in recommending some Conventions, greatly benefitting African as well as other Colonial laborers.

Forced Labour Convention

In 1930, the Forced Labour Convention was adopted. According to this Convention "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily" was to be prohibited. Certain exceptions had been provided for; namely, compulsory military service, normal civic obligations, convict labour, labour to meet special emergencies and minor communal services. With two notable exceptions; namely, Portugal and the Union of South Africa, all African powers ratified this Convention, although some powers, notably France and Belgium made certain reservations.

Forced Labor During World War II

Unfortunately during the war forced labor even for private purposes was reintroduced in a few territories. In a 1946 report entitled, "Proposed International Labour Obligations in Respect of Non-Self-Governing Territories," the International Labour Office notes (p. 16): "During the war forced labour for private employers was authorized for certain purposes in Nigeria, Kenya and Tanganyika, while in Northern Rhodesia a conscript labour force under Government control was made available to farmers. The forced labour used in the Nigerian tin mines has already been abolished. It has now been decided that in the other territories no further men will be compulsorily recruited for private employment after 31 December 1945. Forced workers actually in contract will be required to complete their contract periods, but the whole system will be liquidated not later than 30 September 1946. On 30 September 1945, the number of forced workers in employment in Kenya was 18,765; and in Tanganyika 29,450. The same date has been fixed for the end of compulsion in Northern Rhodesia. As regards the particular crops involved, the decision is that forced labour for private employers shall cease by 30 September 1946 in the cases of sisal and of essential food-stuffs for local consumption, and by 31 March 1946 for all other purposes."

Recruiting Convention

In 1936, the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention was adopted. It prohibits "all operations undertaken with the object of obtaining or supplying the labour of persons who do not spontaneously offer their services at the place of employment or at a public emigration or employment office or at an office conducted by an employers' organization and supervised by the competent authority."

Of all States concerned with Africa only Great Britain has ratified this Convention. Regarding the recruiting of laborers in the African territories administered by States which did not ratify this Convention, the International Labour Office (*op. cit.*) writes: "In the Belgian Congo the Government at one time assisted recruiting operations. The organization of recruiting is among the functions entrusted to the Labour Office which was set up by Order of 16 November 1922, but this Office was concerned with the engagement of workers for public works. Secondly, Native authorities were expected to assist in recruiting and received bonuses for the recruits supplied. A Circular of 29 March 1938, however, deprecated the payment of bonuses and provided that if given they should go to community funds. Furthermore, instructions of the Minister for the Colonies dated 13 July 1932 forbade the practice of allowing Government officers to accompany recruiting agents. It was specifically stated in these instructions: 'As regards recruiting, the rules safeguarding freedom of choice of workers must be scrupulously respected. Apart from energetic and continuous propaganda of a general character addressed to the Natives, so as to make them understand that it is in their interest to increase their capacities of production and consumption, any intervention by the administration must be forbidden.'

"The legal situation regarding the intervention of chiefs in recruiting has been summarized as follows: 'A chief who sends his Natives to accept employment in an undertaking situated at a greater distance than 25 kilometres (i. e., the distance constituting a recruiting operation) and who receives remuneration for this will come under the application of the Decree and be treated as a recruiter.'

"Necessarily, the wartime legislation permitting the compulsion of labour has overriden these instructions, but will presumably cease to operate with the cessation of emergency production. At the same time the standards of administrative safeguards appear to be in harmony with the Convention, although the recruiting agent is not definitely required to act solely as the agent of specified employers. The basic legislation, which dates from 1922, requires recruiting agents to obtain permits which under an amendment passed in 1940, are issued by the authorities in the district of recruiting on the recommendation of the authorities in the district of employment. Before forwarding recruits to the place of employment the agent is required to conclude a provisional contract of engagement, which offers certain guarantees to the worker, but which does not impose on him the obligations of the final contract. No worker may be recruited or engaged unless medically certified as fit for the proposed employment. From the time the worker leaves his village the recruiting agent is required to provide for his traveling expenses and for his maintenance during the journey. The care taken of the recruited worker during the journey and in his acclimatization to employment have won a high reputation for the principal employers in the Belgian Congo.

"In the case of France, the question of the degree of intervention of Government officials in recruiting operations has been answered differently in different circumstances. A Cameroons Decree of 1925 declared that 'an administrative authority shall not intervene in the recruiting of workers destined for private persons or private undertakings, except to supervise' the conditions of recruiting. It was later emphasized, however, that this 'non-intervention prescribed by the law should never be carried as far as abstention.' A later Decree of 7 January 1944, while enunciating the worker's right to choose between employment and independent production, laid down as a requirement the performance of the social duty of labour. The 1945 African Labour Code has repealed this legislation as well as many of the labour laws in other African territories, under which recruiting was carried on. The new Code regulates conditions of engagement and of employment in detail. It does not, however, provide for recruiting except in so far as the act of engagement is part of recruiting operations and except by establishing the worker's right to free traveling expenses for himself and his family on engagement and repatriation. Further provisions will presumably be made by local orders as the Code makes the local Governors responsible for establishing the means of supervising engagements.

"Under Italian rule there was no special legislation concerning recruiting. The Government sought to provide an adequate labour supply by the settlement of workers under contracts of a crop-sharing character and by intervention through the Native authorities.

"The Portuguese Native Labour Code of 1928 made detailed provision for the regulations of recruiting. Subject to certain exceptions, every person desiring to recruit workers was required to hold a license, which might be refused or cancelled under certain circumstances. The provisions attempting to define the degree of intervention open to the administrative authorities are exceedingly detailed. In particular, the authorities are forbidden (1) to recruit Native workers for private employment; (2) to accompany recruiting agents in their recruiting tours; (3) to supply the agents with police or other public employees during their recruiting operations; (4) to require the agent to pay any fee not authorized by law or any bonus to themselves, their subordinates or tribal chiefs; (5) to act in any other way constituting coercion of the workers or an infringement of the liberty of action granted to agents. On the other hand, the Code lays down the moral obligation 'to procure the means of subsistence by labour' and reserves the Government's right to 'exercise benevolent supervision and tutelage' in respect of work under contracts of employment.

"In the case of the Spanish territories on the Gulf of Guinea, the only information in the possession of the Office, apart from that relating to the Treaty between the Spanish territories and Nigeria, may be out of date. For some time, however, regulations of 1906 have empowered an official body, the *Curadoria Colonial*, to assist in recruiting operations, while under a Decree of 21 June 1927 the official Chamber of Agriculture of Fernando Po was authorized through its agents to recruit workers from the mainland of Spanish Guinea."

Contracts of Employment Convention

In 1939, the International Labor Conference adopted the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention. Contract labor, a severely criticized aspect of African labour conditions, often brought about situations, indistinguishable from actual slavery. According to some practices an African affixed his signature or mark to a contract which he could not read but which forced him to stay in employment for a given period of time. Particularly notorious was contract labour in the Spanish-controlled island of Fernando Po, with its large European-owned estates. These estates secured their labor supply on the mainland, often by methods reminiscent of old slave days. Such workers when signed up for five years were bound to violate some of the trick clauses of the contract. Infringements of the contract were brought before the local courts which invariably punished the Africans by extending the contract, depriving them of their small pay, or by various other arbitrary decisions, nearly always benefitting the European enterpriser.

Such abuses are controlled by this Convention which provides protection to workers in the case of contracts for six months and more. Thus far only Great Britain has ratified the Convention, but the Labour Office states that "the principles of the Convention are generally admitted and it is doubtful whether any detail would call for modifications in legislation contrary to the policies of States concerned."

Penal Sanctions Convention

In 1939, the Penal Sanctions Convention, closely related to the Contract Employment Convention, was accepted by the International Labour Conference. In the past workers under contract were, often unjustly, penalized for (a) any refusal or failure to commence or to perform services stipulated under contract; (b) any neglect of duty or lack of diligence; (c) absence without permission or valid reason; and (d) desertion. The Convention provides that all penal sanctions for such breaches of contract shall be abolished progressively and as soon as possible, and that all penal sanctions for such breaches by a non-adult person be abolished immediately.

Thus far only Great Britain has ratified it, although so far not all British territories of Africa have applied this Convention to the letter. Regarding other African territories, the International Labour Office makes the following observations: "Penal sanctions exist in the Belgian Congo. They have been held to be necessary in order to repress acts considered contrary to the public interest. These acts include, not only refusal to comply with obligations imposed on the worker by Labour legislation, agreement or custom, but also serious or repeated offenses against labour discipline or against the rules of an undertaking.

Moreover, there is a system of civil sanctions which, providing for the grant of compensation by one party to another, may lead to coercive detention in order to obtain compensation or restitution ordered by the court. In cases connected with contracts of employment, fines may be inflicted or imprisonment in lieu of payment of fines. If an action is harmful both to the public interest and the private interests of some individual, penal sanctions and civil sanctions may both be imposed. For example, wilful breach of contract has been considered to effect not only the interests of the employer but also those of the public.

"A widespread system of penal sanctions is also to be found in the Union of South Africa, where large numbers of Africans are employed from Mozambique and from the British South and Central African dependencies. A number of offenses constituting breach of contract and leading to fine or imprisonment are contained in the special legislation applicable to the employment of Native Africans on mines and works, in the provincial masters and servants legislation and in special legislation, such as that relating to Natives engaged for agricultural work in return for farming privileges Typical provincial legislation is that of the Cape Province, which provides that a servant is liable on conviction to a fine of £1 or in default of payment to a maximum term of imprisonment of one month for a number of offenses, including failure to commence service without lawful cause, absence without leave, and neglect of duty. For more serious offenses which include desertion, a fine of £3 may be imposed or imprisonment for two months without the option of a fine. For Native labourers on mines and works, the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 provides for the imposition of a fine of £2 on conviction for neglect of duty, intoxication during working hours, refusal to obey lawful orders, abusive language, or breach of rules prescribed for order, discipline or health. A fine of £10 or, in default of payment, imprisonment for two months may be imposed on conviction for desertion, absence without leave, failure to enter or carry out service, wilful injury or danger to persons or property, and the improper acceptance of advances.

"In the French African territories, although penal sanctions in the sense of a penalty imposed simply on account of failure to fulfill a contract of employment were unknown, the penal legislation and the system of coercive detention in the event of failure to fulfill the directions of a court or to pay compensation for failure to fulfill a civil obligation meant that in practice the worker was bound by something approaching a penal system. In 1945, African Labour Code repeals much of the existing legislation. It nevertheless provides that the non-execution by an African of civil judgments pronounced against him in regard to the hire of his services may render him liable to coercive detention for a period not exceeding one month. The fact of failure may be established by a public official on verbal complaint alone.

"The Portuguese Native Labour Code makes provision for penal sanctions for a certain number of offenses including breach of contract and disciplinary offenses. The first group includes refusal to work, negligence or lack of diligence and absence from employment without the employer's permission. The penalty for such offenses may involve imprisonment for a year. A similar penalty is attached to disciplinary offenses, which include disobedience of legal orders, fomenting or attempting to foment disturbances in work places, and habitual drunkenness. Other acts for which penal sanctions may be applied include failure to make good wilful loss or damage caused to the employer or his property, failure to accept deductions from wages as permitted by the authorities, and other misdemeanors of a public character. In addition, a penalty of hard labour for not more than 160 days may be inflicted for any infringement of the Code for which no special penalty is prescribed. Moreover, employers are entitled to claim compensation by means of deductions from wages for any expenditure in which they may be involved as a result of workers leaving their employment or committing wilful damage."

Social Policy in Dependent Territories Recommendation, 1944 and 1945

Any detailed discussion of the Recommendations adopted at the Philadelphia and Paris Labour Conferences, referred to above, would be too lengthy for reproduction here. *The International Labour Review* (Vol. 50, July 1944, pp. 25-26) has summarized the 1944 Philadelphia Conference thus: "The general principles mark: (1) the broad aims of policy in dependent territories; (2) the importance of economic policy in laying the foundations of social progress; (3) the general purposes of social policy; (4) the necessity of associating the peoples of the dependent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress. The minimum standards reaffirm, in the first place, certain generally accepted standards of policy, such as the suppression of slavery and opium-smoking. The next draw attention to past decisions of the International Labour Conference primarily affecting dependent territories—for example, those on the prohibition of forced or compulsory labour, the regulation of recruiting, the regulation of certain special types of contracts of employment, and the suppression of penal sanctions for labour offenses. Succeeding provisions cover questions relating to the employment of children and other young persons, linking these questions with the general aim of the progressive development of broad systems of education. A section on the employment of women similarly contains certain principles of labour regulation and subordinates these principles to the aim of the raising of the status of women. General guiding principles are next included concerning remuneration, health, housing and social security. A succeeding section aims at the prohibition of colour and religious bars and other discriminatory practices. This is followed by a general statement on the principle of labour inspection. Finally, the minimum standards lay down policies for the protection and development of industrial organizations and of cooperative organizations."

Since the Philadelphia Conference did not have time to consider all of the provisions submitted by the Office, it was agreed that the work be continued at the Paris Conference in 1945. *African Transcripts* (No. 6, 1945, pp. 193-195) evaluates the Paris Conference as follows: "The Committee of the International Labour Conference entrusted with forming the Recommendation on Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories (Supplemental Provisions) have successfully accomplished their task and propose that the Conference adopt a Recommendation which is substantially the same in all its essential features as the preliminary draft prepared by the I. L. O. While this outcome is above all a tribute to the skillful preparatory work of the Colonial Section of the I. L. O., the results of the Committee's deliberations could have been much less favorable to dependent peoples, had the Committee failed to secure the progressive leadership displayed by the Workers' delegates and the Government representatives of Mexico and the United States.

"Following its organization, the Committee devoted a session to discussion of the steps taken by various States' Members to apply the Philadelphia Recommendation on Social Policy in their respective dependencies and to a consideration of general questions relating to the advancement of social policy measures. During this session several matters of general interest to colonial people were discussed. The Nigerian Workers' Member expressed his concern over the possible implications contained in the phrase, 'dependent territories.' He challenged any interpretation of this phrase which implied that the people of these areas were in any way inferior and thereby unfitted for democratic procedure. Supporting this view, the Chilean Workers Member questioned the advisability of distinguishing between any peoples of the world and drew attention to the principle of the equality of all peoples laid down at San Francisco. The Employers Member from France also considered the phrase unfortunate and in violation of the spirit of French policy which seeks to emphasize that the ties between the *metropole* and France overseas are based on material and sentimental interests and not upon a feeling of superiority on the part of one and inferiority on the part of the other. The Representative of the Secretary General of the I. L. O. sought to impress upon those who had just spoken that the standards to be considered for dependent areas were not considered as standards for inferior peoples, but were an attempt to secure recognition of the special responsibility which States had for advancing the well-being of certain peoples. Dependent status instead of inferring inferiority of position merely recognizes that in the conduct of international affairs certain territories depended on the metropolitan country.

“Related to the previous question was the demand by the Nigerian, Indian and French Cameroon Workers members that steps be taken to broaden the representation of dependent areas at I. L. O. sessions. After various delegates had pointed to the existence of organized labor and organized employer groups in such territories and to the prominent part which colonial labor departments and labor inspectorates were playing in advancing the social welfare in the dependencies, the committee adopted a resolution requesting the Selection Committee, or any other appropriate committee of the I. L. O., to explore the possibility of including representatives of the aforementioned bodies among the delegates to future sessions of the International Labour Conference.

“Probably the most important point raised during the preliminary discussions pertained to the advisability of transforming the Philadelphia Recommendation into a more binding instrument through its adoption as a Convention. While no conclusion was reached on this question by the end of the session it was later decided, on a motion of the Australian Government, to request the Governing Board of the I. L. O. to place on the agenda of the next General Session the question of minimum standards of social policy to dependent territories suitable for a Convention.

“When the Committee approached the problem of considering the composition of the Recommendation which it would propose for adoption by the conference, a notable degree of unanimity on the content of the various articles appeared to exist among the delegates. The only attempt to alter the preliminary draft prepared by the I. L. O. in consultation with States Members to the extent of deleting an entire section arose over Section 2, relating to the labor aspects of land policies. Both the British employer Member and the French Government Member, who proposed the removal of the section, were quick to underscore the fact that their opposition was not motivated by a disagreement with the moral sentiments underlying the text of this section. The British desire to have the matter withdrawn arose from the feeling that due to the complexities and difficulties surrounding land problems the matter was not a proper one for discussion by the conference. The French delegate explained that his government believed the question to be outside the competence of the International Labour Conference on the basis of its interpretation of the powers of this body as pertaining only to labor questions, and to this they considered land problems in dependencies to be only indirectly related. Furthermore, France had already adopted at Brazzaville certain well defined land policies for application in their overseas territories. Minor support to these objections was given by the Government Member from South Africa who felt that the complexity of land problems might lead the Conference to propose fragmentary solutions, whereas an over-all and well integrated solution to these questions was needed. When a vote was taken the combined support of the Government Members from Australia, Belgium, United Kingdom, Mexico, United States and the Workers Members from Britain, Chile and Nigeria defeated the motion for deletion and in the final draft the Section appears in substantially the same form as in the preliminary text.

“Relatively major diversity of opinion arose over Article 6 of Section 1, proposing the establishment of the principle that equal pay be granted for equal work and that no discrimination in these matters on the basis of race, religion or sex be tolerated. In answer to a question by the French Employers Members as to the meaning of equal work, the Committee voted to define the phrase as equal wages for work of equal value rather than equal pay for work of equal effort. Strong opposition to the article was then offered by the Government Member from the Union of South Africa who at some length pointed out that the institutions of African society presented great contrasts to those of Europe and America, and therefore the adoption of the article ran great risk of interfering with Native custom which despite the impact of Western civilization remains in considerable vigor. The British Employers Member pointed out that while he did not offer an objection to the article in principle, that as yet the practice of equal pay for equal work had not been adopted in the United Kingdom. Should the Conference therefore espouse this principle the British Government would not be in a position to apply it in their dependencies before it was made applicable in the metropolitan area. In the event that the Royal Commission which is now examining this question for the United Kingdom would report favorably, then the British Government would undoubtedly approve its application in the dependencies. In opposition, two arguments were advanced. Workers Members from Australia, Belgium and France argued that it would be a grievous error in policy if respect for Native custom would be made the basis for keeping workers in a state of inferiority. The United States Government Member supported the article by pointing to certain sections of the United Nations Charter in which is displayed the great importance which the nations place on the principle of non-discrimination on the basis of race, religion and sex. At the conclusion of discussion the article was adopted with a slight amendment clarifying the meaning of the equal pay for equal work formula by including the phrase 'equal wages for work of equal quantity and equal quality.'

"Aside from the disputes on these two matters the consideration of other sections proceeded quite smoothly, and the amendments offered to the various sections can be easily summarized as revolving around two rather fundamental questions of policy. One question arising repeatedly in the discussion of various articles of the Recommendation concerned the degree to which their wording should make their application explicitly binding on the States Members concerned. The second question which frequently troubled the Committee was the latitude to be permitted in applying the articles of the Recommendation on the basis of differences in the stages of cultural development among peoples in dependent territories. Illustrative of the first point was the frequent attempt on the part of some delegates to mitigate the binding force of the articles by the insertion of such phrases as 'when and where conditions justify it,' 'as far as practicable,' and 'with due regard to the stage of social and economic development of the people concerned.' Since legislators always proceed on the assumption that the majority can be counted on to comply with the regulation even were it not placed on the statute books, and therefore in the main laws are required to compel the obedience of only a small minority of the anti-social, it is as a general principle unwise to state an enactment in such a form that those for whom it is intended are in a position to use discretion in determining whether it is applicable to their conduct. The weakness of including qualifying phrases in the articles of the Recommendation was expressed by the Australian Workers delegate as likely to lead to ambiguity and to delays in the proper application of rules and principles. Speaking in the same vein the British Workers Member stated that the phrase 'as far as practicable' appeared too frequently in the Office's text and constituted something like a suggestion that the principles to which it referred need not be applied.

"Underlying the problem of the latitude in applying the Recommendations which must be allowed for the varying stages of development of colonial peoples is the question of responsibility which colonial powers have for fostering changes in Native cultures which will advance these communities toward equal status with the so-called civilized Nations. The solution of this problem is to be found only in developing a set of principles defining the conditions under which a Colonial power is justified in protecting Native custom from the forces of change, and also those situations in which such protection cannot be considered to harmonize with the welfare of the populations of dependent areas. It is also necessary to recognize that these conditions very frequently cannot be merely qualitative in their definition but must also include some quantitative expression as to the amount of change which is advisable within a given period of time. Realizing that these are questions for which no uniform principles have been devised for guiding policy makers, it is readily understandable that differences of opinion on the part of delegates were certain to arise.

"From the amendments offered to the articles and from the discussion which these moves elicited, one secures the impression that on the two questions just noted the delegates tended to arraign themselves into conservative and progressive blocs. In almost all instances the backbone of the progressive group were the Workers Members. Frequently supporting these were the Government Members from Mexico and the United States. Dividing his support more evenly between the two was the Belgian Government representative. The most consistent proponent of the conservative viewpoint was the Government Member from South Africa. He was generally aided by the employers Members and quite frequently by the Government Members from the United Kingdom and France. Although the alignment of the delegates frequently fell in the manner just indicated and in this sense justifies the naming of progressive and conservative blocs, it is necesary to stress again that unanimity of opinion was more characteristic of the Committee's meetings than diversity."

AFRICANS AND LABOR UNIONS

"As the African becomes oriented to his situation as a wage earner, the value of labor organizations becomes more apparent, but only in recent years and in certain areas have unions made progress among African labor. Although unions have been organized in British West Africa for some time, legislation granting legal recognition to workers' organizations has been enacted only since the beginning of World War II. In Nigeria under the provision of this legislation ninety unions had been registered by the end of 1943. Membership in registered unions totalled approximately 30,000 or around 16 per cent of workers employed in European enterprises, although one union leader gives an estimate more than double this figure. A federation has also been organized, and the first convention of the Federated Trade Unions are being organized with the number and size of the organizations related to the industrial development of the territory.

"Labor in East Africa has as yet failed to recognize the advantages to be secured through unionism. Uganda has only one Native labor union and Tanganyika, despite important plantation and mining developments, remains without any organization of African workers. In the Union of South Africa the organized status of Native Labor was not recognized until 1943 and then only to a limited degree. Previous to this date Africans were not permitted to join White unions and neither the original Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 nor its amendments passed in 1937 recognized organizations of Native workers as coming within the meaning of the Act. The change has involved the inclusion of Native unions under the provisions of the above Act and has not opened White unions to African membership.

"The path of organized labor in Africa is strewn with many obstacles. At present union activities very naturally reveal the African's inexperience as a unionist. Attention has been drawn to the inept character of labor leadership, the dictatorial attitude adopted in relations with employers, and the too frequent yielding to the temptation to exploit their position for personal gain. Other criticisms apply to the rank and file of labor. The principle of collective action has not won the degree of acceptance common among workers of older industrial countries. The Natives are not well versed in democratic practices which are the foundation for successful functioning of union machinery. Class interest and the solidarity of the workers are not as yet adequately defined or recognized in the thinking of most Africans.

"The existence of separate organizations for Europeans and Africans is a break in labor solidarity detrimental to effective action by labor in dealing with employers. It is generally assumed that labor as a class has common interests, and a split in its ranks on the basis of race turns the labor-management equation into an unfortunate triangle. The antagonism between the groups which apparently rests on racial issues is much more deeply rooted. The White worker has enjoyed a monopoly over the well-paid positions, and he recognizes that Native unions may threaten all the advantages which he now holds. Those labor organizations in promoting the interests of Africans will not only attempt to open all positions to free competition regardless of race but may, if successful in their demands for improved wages for unskilled Native labor, make it impossible for industry to continue present European wage levels. As a choice between employers and their African co-workers, they frequently elect to side with the former as representing the lesser of two evils. Employers are able to use differences in the interests of White and Native workers to defeat the demands of both groups. It is also possible to interpret Native unionism as offering certain safeguards to the position of European labor and it is undoubtedly true that some White workers view the organization of African labor with favor instead of distrust. Assuming that Native unions will secure wage increases for their members which will remove existing wage differentials between African and White workers, the latter may reasonably feel more secure in their jobs with the element of price eliminated and competition based entirely upon general educational attainments and technical training which they have the greater opportunity to secure.

"Another side of the problem of organized labor is the relationship of governmental activity to the development of unionism. The wisdom of enacting legislation which will define the legal status of labor unions and regulate their activities cannot be denied. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that the majority, if not all, of these laws are created by legislative assemblies in which Africans have at best inadequate representation and little opportunity of effectively expressing either the opinion of the public or the view of the groups to be controlled by the act which is not in accord with the best traditions of democratic government. Furthermore, the recently created departments of labour in British dependencies may by over zealous action retard rather than promote the growth of the union movement."[1]

STRIKES IN AFRICA

With the expansion of industrialization and the dependence of more and more Africans on these industries for the earning of their livelihood, it becomes unavoidable that the notoriously underpaid African should attempt to improve his lot by means of strikes. There are now few major industries in Africa which have not experienced a strike by Africans and there are few territories in which strikes have not occurred. In the following, reference shall be made to a few of the most significant strikes:

Strike in the Copperbelt Of Northern Rhodesia

In 1940, the average wage for Africans at the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia was 12s. 6d. per month for surface work and 22s. 6d. a month for underground work. The average European wage was at that time over £40 per month, but many European laborers were receiving up to £70 per month. For an evaluation of these wage differences it must be kept in mind that "besides all the unskilled work, the Africans are doing a considerable amount of skilled and especially semi-skilled work. Some of them hold blasting certificates, handle pneumatic drills, drive electric haulers, assist shaft-sinking, drive lorries, and take charge of trucks. They may be paid a special bonus, ranging from 2s. 6d. to 4s. a week for such work. The Africans are well aware of the value and importance of their work, more especially as some of the Europeans are inclined to slack and to leave the major share of all hard work to the Africans. Many Europeans are simply supervisors. . . . The Africans challenged the mine management to allow them to work a competitive shift against the Europeans in order to demonstrate who really produces the copper."[2]

When in March 1940, the European mine-workers at the Nkana and Mufulira mines called a strike in support of certain demands regarding rates of pay and conditions of work, the Government intervened. The strike was settled by agreement on nearly all the matters at issue. The strikers secured most of their demands and the rest were submitted to arbitration.

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[1] Noon, J. A., in African Handbooks, No. 6, 1945.

[2] J. Lewin, The Colour Bar in the Copper Belt, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1941, pp. 4-5.

A day after the European strike came to an end, the African workers at the same mines, numbering about 15,000 declared a strike, demanding higher wages. The mine management offered an increase of 2s. 6d. per month, but the Africans who were demanding more went on strike. When some 3,000 strikers tried to prevent some 150 men who had remained at work from drawing their pay and the police tried to stop them, it caused disturbances in which 17 Africans were killed and 65 wounded. As a result of this the men returned to work, accepting the original offer.

Strike in Nigeria

In recent times the African strike which has received most prominent attention even outside the African continent was the strike in Nigeria which lasted from June 22 to August 7, 1945. The African Civil Servants Technical Workers' Union in association with sixteen other unions of workers of the transportation and communications trades demanded that retroactive to April 1, 1944, they be paid a minimum daily wage of 2s. 6d. and that higher Cost of Living Allowances, varying between £1 and £3 per month be granted to salaried employees. The Government refused to make any concessions because it was stated that "an increase in money wages will not secure any betterment in the conditions of living unless plentiful supplies of goods and food are available on which the increased wages can be spent."

Union officials found their position as potential leaders of a strike which the Government regarded as illegal, increasingly untenable. On the afternoon of June 21st, the date set for calling the strike, the leaders attempted to secure from the rank and file of the membership permission to delay this action. But they, having been brought to a determination to strike, repudiated their officials who were either dismissed or permitted to resign. Into the breach jumped Mr. Michael Imoudu, who as President of the Railway Workers Union had been in detention for the duration of the war under defense regulations and who was released only after the end of the European phase of the war. Rallying the leaderless group of workers, the General Strike was called as of midnight June 21, 1945 and it continued until August 7th, when in the face of the Government's refusal to negotiate until work was resumed, Mr. Imoudu and other leaders persuaded their men to return to their posts and put their trust in the good faith of the Government.

Following the strike, negotiations between the unions and the Government began, but they soon reached an impasse over the amount of Cost of Living Allowance to be awarded to the workers. The Government proposed an increase of 20 per cent, whereas the union demanded 50 per cent. (It should be understood that these increases were not to affect the total wage, but that portion known as Cost of Living Allowance (COLA first made in 1942). Both parties agreed to submit the question to the British Colonial Office which, in turn, appointed a Commission of Enquiry.

Like other African strikes this Nigerian strike had its political side. It was not only a strike for securing better economic conditions, it was at the same time a demonstration for the aspirations of politically articulate Nigerians, a cause particularly championed by the newspapers of the Zik Press controlled by N. Azikiwe.

On July 5, 1945, two weeks after the strike began, the Government gazetted Government Notice 776, embodying the enactment of Regulations No. 19 of 1945 under the Emergency Powers (Defense) Acts of 1939 and 1940, and the Nigeria Defense (Press) Regulations of 1945. These regulations restored more stringent controls over the press which had originally been created as war measures. On the grounds that the reporter of the *West African Pilot* and the *Daily Comet* had misrepresented statements made by the Public Relations Officer to the Press on July 5, 1945, Sir Gerald Whitely, the Officer Administering the Government of Nigeria, on July 7, 1945 banned the publication of both papers. Mr. Azikiwe succeeded in circumventing the ban on the two "Zik" papers from Warri to Lagos. Seven days after the conclusion of the strike, the *Pilot* and the *Comet* were permitted to resume publication.

The suppression of the *Pilot* and the *Comet* was only the first of a series of difficulties which the Zik's Press have encountered in operating their newspapers since the period of the general strike. On December 13, 1945 the Government cancelled its contracts with the company for the publication of all Government announcements. This action involved not only the Lagos papers (*Pilot* and *Comet*) but also the Eastern *Nigerian Guardian* (Port Harcourt), *Nigerian Spokesman* (Onitsha), and the *Southern Nigeria Defender* (Ibadan). Following an error in reporting the address of the Governor to the Legislative Council in the issue of the *West African Pilot* of December 11, 1945, Sir Arthur Richards, exercising his powers as President of the Council, barred the Press representative of the *Pilot* from sessions of the Legislative Assembly until a suitable apology was furnished. This was done on January 9, 1946 and reporters from the newspaper were permitted to return to the press table on January 23, 1946. When Zik's Press forwarded their application and fee for the renewal of their Class B wireless privileges through which they were able to provide their papers with Reuters service, the application was returned and the wireless service terminated. Upon requesting an explanation of this action, the Press was officially informed that it had violated regulations by falsely accrediting Reuters with being the source of information for certain items published during the General Strike.

It is extremely difficult to appraise objectively the justice of actions taken by the Nigerian Government against the Zik group of newspapers since, after reading the explanatory material pro and con, it would appear that neither party is setting forth a completely frank and open account. Mr. Azikiwe has stated his side of the controversy at considerable length in a pamphlet, *Suppression of the Press in British West Africa.* The Government has offered no explanation for cancelling its advertising contracts with Zik's Press and has been generally silent on other issues with the exception of its refusal to renew the wireless license, where a statement of cause was published on the demand of Mr. Azikiwe.

While an objective appraisal of the controversy is impossible, the reaction of the West African Press to the conflict between Zik and the Nigerian Administration is worthy of note. *The Nigerian Eastern Mail* (February 23, 1946), after stating that it had not always seen eye to eye with the editorial policy of the Zik group of newspapers, and after expressing honest doubt regarding the position of Azikiwe on several of the matters at issue concludes: "In the circumstances, morally, as an African and a lover of freedom especially the freedom of the press, we have no option but to endorse the appeal of Zik's Press and to send our own small mite in protest against what appears to be unjust and tyrannous persecution of one whose undoubted talents command the admiration of all West Africans.

"For some time our government has shown an extraordinary capacity for doing the tactless thing, the thing that will cause the greatest public ill-feeling, last manifested in the scandalous attempt of his Excellency in his Lagos address in December to bully and terrorize Government workers who might feel justified in calling a strike. The tone of our Government seems to be becoming harshly autocratic and contemptuous of public opinion."

The *Gold Coast Observer* (February 15, 1946) links the retaliatory action of the Government against the Zik newspapers to the growth of Nigerian nationalism: "Nigeria, like the Gold Coast, must have its growing pains, and the share of the Government in that growth is to put up with it—with the living sense of growth. To strain the political machine to the point of penalizing a Colonial newspaper from participating in any benefits and sources of enlightenment that the Government has in its power to offer, seems to us directly to hasten the day of the 'pupils' becoming 'students.'

". . . We believe that to avoid creating African Stalins the best course in British colonies might be not to antagonize popular leaders. It never pays in the long run."

Uganda Strike

Different motives were underlying the strike in Uganda in January of 1945. Here also, economic and political considerations were blended. The strike which started on January 8, 1945 when laborers of the Public Works Department at Masaka did not return to work, spread over many sections of the country and was accompanied by riots which resulted in the death of several Africans. Following the re-establishment of order the government appointed Sir Norman Whitley, Chief Justice of Uganda, to make an inquiry into the problems underlying the strike. The results of this were published in a *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances which Occurred in Uganda during January 1945*. This report which is of course an official report, stresses the point that the economic factors, such as inflation and the delay in making cost of living wage adjustments were of minor importance. The pertinent political factors behind the riots, the report explains, revolve around the twin points of discontent, namely, the conduct of Native administration which was prevalent among certain elements of the African population and the intrigue existing among the ministers of the Kabaka of Buganda. Under the hereditary principle by which the selection of Native rulers is determined, two classes, which have attained new importance in African society, are left without adequate representation in the Native system of Government. These classes are the peasants and the intelligentsia, the latter of which consists of school teachers, clerks, and holders of minor posts in the Colonial Government. The inconsistency between their political position and their socio-economic status is, therefore, a constant irritation. The educated African particularly is aware of the fact that the selection of chiefs on a hereditary basis fails to guarantee that the person most fitted for the post is chosen, and therefore the office of chief has tended to lose its prestige and the incumbent to lose his authority in the eyes of a considerable portion of the Native population. In view of the evidence which he had collected on this point, the Commissioner was disposed to believe that the members of these two classes participated more or less actively in the disturbances.

The intrigue among the ministers of the Kabaka which the Commissioner believes to be the most important political factor behind the disturbances, may be traced to the regency which ruled during the minority of Mutesa, the present Kabaka of Buganda. Kulubya, the Omuqanika or treasurer of Buganda, was one of three regents who ruled in the place of the Kabaka between 1939 and 1942. The Government of the regency was extremely capable, firm and impartial in policy and thereby gained the resentment of many less scrupulous and self-seeking chiefs and office holders. Shortly after the Kabaka attained his majority, the Katikire or prime minister, also one of the regents, resigned and was succeeded in office by Samwari Wamala who had served efficiently as a saza chief. In the Commissioner's opinion the new prime minister failed to measure up to the duties of his new office. Conscious of his shortcomings and in fear of being replaced by Kulubya, who had retained the office of treasurer and was the strong man of the Government, he actively plotted the overthrow of his rival. It is quite possible that following the failure of the Katikire to achieve this end through representations presented to the Kabaka from the Lukiko (Council) and the saza chiefs, he fomented the January riots as a last hope for securing Kulubya's dismissal. Supporting this opinion is the fact that the severity of the disturbances declined following the Kabaka's announcement of the treasurer's resignation.

If there was any doubt regarding the political implications in the Buganda strike, they were removed when on September 5, 1945, Martin Luther Nsibirwa, Katikiro (Prime Minister) of Buganda was assassinated. He, like others, was regarded by anti-British elements of the African population as a Quisling, selling out the land and minerals of their country to British interests.

Strike in Liberia

With the walkout of Liberian workers employed by the Raymond Concrete Pile Company and the United States Navy constructing the port and harbor of Monrovia, on December 15, 1945, Liberia experienced its first strike. Here the strike issue was a wage difference between employees hired locally and foreign workers who had been brought into the country for the port development (see also division on Liberia). In seeking adjustment in the wages paid to local and foreign workers, the Liberians contended that the wage differential should not exceed the 20 per cent allowances for overseas service. Instances in which existing wage scales violated this principle were cited. A foreign employee driving a Euclid truck was said to receive $2.08 per hour, whereas the Liberian driver was paid only $1.25 per day. While no Liberian technician received above $300 per month, foreign timekeepers and general clerks were paid the same amount as a beginning wage. Another aspect of the wage dissatisfaction arose in connection with payment for overtime. Overtime pay according to Liberian law begins after an employee works in excess of forty-eight hours a week. The striking Liberians charged that local labor had worked as high as eighty-four hours without additional compensation for the excess time, whereas foreign workers regularly received added pay in their "already fabulous salaries" whenever their hours exceeded the legal work-week.

Other issues involved in the strike included the provisions for medical care, the absence of accident insurance, and the denial of canteen privileges to Native workers. The Liberians stated that the company provided medical attention for them only for injuries received in connection with their work. Imported workers, however, were given attention for any and all complaints except venereal disease. Also cited by the workers was the Jim-Crow policy followed in the company's camp hospital. The canteen operated by the company sells merchandise which, according to an agreement between the company and the Government, is imported free of duty. Foreign employees, who were alone permitted to patronize the canteen, were thus able to effect considerable savings in their purchases, while the Liberians, paid on a lower scale to start with, were denied this opportunity.

The reported terms of settlement include a 25 per cent rise in wages, the payment of time and a half for overtime, insurance coverage based on American rates, improved medical attention, and the privilege of purchasing goods at the canteen. Furthermore, on the conclusion of twelve months' service a vacation is to be allowed. One of the strike leaders, Mr. Morris Massaquoi, was engaged by the company as a public relations officer in the hope that labor relations may be improved and further difficulties settled before the strike stage is reached.

DIVISION XXXIII

AFRICA AND THE GREAT POWERS

By H. A. Wieschhoff
University of Pennsylvania

AFRICAN PEOPLES AND THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

The Charter of the United Nations which was adopted at San Francisco on June 26, 1945 establishes principles which in the future will govern the administration of politically dependent, or so-called non-self-governing territories. It must be obvious that those chapters of the Charter dealing with non-self-governing territories are the result of compromises between the viewpoints of those powers holding colonies and those without colonies, and that therefore, it will be easy to point to many shortcomings, particularly if the Charter's provisions should be compared with those ideals and principles which many had hoped would be recognized in a new world charter. Consequently, there are some who regard the Charter's colonial principles as too advanced and others who deplore it for not being progressive enough.

Any general evaluation of the articles dealing with the non-self-governing territories must emphasize the fact that members of the dependent territories had no official representation and consequently had no opportunity to express their own opinion affecting their future. Although realizing that the admission of non-sovereign States would present some legal and technical difficulties, it must nevertheless be recognized that the non-representation of colonial peoples has given them a moral right to regard the charter as something which is forced upon them. Thus they will not feel that obligation towards the charter which may be held by those who were fully recognized partners.

The colonial provisions of the Charter fall into two parts, namely, those embodied in Chapter XI and those of the Chapters XII and XIII.

Provisions Concerning Colonial Areas in General

Chapter XI of the Charter contains the "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories" in general which is applicable to all non-independent territories of Africa. Ralph J. Bunche (*The Department of State Bulletin* Vol. XIII, 1945, p. 1040) states that this declaration "is a unique international instrument in that it constitutes, in effect, an international charter of colonial administration. This chapter applies to all dependent territories of members of the United Nations. States responsible for the administration of dependent territories undertake to base their policies of administration upon certain fundamental principles. The paramountcy of the interests of the inhabitants of the territories was recognized for the first time in an international agreement. The administering authorities accept the obligation to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants and the development of their free political institutions, and to recognize their political aspirations. Chapter XL further incorporates a formal commitment on the part of administering states to submit to the Organization (United Nations) information on the economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories under their control."

To this may be added that the wording of the two articles of this chapter is essentially in accordance with statements which have been made by officials of colonial powers, so that this "declaration" may be regarded as more or less the common denominator of those policies to which the major powers have in theory adhered in the past. Reference to "self-government," "the political aspirations of the people," "the progressive development of their free political institutions," will easily be harmonized with the professed policies of all colonial powers, particularly so when interpreted in the light of the qualifying sentence of Article 73 (b) which reads, "according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement." For an evaluation of these provisions it is not without significance that during the deliberations at San Francisco there was a wide area of disagreement regarding the political objective for non-self-governing territories. Whereas some nations insisted that "independence" or "self-determinations" should be proclaimed as the ultimate political goal, others, particularly the colonial powers, ,took a strong stand against it. Thus the word "independence" does not appear in the final drafting of this chapter.

Provisions Concerning Trusteeship

Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter establish an International Trusteeship System which, according to Article 77, *may* apply to (a) territories held under mandate of the League of Nations (in Africa: Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, Cameroon, Togo, South West Africa); (b) territories which may be detached from enemy States as a result of the second World War (in Africa: the former Italian colonies; namely, Italian Somaliland, Eritrea, Libya); (c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by States responsible for their administration.

The trusteeship principle is rightly regarded as a continuation of the mandates principle as established after the first world war. It is generally felt that it is, however, an improvement on the latter. As Bunche (*op. cit.*) states: "The new system preserves the principle of international responsibility for the trust territories which will be created, while making entirely realistic provisions for security needs.

"The trusteeship system has an elasticity which the mandates system lacked. . . . Each trust territory under the new system will be administered according to an agreement which has been tailored to the individual circumstances and needs of that territory. This is in recognition of the very great diversity characteristic of the dependent territories with respect to population, resources, geographical location, and stage of advancement of the people.

"The new system also makes possible the transfer of colonies to the trusteeship system by the voluntary action of the metropolitan state. No such possibility existed in the mandates system.

"The Trusteeship Council, functioning under the authority of the General Assembly, is designed to be a more important and effective organ than the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League. It is designated as a principal organ of the United Nations Organization. Its membership will be composed of official representatives of states, and it should prove better equipped than was the Mandates Commission to deal with the political problems which constitute so large a portion of the problems of the trust territories.

"The prestige and authority of the Trusteeship Council should certainly be greater than that enjoyed by the Mandates Commission, and its recommendations should carry correspondingly more weight. Moreover, article 81 of the Charter provides that the Organization itself may be designated as the administering authority in trusteeship agreements. In that event the Trusteeship Council, acting on behalf of the General Assembly, would shoulder direct responsibility of administration.

"In the trusteeship system more emphasis is placed on the positive promotion of the welfare of the inhabitants of the trust territories than under the mandates system. The new system introduces periodic visits by representatives of the Organization to the trust territories, which was not possible under the old. The power to accept and examine petitions, oral as well as written, which was practiced by the mandates system with respect to written petitions but which was not included in the Covenant of the League of Nations, is formalized in the Charter.

"The trusteeship system also provides that equal economic and commercial opportunities must be extended to the nationals of all members of the United Nations unless this prejudices the economic and social advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories. No such qualification was made in the mandates system.

"Finally, the General Assembly of the United Nations is given important functions which were not attributed to the Assembly of the League of Nations in connection with the mandates. In addition, under article 87 (d) new functions relating to the trusteeship system may be given to both the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council."

It must be realized, however, that there may be a cleavage between the words of the charter and the translation of these words into reality. Although with the exception of the Union of South Africa all the other mandatory powers have agreed to the transfer of their mandates to the Trusteeship System of the United Nations, the condition under which the colonial powers are willing to do so are such as to leave unchanged the fundamental relationship between mandate and mandatory power. As *African Transcripts* (March, 1946) stated: "None of these countries (unmandatory powers) expect that the transfer of the mandated territories from the supervision of the League of Nations to the jurisdiction of the United Nations Organization will involve any fundamental change. The Charter itself (Articles 77.2, 79, 80, 81) grants to the present mandatory powers in connection with 'the states directly concerned' the right to determine the terms under which the mandates will be transferred to the United Nations Organization. Indications are that the terms under which the transfer will be agreed to by the present mandatory powers are such as to perpetuate the present position of the mandated territories."

France, in expressing her readiness to submit Togo and Cameroon to the United Nations Organization made the important proviso that this transfer "*shall not entail for the population concerned any diminution in the rights which they enjoy by reason of their integration into the French Community.*" The British attitude is not very dissimilar. In a debate in the House of Commons (January 23, 1946) the British Prime Minister stated that the draft terms of trusteeship as submitted by Great Britain "*are based, generally speaking, on the mandates, but revised to bring them into conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.*" Elaborating on the status of the people in the British held mandates, the Prime Minister said: "*They are, however, and will continue to be 'British protected persons' of exactly the same status as are the inhabitants of any British Protectorate not under mandate or Trusteeship.*"

The present mandatory powers are insisting on "undivided responsibility" for the mandated territories and the welfare of the people inhabiting them. They insist on drafting the trusteeship agreements in such a way as not to jeopardize the rights previously held. Thus, General Smuts, speaking before the South African House of Assembly on February 7, 1946, stated: "No mandated territory, no conquered territory, no new territory of any kind will come under the jurisdiction of the Trusteeship Council, except by agreement between those concerned. Without such agreement between the Powers concerned no changes will be made."

Such emphasis on the terms of the trusteeship will be regarded as evasions of the trusteeship principle. But Smuts' statement reflects the situation as it actually exists at this time. Irrespective of any idealistic consideration, it is a fact that the mandatory powers are determining the future status of the mandates. The agreements for Tanganyika, British Togo and British Cameroon as published in July of 1946 cannot be regarded as any improvement over the mandates system.

South West Africa and Annexation

Under the trusteeship provisions the Union of South Africa, mandatory power in South West Africa, feels even justified to withhold this territory from trusteeship. At the San Francisco Conference the Union's delegate gave notice to the Trusteeship Committee that the Union's government intended to demand the termination of the present mandate over South West Africa and would incorporate this territory into the Union. Although such an announcement was not at all in order, inasmuch as neither the Committee nor the Conference had any jurisdiction regarding such requests, the step was made in order to bring pressure on the Committee, so as to find a formula under which the status of former mandates may be changed.

Since then South Africa has pressed this point time and time again. It is claimed that conditions in South West Africa differ from those in other African mandates and, moreover, that the inhabitants of the territory would favor annexation. There is no doubt that the small European minority of South West Africa would be inclined to support territorial fusion, but the African majority, the most important element in the territory has not had an opportunity to express an opinion. Although the Union's representatives claim that the Africans endorse the policy of annexation, such a claim must remain doubtful until the time when an unbiased and uncontrolled check of African opinion has been made. Thus far the Union government has not found it advisable to permit a sampling of opinion by even those of its own nationals such as members of the South African Institute of Race Relations which enjoys a high reputation of objectivity. Such an attitude on the part of the Union government naturally gives rise to suspicion with respect to the data which will be presented by Union officials. It would indeed be surprising if in view of the color bar policy of the Union the Ovambo and related tribes of South West Africa would willingly submit themselves to a policy of racial discrimination.*

Africans' Attitude Toward Colonial Provision of United Nations Charter.

Africans, as far as they express their opinions in the African press, are not too positive with respect to the new colonial provisions of the Charter. As has been stated above, the fact that they were not consulted in the matters which affect them so vitally, has been regarded as an indication that they could not expect too much. Thus, on the days of the opening of the San Francisco Conference, April 25, 1945, an editorial in the *West African Pilot* stated: "We are pessimistic because there is no new deal for the black man. . . . We are worried about San Francisco because colonialism and economic enslavement of the African are to be maintained. . . . We shall not be happy until the world is rescued from its half slavery and half freedom. God grant this miracle happens at San Francisco."

And then again on June 4, 1945 the *Pilot* made the following editorial comment on the closing of the San Francisco Conference. "Last Saturday, the curtain fell at the World's Security Conference at San Francisco and history has been made. Whether or not the United Nations Charter which, according to Mr. Stettinius, would be 'strong in powers to prevent aggression and develop economic and social conditions which will reduce the causes of war' this generation and, perhaps, generations yet unborn will testify. The fate of the League of Nations is still a living testimony of the international vaccillations of the great powers.

"We the unrepresented millions have sat and watched the 'power politics' of the plutocrats. An almost unsubconscious revival of a litany of diplomatic platitudes like 'trusteeship,' 'welfare of colonial peoples,' 'strategic bases,' 'game of discovering formula,' have featured the discussions at San Francisco. Annexation by force, crucifixion of member states, and warring among states of the United Nations, Soviet Russia demanding the right of self-determination for colonies—these are some expedients of the conference.

"We have watched, but not like dumb driven cattle. We have registered our strongest protest at the determination of our destinies without our representation. The representative of the African Academy of Arts has asked for independence for Nigeria and coloured leaders have demanded independence for the colonies.

"It is a matter of the greatest concern that we colonial people should be ignored with such impunity by the supermen in whose hands sway the rod of empire. But any critical observer of the signs of the times could predict with sufficient accuracy that the hour is at hand when the views, wishes and aspirations of the dependent peoples could no longer be disregarded without serious repercussions. If the dream of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, is to come to pass, then the coloured races must be reckoned with, at no distant date at the conference tables of the greats and the near-greats."

The *Daily Service* (May 26, 1945) gives forth with the same cry: "The irrepressible die-hard Tories seem to have won a spectacular victory at San Francisco and the world has once more returned to terrific scramble for colonial territories and spheres of influence. San Francisco has succeeded in laying the foundation for another world war. New life has been infused into predatory imperialism. . . . The War which . . . was fought to re-establish freedom of man has now turned into one won for the acquisition of further territories. . . . Were we not even officially informed at one time that colonies would not be discussed at San Francisco? The friction at Frisco is an ominous sign and may be the beginning of a future rupture in international affairs."

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*Editor's Note: The United Nations General Assembly on December 14, 1946 disapproved the Union of South Africa's proposal to annex South West Africa and requested South Africa to submit a United Nations trusteeship agreement for the territory. It thus was a "denial" of South Africa's proposal for annexation of South West Africa territory.

One month after the last session of the San Francisco Conference, the *Daily Service* (July 23, 1945) stated in an editorial ". . . It yet remains to be seen whether the Frisco Conference is not in fact a fiasco, since the fundamental factors essential to its success have been flagrantly ignored.

"The people of the Colonies are yet to be convinced that the Atlantic Charter is not in reality, Atlantic Chatter, since there have been many contradictory and conflicting statements about its purpose. One thing has, at least, been made clear; the Charter will not be applicable to the people of the Colonies. In other words, the colonials have no guarantee of security, liberty and freedom as the so-called civilized people of the United Kingdom and other parts of Europe, America, Russia, China and others. . . .

"All conferences, meetings, agreements, and other efforts for lasting peace in the world must necessarily fail, unless they are based strictly on justice, absolute justice and fair play for *all*."

THE DISPOSITION OF THE ITALIAN COLONIES

Before the War, Italy controlled three territories in Africa; namely, Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. (Discounting naturally the short-lived Italian control of Ethiopia). Since the defeat of Italy, it has been obvious that Italy should not retain the control over these territories, although there are some who have advocated the return to Italy of those colonies acquired before Mussolini's ascent to power.

When the United Nations Charter was drafted, it was very generally assumed that the Italian colonies would become trust territories which in the wording of Article 76, were to be established "to further international peace and security." The major powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France, charged with the primary responsibility of drafting the peace agreement with Italy appear to agree in general that the Italian colonies be placed under the Trusteeship Council to be organized under the United Nations. But there is far-reaching disagreement as to which power should exercise the immediate control over the territories. In the course of the two Paris meetings of the Foreign Ministers of the four major powers, different proposals have been made. The United States originally advocated a collective trusteeship under the direct administration of the Trusteeship Council. This proposal which took mild cognizance of Ethiopia's aspirations with respect to Eritrea (see Ethiopia Since the War), also provided that Libya be given independence within ten years.

Great Britain recommended immediate independence for the whole of Libya, the establishment of a united Somaliland (namely, the bringing together of British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland and the Ogaden region of Ethiopia) to be placed under British Trusteeship administration. These recommendations provided Ethiopia's expansion in Eritrea so as to give that Empire an outlet to the sea. In advocating immediate independence for Libya, the British Government was said to be motivated by a pledge given to the Senussi (inhabitants of the eastern section of Libya) during the war.

The French, fearful that any basic change in Italian colonies might set a bad example for the restless population of the adjacent French territories, advocate a return of the Italian colonies to Italy, but in keeping with the trend of the times, are willing to have them under Italian trusteeship administration. Collective trusteeship, as proposed by the United States, does not recommend itself to France who is none too enthusiastic about trusteeship, and an independent Libya France views with suspicion as a dangerous precedent and one not at all conducive to the political tranquility of French North Africa.

The Soviet Union originally demanded a sole trusteeship over the Tripolitanian region of Libya, but later submitted a formula according to which the Italian territories—Tripolitania, Cyrenaica (both parts of Libya), Eritrea and Italian Somaliland—would be placed under dual trusteeship. The chief administrator should be a member of the four major powers (a Russian in Tripolitania, presumably an American in Cyrenaica, a French in Eritrea and a British in Somaliland), assisted by an Italian in each case and advised by a council composed of members of interested powers, the whole to function under the United Nations. When this formula was unacceptable, the Soviet Government finally advocated the placing of Italian colonies under an Italian administered trusteeship, thus accepting more or less the original French formula.

The major powers later offered some further amendments to their proposals, hoping to narrow down their differences, but no compromise could be found. During the July meeting (1946), it became obvious that the disposition of the Italian colonies proved to be one of those problems for which the Foreign Ministers could not find a plan acceptable to all, and it was therefore proposed to postpone the settlement of this problem for another year.

The draft agreement adopted by the Foreign Ministers on July 3, 1946 provides that:

"1. Italy renounces all right and title to her territorial possessions in Africa.

"2. Pending their final disposal, said possessions shall continue under their present administration (namely, British Military Administration).

"3. Final disposal of these possessions shall be determined jointly by the four principal Allied Powers within one year of the coming into force of the present treaty (with Italy), in the manner laid down in the joint declaration of today's date (July 3, 1946) by the four principal Allied Powers."

The text of the draft of the joint declaration follows:

"1. The Council of Foreign Ministers of of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U. S. S. R. and France agree that they will, within one year from the coming into force of the peace treaty with Italy bearing this day's date, jointly determine the final disposal of Italy's territorial possessions in Africa, to which by said treaty Italy renounces all right and title.

"2. Final disposal of Territories concerned shall be made by the four powers in accordance with one or any combinations of the following solutions, whether applicable to the whole or to any part of the territories concerned, as may appear in the light of the views of the inhabitants or in the view of other interested Governments: (1) Independence, (2) Incorporation in neighboring territory, (3) Trusteeship, to be exercised either by the United Nations as a whole or by any one of the United Nations individually.

"3. In the event of the four powers being unable to agree to a solution . . . the matter shall be referred to the General Assembly of the United Nations for a recommendation and to take appropriate measures for giving effect to it, bearing in mind the pledges given to the Senussi by His Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom during the war.

"4. The deputies of the Foreign Ministers shall continue to consider the question of the disposal of former Italian colonies in Africa and are empowered to dispatch a commission of inquiry . . . with a view to ascertaining the views of the local inhabitants and to supplying the deputies with the necessary material on which to base a recommendation to the Council of Foreign Ministers regarding the ultimate solution of the question."

It is, no doubt deplorable, that no final decision has been reached, but it is better to postpone a final settlement than to accept a compromise which would not only satisfy nobody, but would violate those principles which the United Nations Charter established for the disposition of ex-enemy colonial territories. The recognition of postponement as the lesser of two evils, cannot, however, relieve the feeling of disquietude regarding the diplomatic attitude exhibited by the four powers, and since there is but little reason to assume that national policies of the major powers will change fundamentally during the next year, there is but scant assurance that the four powers will succeed then where they failed before.

THE FUTURE OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is a Condominium, under the joint control of Great Britain and Egypt. This control, first instituted in 1899, was re-affirmed in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936.

In 1945 the Egyptian government gave notice of its desire to replace the 1936 treaty by another one, which should not only end British military occupation of Egypt's strategic points, but should also alter the status of the Sudan. Egypt desired to bring about the "unity of the Nile Valley," and on May 9, 1946 both countries formally opened discussions aiming at the drafting of a new treaty.

Egyptian demands that the Sudan should become a part of the Kingdom of Egypt are opposed by the British. The attitude of the British government was set forth by the British Foreign Secretary who stated in the House of Commons on March 26, 1946: "His Majesty's Government looks forward to the day when the Sudanese will be able finally to decide their political future for themselves. It is not proposed by His Majesty's Government to influence their eventual decision in any way. His Majesty's Government have no object in the Sudan other than the true welfare of the Sudanese," and he added: "The welfare of the Sudanese cannot be secured unless a stable and disinterested administration is maintained in the Sudan. The object of such an administration must be to establish organs of self-government as a first step towards eventual independence." Therefore, the British Foreign Minister concluded that his government found it advisable "that no change should be made in the status of the Sudan as a result of treaty revisions until the Sudanese have been consulted through constitution channels."

Egypt cannot claim any deep rooted ethnic relationship to the Sudan. While the northern provinces of the Sudan are Mohammedan and Arab in cultural orientation, it is no more Egyptian than Syria, Iraq or Transjordan. The southern provinces, on the other hand, are non-Moslem and African in culture. Historical evidence will not at all support Egyptian demand for "unity." During the better part of the last century Egyptians exploited and sold into slavery the inhabitants of the northern Sudan, just as these treated with cruelty and contempt the Africans of the south. But disproving Egyptian "rights" to the Sudan does not mean an advocacy of continued hegemony of Great Britain in the affairs of the Sudan. The key to the political solution of the Sudan must be the attitude of the local population.

What do the inhabitants of the Sudan desire? It must be realized that of the total population of 6,500,000, not more than 100,000 are politically articulate; the great majority of them keep on living in their traditional way and this includes almost all of the 2,500,000 inhabiting the south. Those Sudanese who are concerned about the political status of the country are as a rule supporting the Self-Rule movement. "Sudan for the Sudanese" is an accepted slogan among most of the educated, who are organized in the "Graduates' General Congress," an organization which originally combined those who had the privilege of an education, although the Congress is said to have been thrown open to all. Congress ranks are now divided with respect to the Sudan's relation to Egypt, some favoring closer relations called unions and others insisting on "amalgamation." As the London *Economist* explains: "Sudanese draw a distinction between 'amalgamation' and 'union'. They see the latter as compatible with the self-government which they all desire. Opinion is divided, however, as to the form that union should take. The western Sudanese, led by the wealthy Sayyid Sir Abdel Rahman el Mahdi Pasha, speak through the Umma or Nationalist party, which wants 'a union in which the two partners enjoy internal and external autonomy'—apparently a bond of the type that links Syria and the Lebanon, and amounts to total independence. The rival Ashigga party, based on the orthodox Moslems of the north and east, is led by the Sudan's other grand old man, the devout Sayyid Sir Ali el Mirghani Pasha, and would like a 'union with Egypt under the Egyptian crown.' Its plan, if examined, reveals that a crown connection of a tenuous type is envisaged. The proposal seems to be a reflection of the party's fear that total home rule might end in leadership of orthodox members of the faithful by a Mahdist. Though the parties have produced one joint resolution they show, for the present, no real unity of view. Opinion is shifting from one to another of the many permutations and combinations that the word 'union' can be made to cover."

In evaluating the Sudan situation *African Transcripts* (No. 8, 1946, p. 73) states that "a fair solution of the Sudan problem cannot lie in the submission of six million people to the rule of a small intelligentsia, but neither is it to be found in the perpetuation of the present system. It cannot be said that Condominium affairs have been handled badly during the last decade, but it may reasonably be doubted whether from now on training in self-government should be continued by powers with strategic interests and who, national interests being what they are, might subordinate the political aspirations of the local population to their own national affairs." Therefore, the same journal in an earlier issue (No. 7, 1946, p. 40) stated: "There appears to be an appropriate alternative in offering the territory to the control of the Trusteeship Council (of the United Nations), because such a body, if functioning as is hoped, may best guarantee the continued advance towards Sudanese self-government."

This is also the view of *The World Today* (June 1945, p. 285) which stated that, "It is most unlikely that dependence on Egypt, even if it were acceptable to the bulk of the Sudanese, would be more than a transitory phase. It is difficult to see what advantages it would confer, and it would almost certainly be thrown off sooner or later. If, on the other hand, Sudanese delegates press for a completely independent Sudan State, few will challenge the principle. The main point of difference would rest on the rapidity with which it can be brought about. The Sudanese would probably claim that independence could be granted earlier than the British consider advisable. If the Sudanese err on the side of excessive haste, the British are just as likely to err on the side of excessive caution.

". . . the Sudan should be regarded as an interim trusteeship for which the British and Egyptian Governments are jointly responsible to the United Nations. Any major dispute between the parties to the Condominium should be referred to the Trusteeship Council for settlement, and this body should also be authorized to see that sufficient progress is made towards Sudanese independence. It should make recommendations if it considers that the 'time-table' referred to above should be accelerated or retarded in the interests of the Sudanese."

DIVISION XXXIV

THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA

By H. A. Wieschhoff
University of Pennsylvania

AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH AFRICA OUTLINED

American relations with Africa were outlined in 1943 by Henry S. Villard, Chief of the African Division of the United States Department of State (*The Department of State Bulletin*, August 21, 1943, IX, pp. 103-109). In an address to the Chatauqua Institute, he stated among other things: "We reserve to ourselves full liberty of discussion on such important questions affecting the advance of mankind. But in fairness to the colonial powers who are our allies, and for the sake of greater unity in war and peace, we would do well to reflect that we have minorities in territories under the United States flag who call for self-government. Even though many Americans may agree with them, we would scarcely welcome being advised by our allies to hasten the grant of self-government wherever it is asked. If we consider how thorny are the problems in our own territories, we will be less hasty in reaching conclusions about Africa.

"No doubt the governing powers would welcome our participation in international bodies or regional councils, should they be set up, specifically to aid in the development of Africa for the benefit of African people. As I have just pointed out, the opportunities for improvement in living standards, in education, health, and agriculture are practically without end. The governing powers have developed their colonies with limited colonial revenues. Granted that these resources have not permitted as rapid development as the British people—or as you and I—might wish, it is worth noting that the British Parliament recently voted to make available over the next 10 years sums which may amount to 55,000,000 pounds or more for the development of the British colonies. That is only a drop in the bucket of appropriations which Africa could absorb, but it is a start.

"If we wish to obtain benefits from the development of Africa, in the interest of all peoples—including the natives themselves—capital must be supplied for various purposes and from various sources; philanthropic, commercial, and perhaps international. The proof of our sincerity in fulfilling hopes awakened during these years of war will lie in our willingness to contribute to and invest in the future of Africa.

"I have mentioned the Treaty of St. Germain, signed in 1919, and known as the revising convention of previous acts on Africa. One of the provisions of the St. Germain treaty was that another international conference should be held 10 years after the treaty had gone into effect. The purpose of the second meeting would be to introduce such modifications as experience might have shown to be necessary. In the decade before the outbreak of the present war, the nations were obviously too preoccupied with matters nearer home, for no one ever suggested the calling of that second conference.

"So much has been said and written about colonial problems, so prominent has been the discussion about Africa's raw materials, that another meeting of the nations interested in Africa at some future date seems likely. As presently distributed among the powers, the colonial dependencies present questions which must be settled, particularly those relating to strategic and economic advantages.

"The continent of Africa is bound to play a prominent part in any system of international security which may be devised for the future. At Dakar the presence of an American naval mission under Vice-Admiral William Glassford is testimony to the importance of the Atlantic routes and to our cooperation with the French in making them safe for travel. Such a strategic locality as Liberia has been shown to be vital to the defense of this hemisphere. Our traditional policy of the open door, if applied uniformly to all colonial areas, is one which we confidently expect will aid in removing sources of economic conflict and contribute to the advancement of the native. If raw materials are made accessible to all on a basis of non-discrimination, one of the fundamental excuses for conquest by force will be destroyed and a real step will be taken toward a peaceful world."

RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON AFRICA, THE WAR AND PEACE AIMS

Unofficially American interests in African affairs has been formulated by several groups. The earliest was that of the Committee on Africa, the War and Peace Aims, which in 1942 was organized by the Phelps-Stokes Fund and which published a report under the title, "The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint." This Committee made the following recommendations:

"That the goal of ultimate self-government should be definitely accepted in every colony, and that the controlling governments should show themselves both willing and eager to fit the African people for larger and larger participation in their own affairs both through 'indirect rule' and through direct representation in government councils.

"That every effort should be made to secure the best public opinion of the African population when any changes in governmental control or policy are contemplated.

"That in every colony steps should be immediately taken to provide adequate native representation in the Legislative Council (or what corresponds to it), including some African members elected directly, or by qualified African electors, or by Tribal Councils, and that such membership should steadily increase with the years.

"That immediate steps should be taken to throw open more positions in the Civil Service in every colony to competitive examinations in Africa—making ability and not color the basis of choice—looking forward to the time when most Civil Service posts shall be held by Africans.

"That the word 'guardianship' is better than trusteeship as applied to an African territory under Mandate control as it rightly implies that the relationship is not permanent but has as its purpose the fitting of the ward for self-government as soon as his education and experience permit.

"That the Mandate ideal of the vital importance of native rights, welfare, and development should be applied in all African territory controlled by European powers and should be adopted by the independent African states.

"That all European colonies in Africa should be willing, even when they continue under separate European administration, to submit to international inspection and report.

"That it is a matter of vital importance that all forms of racial discrimination based on the Nazi 'Herrenvolk' idea should be eliminated, and that instead of looking upon different races as 'superior' or 'inferior' they should rather be considered as 'advanced' or 'retarded.'

"That all forms of industrial color-bars are as indefensible in Africa as they are in the United States, and that such as exist should be eliminated.

"That the improvement of the economic status of native Africans is a matter of prime importance and one which must be approached from many sides.

"That special attention should be given to the fundamental problem of land to make sure that Africans have adequate land of a good quality for all their needs, and that this land is not alienated from them in the interest of Europeans, Americans, or privileged Africans, and that the native farmers be protected from the destruction of their own lands by the effective demonstration of proper practices in land use.

"That everything possible be done through governmental controls to prevent the exploitation of the mineral, water, plant, animal, and soil resources, by the adoption of a sound conservation policy looking to the future as well as the present welfare of the inhabitants.

"That, as agriculture is the primary occupation of the overwhelming majority of Africans and largely the basis of their economic security, everything possible should be done to improve methods and practices of land management and of soil and crop conditions by education and action in such fields as scientific agriculture, forestry, and irrigation.

"That there is need in every colony of larger emphasis on education directly related to the needs of the people, and on training for effective leadership in education, family life, medicine, agriculture, the ministry, public life, economic and industrial planning, and other fields.

"That social anthropology should be studied more, thereby making more satisfactory the adjustments between Western and African cultures.

"That education should be based on the vernacular supplemented in its later stages by the European language of the nation concerned, and that in addition to the conventional forms, various attempts at mass education through radio, motion picture, etc. should be adopted.

"That everything possible should be done by voluntary corporate action and by the adoption of wise governmental controls to prevent the exploitation of the African in industry; to give him a larger wage; and to provide for him better housing and recreational facilities.

"That the principles of self-development and of cooperation are both highly important, so that everything should be done to encourage the African to develop his own capacities, and to aid him in this development and in the improvement of native conditions through various forms of interracial cooperation—valuable to white and black alike.

"That in view of many serious defects in our treatment of the Negro in the United States, we should approach the problems of race relations in Africa with humility, but with the confident belief that as they have been and are steadily improved here and in some parts of Africa, so will they be steadily improved in all parts of Africa under the impact of Christian and humanitarian ideals.

"That the Government of the United States, being already a party to many treaties and conventions dealing particularly with Africa and the protection of its native people, has assumed certain responsibilities which it cannot escape; and should not only continue to participate actively in international conferences but also in other projects dealing with Africa.

"That American financial and business interests with investments in Africa should be especially careful to see that African labor is treated fairly as to methods of employment, wages, living conditions, etc.

"That the people of the United States should be willing, both through philanthropic and missionary societies, to devote more attention and more financial aid to Africa than in the past.

"That our Government should stand ready to unite with other nations in some world organization (including a Mandates System) which will promote collective security and see to it that the provisions of the Atlantic Charter are duly implemented so as to protect the interests of Africans, who should be given some form of representation in connection with the Peace Conference.

"That it should also be willing to aid in such ways as the Government of Liberia may desire, in improving its social-welfare activities, especially in matters of health, education, and agriculture."

RESOLUTIONS BY THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

At a Conference of the Council on African Affairs in April 1944, the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, the African people are allied with the progressive forces of the world in the fight to overthrow fascism, which victory they recognize as the first essential to their own progress toward liberty, and as entailing as President Roosevelt has pointed out, victory over 'all the forces of oppression, intolerance, insecurity, and injustice which have impeded the forward march of civilization.'

"Centrally important in such a victory is the abolition of the inferior social, economic and political status of dependent peoples in Africa and throughout the world.

"The essential requirement for accomplishing this is now provided in the form of close international collaboration toward democratic goals as represented by the Moscow, Cairo and Teheran agreements, which collaboration can and must supplant the former imperialist rivalries and conflicts which have particularly characterized the European penetration and domination of Africa.

"Such collaboration and harmony are essential to the raising of the living standards and social well-being of the African and other dependent peoples, and these advancements are in turn essential to the economic security of America and the world in the trying period of economic readjustment following the war; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, that the government of the United States should set the pace and standard for promoting policies of mutual aid in mutual self-interest by taking the initiative in securing international agreements and establishing effective international machinery for securing the social, economic and political advancement of the African and other colonial peoples, consistent with the Atlantic Charter and other declarations of the United Nations and with the requirements for achieving world security and peace.

"It is essential to the success of such international collaboration in the interest of dependent peoples, first, that these peoples themselves participate fully in the planning and execution of developmental programs of every nature, and second, that all such programs in both principle and practice be directed in a systematic manner toward the achievement of self-government and the right of self-determination by these peoples.

"This international agency must, further, guarantee that the interests of the majority of the people are *in practice* as well as in theory regarded as paramount in settling the future of the Italian colonies, mandated territories, or other jurisdictional problems, and also in the functioning of any regional organizations.

"This Conference of Negro and white Americans, with representatives of the peoples of Africa and the British West Indies also in attendance, calls upon the government of the United States to take the leadership in promoting these policies and programs, as a guarantee that the fruits of victory shall be shared equally by all peoples."

Many other resolutions have been adopted by other groups in America testifying to the fact that more and more Americans are becoming aware of their responsibilities towards Africa.

PART THREE

THE NEGRO IN EUROPE

DIVISION XXXV

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE NEGRO IN EUROPE

By Harold O. Lewis

Howard University

RACE AND EUROPEAN CULTURE

Race consciousness and thinking in terms of race are integral elements in European culture. This tendency, however, to divide the human race into different "superior" and "inferior" groups is of fairly recent origin, playing no significant role in the thinking of the European peoples before the end of the eighteenth century. Prior to that, conflicts and rivalries were based upon caste, class, or religion. Throughout the Middle Ages the Jews, for example, were persecuted on religious and not upon racial grounds.

Race Consciousness And Imperialism

The introduction of race consciousness as a force influencing the thinking and behavior of the people of Europe was a result of the development of imperialism and nationalism in the modern State. Most of the European States at one time or other were engaged in the conquest and exploitation of non-white peoples. In reality, the success of these encroachments upon other peoples has been due to the possession by Europe of a technology capable of producing instruments of violence—guns and later aeroplanes and tanks—superior to any at the disposal of the non-industrialized areas attacked. But confronted with customs and modes of behavior alien to the European pattern, western thought began to assume that its superiority in technical skills—derived of course from fortuitous historical circumstances and from a synthesis of materials acquired, to a surprising degree, from non-European sources—was one aspect alone of an absolute physical, moral, and intellectual supremacy over all peoples of different customs and contrasting physical appearance.

This concept of "inferior" and "superior" peoples first achieved a widespread significance at a time when the institution of slavery was under attack. Prior to this, slaves were usually differentiated as being of inferior social status but there was no considered attempt to judge them as biologically inferior. When the defenders of slavery were forced to counter the arguments of the abolitionists about the essential equality of man, the former began to seek to show that the slaves were not as good as their masters. To achieve this, they elaborated many of the erroneous notions which constitute contemporary racial philosophy. The race legend persisted after the emancipation of slaves though as Arendt[1] has observed:

> "It is highly probable that thinking in terms of race would have disappeared in time together with other irresponsible opinions of the nineteenth century, if the 'scramble for Africa' and the new era of Imperialism had not exposed Western humanity to new and shocking experiences. Imperialism would have necessitated the invention of racism as the only possible 'explanation' and excuse for its deeds, even if no race-thinking ever had existed in the civilized world."

Racism And Nationalism

This tendency to differentiate people on the basis of race characteristics was strengthened by the development of nationalism, "a consciousness of the distinctive character of nations." In its extreme forms, nationalist sentiment identified nation with race. Consequently, race became a force seeking to differentiate Frenchmen from Germans; Anglo-Saxons from Slavs; Nordics from Latins. Although it is generally recognized by all reputable students of the development of European civilization that there is no basis for identifying nationality and race and that there are no pure races, these fallacious conceptions have crept into the thinking of many people of Europe. For our purposes, it is important to note that while this racial mentality is not directed against the Negro, the pattern of thought in terms of race is present.

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[1] "Race Thinking Before Racism," The Review of Politics, VI, 1944, p. 73.

Peculiar Ideas About Negroes

While there is no prejudice against Negroes in most parts of Europe, many peculiar ideas about them are held in wide circles. In the first place, the term, Negro, has a literal connotation —black—and consequently those Negroes who deviate from that norm are considered to be South Americans, Chinese, East Indian or members of any other group which possesses the same physical features as the Negroes being evaluated.

Before the war, American motion pictures enjoyed widespread circulation in Europe. From this source has come an impression about the frivolousness and childlike qualities of the Negro. Also the belief conveyed by the "movies" that Negroes are peculiarly gifted as dancers or singers is strengthened by the fact that entertainers were the only Negroes ever seen by many Europeans in the period before the war. Pseudo-scientific notions as to a special susceptibility to tuberculosis or as to extraordinary sexual proclivities have also characterized the attitude of many about the Negro. In most instances, however, these notions have not developed into stereotypes because there is no "Negro Problem" as a basis on which these myths could flourish.

An understanding of the Negro's position in Europe requires much more than a catalogue of personalities who have achieved prominence in artistic, academic and—in the case of France—political fields. To limit the treatment in this way would be tantamount to a disregard for the complex forces which motivate human behavior and explain the reactions of one ethnic group to persons drawn from other cultures. That the Negro is more generally accepted in Europe than in the United States or the Union of South Africa is largely due to the fact that in Europe he is numerically insignificant. Consequently, there exists no problem of the adjustment of the Negroes to the dominant national population of the European States. It is particularly important to note that in only a few instances has the Negro become a sufficient threat on the labor market of any European country to justify the use of race prejudice by anti-labor forces as a means of splitting the labor movement. His position has ranged from full acceptance to tolerance, depending upon the complex of forces and traditions which dominate the various European countries.

THE NEGRO IN GERMANY

Nazism and the Negro

The German people are now paying the penalty of twelve years' subservience to a system of power based upon the Nazi race theory which although directed mainly against the Jews and Slavs, classified the Negro with other *Untermenschen*. Even before the Nazis, ultra-nationalistic groups criticized the "depravity" of Negro artists. As early as the Franco-German War of 1870-71, the "savagery" of French colonial troops was described in the widely read novels of Detled von Liliencron. An awareness of the Negro came in even more intensified form as part of the anti-French propaganda during the occupation of the Rhineland by French colonial troops. Attacks against the Senegalese appeared in the German press, in songs, and even in texts used in some of the German schools.

Within the limited confines of the circle of German intellectuals untainted by nationalism, there was an appreciation of the contributions of Negro intelligentsia. Dr. Ernest E. Just, for example, was well known for his work at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut in Berlin. German exchange professors of liberal persuasion who had served in American universities were aware of the "Negro Problem" in the United States.

When the Nazis came to power in 1933, it has been estimated that there were approximately 2,000 Negroes in all of Germany. Most of them were entertainers, though some had been absorbed into occupations. Few measures were directed against the Negro by the Nazis. Beginning with the decree issued by Frick after the formation of a Nazi government in Thuringia in 1932, the Nazis banned Negro entertainers throughout the Reich after 1933. It was stated officially that Negro art was degenerate, degrading and in violation of German spirit. Also the Entailed Farm Legislation, *Erbhofgesetzgebung*, provided that all persons were ineligible to share in its benefits who had Jewish ancesters or forefathers with "colored" blood. This legislation aimed to create an elite among the German peasantry as a nucleus of strength for the Nazi regime. The slogan, *Blut und Boden* (Blood and Soil) was the basis of a ridiculous ideology which limited the inheritance to a single heir, of farms between 7.5 hectares (one hectare equals 2.47 acres) and 125 hectares. In one instance a person was declared ineligible because it was discovered, after investigation, that a grandfather of the applicant had married a mulatto woman in Curacao.

Several Negroes remained in Germany throughout the recent war, but testimony varies as to the treatment they received. It has been reported by some sources that no special disabilities were imposed upon them as Negroes. On the other hand, more recent reports indicate discrimination in employment and insults and scorn heaped upon them. There is one instance of a colored girl being sterilized by the Nazi authorities because she had lived with a white German in defiance of a decision of the local Party officials. It is probable that in the absence of any directive from the Party headquarters, the treatment received by Negroes depended upon the attitude of the local Party functionaries.

Nazi Propaganda And The "Negro Problem"

During the war, the attitude of the Nazis about the "Negro Problem" in the United States varied. The Propaganda Ministry's directives changed with the demands of psychological warfare. At the time of the Detroit riot, the German domestic and foreign broadcasts stressed the contradiction between the expressed aims of the United States in the war and their treatment of the Negro at home. *Schwarze Korps*, the organ of *Waffen SS*, the militarized echelons of the notorious *Schutz Staffel*, carried a full page photograph of two policemen clubbing a Negro during the riot. The caption read, "Democracy in America?" The propaganda line changed, however, after Negro troops entered into combat. The German people were warned against the semi-apes and the black beasts who were being unleashed against them. For some unknown reason, particularly violent blasts were directed against Negro airmen although their activity seems to have been limited almost exclusively to the Italian front.

In some instances the Nazi propaganda machine wilfully distorted the plight of the Negro in the United States. In one outstanding case, a German newsreel showed Negroes frantically picking cotton at the point of a gun held by a white man. Actually, the Propaganda Ministry had taken some scenes from an American picture of a cotton picking race and changed it to portray forced labor.

Recent Safeguards Against Racism in Post-War Germany

Post-war Germany is keenly aware of the disastrous consequences of racialism. Consequently, considerable attention is devoted to the erection of safeguards for all races. The program of the United Socialist Party, *Die Sozialistische Einheits Partei*, a merger of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties in the Soviet zone of Germany, calls for "equality of all citizens before the law without difference of race and sex" and demands the "sharpest struggle against race hatred against other people." The Liberal Democratic Party, *Die Liberal-Demokratische Partei*, representing the most conservative elements, urged consideration for human dignity regardless of race and class, age and sex; the Christian Democratic Union, *Christlich-Demokratische Union Deutschlands*, demands similar safeguards and the *Sozialdemokratische-partei*, which remains independent of Communist connections in the western zones of Germany, demands "protection of the criminal law against race hatred." This tendency to erect safeguards against the resurgence of racism seems most pronounced in the Soviet zone where a program of indoctrination is carried on against racial intolerance. *Neuer Weg* (New Way), a periodical of the Communist Party, contained an article entitled, "The Form of Racism." It states that the rapid recovery and the welfare of the nation demand a purging of racism from the thinking of the German people and insists that the German people must learn that man is a social being who belongs to this or that class, to this or that nation and to this or that state. These facts determine his behavior and not blood or race, the article states.

Opportunistic Attitudes Toward Negroes

The War Department's directive to discontinue shipment of colored personnel to the European theatre, highlights the entire problem of the position of the Negro soldier in Germany. Reports by returning veterans indicate that they received better treatment from the German people than their white compatriots although there are reports from other reliable sources that the average German's attitude toward the American soldier is completely opportunistic and is determined by the amount of food that he can get from a soldier and not by the soldier's color. It appears that many Germans have learned of the prejudice which divides white and Negro soldiers and exploit this feeling for personal gain. An important exception to this condition, however, is represented by the German youth most of whom are rabid Nazis holding to the racial theories with unrelenting fanaticism. Fraternization of German women with Negro soldiers, however, has caused more concern among white American troops than it has among the Germans. But the birth of the first offspring of a Negro soldier and a German mother in January, 1946, nine months after the entrance of occupation troops into Germany, was deemed important enough to be reported in *Suddeutsche Zeitung*, one of the approved papers in the American zone of occupation. Another German paper published a report of the discovery of an abandoned mulatto infant. Since the abandoning of infants is a common occurrence in Germany, the abandoning of this particular baby must have been considered news because of its color.

THE NEGRO IN FRANCE

At present, the second post-war Constituent Assembly is discussing a new constitution for France. The first draft, rejected by a plebiscite in June of 1946 because of middle class objections to economic provisions and to the proposed abolition of the second chamber, contained one of the most advanced charters of human liberties in the world. These provisions are discussed here because it is reasonably certain that similar ones will be included in the new draft of the constitution which is to be ready for presentation to the French people in September of 1946, if the views of the Left parties prevail.[2]

The French Tradition Of Racial Equality

Protection of and definition of the rights of man were delineated in the first 39 articles of the draft Constitution. Article 26 provided for the right to employment without prejudice on account of a man's religion, color or racial origin. Article 39 condemned any attempt to place anyone in a position of economic, social or political inferiority because of color or racial origin. There was also a general guarantee of equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of creed and color and it was made a criminal offense to discriminate between citizens on these grounds.

These elaborate safeguards, unquestionably in part a reaction against the racial policy of the Nazis, are also in keeping with the French tradition of racial equality. The absence of color prejudice in France is as much a cultural factor as prejudice itself is elsewhere. The French Revolution with its emphasis on liberty and equality and its abolition of caste remains a vital force in French society and the intellectual tradition of rationalism is the antithesis of the emotional unscientific ideology on which race prejudice is built.

It is important to note, however, that to some degree the very disavowal of color prejudice is an instrument of imperialist domination. The French, confident in the innate superiority of their culture, believe that anyone, whatever the color of his skin, can be raised to a position of honor and power if indoctrinated with the French cultural tradition. A conscious effort is made, therefore, to indoctrinate the elite of the colonies with the French language and education; to convert them into champions of the system and thus to deprive the masses of educated leaders. To this end, there is no segregation in the school systems of the French colonies. All children of the same class are educated together, regardless of race, to produce a group useful to the administration and for the perpetuation of French ideas. That this policy has paid dividends is indicated by the role of some prominent colonials in the period before the last war. M. Diagne, for example, the first Senegalese elected to the French Chamber of Deputies, was appointed High Commissioner for the recruiting of troops in Africa. Later he became Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. He played his most nefarious role, however, as defender of forced labor used by rubber companies in the French Congo. This happened at the International Conference on Forced Labor at Geneva in 1928. Other colonials, while not playing the scandalous role of Diagne, accepted positions of responsibility in the French colonial system and thus were parties to the exploitation of millions of less fortunate Negroes. Among such persons was Jules Alcandre, a judge in Paris and for eleven years a member of the Colonial administration. There were also approximately 2,000 to 3,000 other Negroes in Government service in France.

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[2] Recent reports of the debates on the new Constitution indicate that the clerical MRP (Mouvement Republicain Populaire) is opposing the liberal provisions on empire reform and probably is also against such liberal statements on the rights of man as were contained in the first draft of a new Constitution.

Treatment of Negroes Under Nazi Rule

Reports from France indicate that the Nazis did not pursue any consistent policy of persecution of the 15,000 to 20,000 Negroes in Paris during the Occupation. On the one hand, there is the case of the Haitian, Dr. Devieux, who was congratulated by a Nazi after the completion of the Haitian's orals in medicine. Some sources state though that the Vichy Government enacted a decree in 1940 requiring all ministers and high officials to be white Frenchmen. It is further reported that Senator Lemery of Martinique, erstwhile Minister of Justice under Doumergue, and Gratien Candace of Guadeloupe, former Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies and head of the French Merchant Marine, were both expelled from office as the result of Nazi pressure. It appears also that the Nazis tried to ban Negroes from the first class coaches in the Paris subway, from the stage, and for a time prohibited them from crossing into German occupied France. One explanation of the Nazi failure to impose many special sanctions upon Negroes in France, as given by a long-time resident of Paris, is that the Hitler authorities sought to pave the way for a projected invasion of Africa by gaining the reputation for "good" treatment of French colonials in France. Some indication of the Nazi concern with the "Negro Problem" in its broad aspects is found in the report that the Germans attempted, unsuccessfully, to force Rene Maran, world famous author of *Batouala*, to write a critique on the Negro in the United States. It appears, that in most instances the French Negro suffered no special disabilities, a fact confirmed by the remark of the same Rene Maran, when shouldered aside by a white American soldier: "This never happened to me under the Nazis."

French Negro in Post-war France

It is in the political field that the influence of the French Negro will be most felt in post-war France. This is due to a series of colonial reforms which have resulted in an increase in representation for all French colonies. All colonies previously represented in the Chamber of Deputies, elected European and native delegates to the Constituent Assembly of October, 1945. Martinique, Guadeloupe, Reunion and Guiana were made Departments by a law of March 19, 1946. The draft Constitution rejected in the June, 1946, elections, though there is a possibility that the extension of colonial franchise will be incorporated in the second draft, provided that each colony have a single election list for both Europeans and native voters in contrast to the present distinction drawn between citizens and non-citizens. It also called for the creation of a Council of the French Union to constitute another chamber. In this body, which does not seem to have a reasonable chance for acceptance in its present form, 90 of the 270 delegates were to come from the colonies. They were almost entirely unrepresented in the pre-war Senate.

In view of the finely drawn balance among the MRP (Mouvement Republicain Populaire), the Catholic Party, with 160 seats in the Assembly; the Socialists with 115 seats; and the Communists with 146 seats, the increase in colonial representation may well give it a balance of power in the regularly elected Chamber of Deputies. Current evidence seems to suggest that the Negro deputies may swing the balance in favor of the Left parties because of the fact that those parties favor a more liberal colonial policy. The increase in colonial representation, without the proposed reform of the franchise, is substantial as indicated below:

	1936 Chamber	Constituent Assembly	Future National Body
Metropolitan France	598	527	568
Tunisia and Morocco	-	5	5
Algeria	7	26	35
French West Indies, Reunion and Guiana	7	7	7
Indo-China	1	-a	-a
Other Colonies	2	21	42
Total	618	586	657

-a. Undetermined.

In the old Chamber, only 2 or 3 Negroes possessed seats while in the present Constituent Assembly there are at least 15. Even under the proposed new Constitution, however, in the case of the African colonies, only about 300,000 out of a total population of 31,000,000 would have enjoyed the right of voting. The war and the Nazi Occupation seem to have changed the attitude of many French intellectuals and representatives from the French colonies. They seem to be thinking much more in terms of colonial reform and less in terms of French nationalism. It was feared by some elements in left-Wing French political circles that the enlarging of colonial representation in the Chamber was a De Gaullist device for strengthening his position, since the majority of the Negroes possessing the right to vote in the colonies were petty colonial officials. On the other hand, the tendency of many of the colonial deputies elected to the first Constituent Assembly, to join the ranks of the Leftist Parties seems to counter that fear. As a matter of fact, this trend has lead MRP (Mouvement Republicain Populaire) to favor two types of citizenship; one for France and the other for the French Union, i. e., France plus the empire.

List of Negro Deputies in the First Constituent Assembly

Apithi, elected from Togo-Dahomey on the French Nationalist ticket.

Bissol, Leopold, Communist Party member from Martinique; editor of the Party organ, *Justice*. He was a member of the Municipal Council in Martinique.

Cesaire, Aime, Communist Party member; former member of the faculty of Lycee Schoiler and Mayor of Fort de France. Cesaire is one of the most active proponents of fundamental reform of the French colonial system and delivered several brilliant speeches on that question in June of this year.

Diallo, Yacine, delegate from Sudan-Niger and member of the Socialist Party.

Eboue, Madame Eugenie, a member of the Socialist group in the Assembly from Guadeloupe and wife of the famous colonial Governor, Felix Eboue; born in Cayenne, French Guiana in 1895 of a family active in the colonial administration. She and her husband were instrumental in turning the French African colonies in support of General de Gaulle.

Lamine-Gueye, leader of the Socialists of French West Africa and one of the early adherents to the De Gaullist Movement. He has enjoyed a long career in the French colonial service as a lawyer, Attorney-General for Martinique and Mayor of Dakar.

Manga-Bell, elected on an independent ticket from the Cameroons.

Monnerville, Gaston, a deputy from Guiana since 1932 and practicing attorney in Paris, holds degrees in both

Literature and Law. He was Under-Secretary of State in the third and fourth Chautemps governments of 1937 and 1938 and from 1936 has been high in the circles of the Radical Socialist Party. M. Monnerville was anti-Vichy from the outset, refusing to vote for Petain in July, 1930. After the German occupation he became a member of the Maquis, the French Underground, and has been decorated for conspicuous bravery in the fight against the Nazis.

Raseta, elected on a Nationalist ticket from Madagascar; Negro member of the French General Confederation of Trade Unions delegation to the World Trade Union Congress in September, 1945.

Senghor, Leopold Sedar, a delegate for Senegal-Mauritania. Senghor belongs to the Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies and was a member of the Constitutional Committee which drafted the Constitution rejected by the French people in the referendum of June, 1946.

Tchivaya, Conservative (USDR), Gabon, Middle Congo.

Sissoko, Sudan-Niger, member of the rightist bloc in the Chamber.

Valentino, Paul, member of the Chamber from Guadeloupe where he had been a member of the Provincial Assembly and editor of the newspaper, *Le Peuple*. He was imprisoned on Devil's Island because of his vigorous resistance to the Vichy regime and was liberated in 1943 through the intervention of General Giraud. Valentino was the leader of the group opposed to the Vichy policies of Admiral Robert, Commissioner for Guadeloupe and Martinique. After an abortive revolt against Robert, Valentino was forced into hiding. He is active in Socialist Party circles in the Constituent Assembly.

Maran, Rene, is by far the most outstanding of the many Negroes who have contributed to the intellectual life of France. His reputation is based not only upon the literary excellence of his works, all of which have a pronounced ethical basis, but also upon his unflagging efforts to improve the lot of his oppressed brethren in the French colonial empire. *Batouala*, the novel of native life under French imperialist rule in Africa, which won the coveted Goncourt Prize in 1921 has been translated into eight languages. *Betes de la Brousse*, (Jungle Beasts), *Peines de Coeur* (Heart Aches), *Kongo* and others have combined with *Batouala* to make Rene Maran one of the foremost novelists of modern France. Unlike many other black Frenchmen of colonial origin, Rene Maran has not permitted the prestige of belonging to the elite of France to blunt his awareness of the essential dignity of all men. He possesses a keen awareness for and understanding of the problems of the American Negro, interests quite unique, for many of the French colonials say they are not Negroes but Frenchmen.

THE NEGRO IN BRITAIN

White Supremacy And Imperialism

The position of the estimated 10,000 Negroes in the British Isles is on the whole superior to that of the American Negro but infinitely worse than that of their counterparts in France. Actually, in Cardiff and Newcastle, however, where substantial Negro communities exist, the pattern of segregation approximates that in the United States although it is not buttressed by the sanction of law. In Britain it is possible to see in clear perspective the use of racism as an ideological instrument of imperialism. The British Empire much more so than the French has been constructed upon the basis of complete separation of the white and Negro populations of the colonies. This social dichotomy with its implication of "inferior" and "superior" peoples has not been limited in its influence to the colonial areas but has been transmitted to the mother country by returning personnel of the colonial administration and also popularized by the ruling class as a rationalization for imperialist domination of colonials.

The British ruling class has always been extremely sensitive to "racial" developments in the Empire and any threat to white supremacy in the colonies is interpreted as a threat to the prestige of the English races. In the 1890's, for example, C. H. Pearson wrote a book entitled, *National Life and Character*, in which he declared that colored people must be excluded from white countries because if allowed to enter trades they were bound to oust their white competitors although politically and morally they never became real members of a white community. The significant fact about this book is that while the point of departure was the "racial" situation in Australia, the author's plea was directed to the mother country as well. The savage suppression of the Jamaican insurrection of 1865 brought similar hypocritical support for the Empire. Carlyle, Tennyson, Kingsley, Ruskin, and Dickens rallied to the defense of the Governor, aligning themselves with those who believed that any sort of treatment was good enough for the "damned niggers" who had dared to rise against the white population.

The innumerable instances of this type in which his Majesty's Government has felt constrained to justify mass murder of colonials by assertions of the racial mission of the Englishman have served to strengthen the belief of the English people in the inferority of the colored peoples. For only through such a belief can the actions of their government be squared with the Christian morality to which the lower middle class Englishman, in particular, renders such ardent lip service.

Race, Class and Opportunity*

The position of the Negro in England depends in some degree upon the class to which he belongs. The fact that many Negro artists and members of the professions are accepted while workers are segregated in the seaport towns is a reflection of the caste organization of English society which with its emphasis on social and economic position more readily accepts Negroes who have attained "position" in the social hierarchy.

Dr. C. Belford Clarke is one of the outstanding English diagnosticians while Dr. Theophilus Scholes and Dr. Harold Moody are highly respected as general practitioners. Dr. Albert Kagwa of Uganda is House Surgeon of London Hospital Annex and Thomas Fowell Bostem is Dental Officer of the county borough of Newport Isle of Wight.

John Payne of California and Leslie Hutchinson are popular singers: Arthur Lewis is a member of the faculty of the London School of Economics; Una Marson, a director of programs for BBC; Stella Thomas is a barrister.

A high percentage of the colonials who come to England for university education are Negroes. They associate fully with people in university circles and often marry English women, although this intermarriage is disliked by many of the English people. It is significant to note that the Secretary of State for Colonies in a dispatch printed in a West Indian paper openly advanced this association with white women as one reason for the establishment of a West Indian University; it would keep West Indian students away from the English woman.

Forms of Discrimination

Most of the Negro students are aware of the subtle forms of discrimination employed against them. A survey of the rooming houses made several years ago indicates that 40 per cent of the proprietors questioned, expressed a specific unwillingness to accept colored students and a greater number refused to take Negroes than East Indians, for example. It is also generally felt that the Colonial Office attempts to keep all colonial students under close surveillance as indicated by the establishment of special hostels, such as Aggrey House and Victoria League in which the Negroes can be segregated. Among the university students, however, there seems to have been an improvement in their attitude toward their colonial classmates. Proof of this is seen in the election of Cameron Tudor, West Indian Negro, to the coveted position of President of the Oxford Union.

During the war over 8,000 West Indians were recruited for service in England. In spite of the fact that most of them had volunteered, they were subjected to the color bar in hotels and restaurants; were given the humblest jobs in the armed services and fraternization with them was actively discouraged by the British authorities. Members of WAAF (Women's Auxiliary Air Force) were told "that though they were to be polite to the colored colonials, they were on no account to fraternize." In February, 1946, the resentment engendered by the discrimination to which they had been subjected lead to a serious riot at Blackbush Aerodrome, Surrey, involving Jamaican members of the RAF and other personnel stationed at Blackbush awaiting demobilization.

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*For a further presentation of "Occupational Status and Opportunities of Negroes in Britain," see Division XXXVI.

At the beginning of the war there were no Negro commissioned officers in the British armed services but after some agitation they were admitted to the RAF, and Arundel Moody, son of Dr. Harold Moody, head of the middle class League of Coloured Peoples, was admitted to officer training. N. R. Junior of Jamaica, sub-Lieutenant in the Reserve, became the first Negro ranking officer in the British navy.

Discriminatory Practices Affected By War Conditions

Another departure hastened by the war, was the appointment of several advisers on race relations among whom were Leary Constantine, well known cricket player from the East Indies, who had resided in Lancashire for fifteen years. He became Welfare Officer in the Ministry of Labor, to work among the colonials employed in wartime industry. Constantine achieved Empire-wide publicity following the refusal of a London hotel to grant him accommodations. The incident provoked discussion in the House of Commons. Ivor Cummings of Sierra Leone was the first colonial appointed as a Welfare Officer under the Colonial Office. In 1942, he was placed in charge of 19 hostels for colonials of which 5 were for students and 7 each for seamen and industrial workers. Flight Lieutenant P. L. U. Cross, of the West Indies, was assigned to the Colonial Office as Advisor on Military Problems and Phillip Cox, born in India of a West Indian father and an East Indian mother, became adviser to Colonial Students. He was on the staff of the Director of Colonial Students under the Colonial Office.

Observers have pointed out that the role of these advisers is similar to that of their counterparts in the United States. They are possessed of no administrative power and have served mainly as buffers against the rising protests over the treatment to which colonials were subjected in time of war.

The status of Negroes in Cardiff and Liverpool is indicative of what happens when a relatively large number of non-whites is concentrated in a small area of England. For example, the Bute Town area of Cardiff is peopled almost exclusively by West Africans, West Indians, white wives and half caste children. This community of approximately 6,500 inhabitants, the largest permanent colored community in the British Isles, is separated from the rest of the town, geographically and socially. The marital opportunities and the social contacts of the men are limited to women of the "poor" class; educational and occupational opportunities are meager and the cost of living is excessive. During the war, an attempt to construct a segregated housing project was blocked by the United Committee of Coloured and Colonial Peoples. The Colonial Office, however, moved into the area establishing a Colonial Centre under a Jamaican, Balfour H. Brooks-Smith, in an effort to ease the growing resentment against discriminatory practices. The situation is still dangerous with a possibility of a recurrence of the riots following the first World War.

Meaning of "Superior" And "Inferior"

The complete acceptance of Negroes and other colored peoples in the British Isles cannot be achieved until the basis of colonial administration is changed to include the subject peoples of the empire as citizens with rights equal to those possessed by any white British subject. Only in that way will it be possible to remove the basis for color prejudices both at home and abroad. The basis is the division of The Empire population into "inferior" (ruled) and "superior" (ruling). So far, there is no indication that the Labour Government is honestly thinking of changing this situation. The whole question was broached by Arthur Creech Jones, a member of the Colonial Labour Advisory Committee of the Trade Union Congress and at present an Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. In an article appearing in the September number of the *Transport and General Workers Record* for 1944, Mr. Jones stressed the need for basic changes in the status of the colonials. The Labour Party, however, has been much more cautious on this problem. In a pamphlet entitled, *The Post-War Policy of the Labor Party with Reference to the African and Pacific Colonies*, color-bar policies were condemned but political rights for the Africans were promised for the dim future and even this discussion showed more concern for the population (white) at the time when self government was to be discussed than interest in the colonials.

THE NEGRO IN ITALY

Race Prejudice Not an Integral Part of Italian Culture

In 1938, the Italian Fascist Government launched an anti-Semitic, anti-Negro program which sought to accommodate Fascist ideology to the "racialism" of National Socialism and also aimed to justify the conquest of Ethopia in terms of a racial mission of the Italian people.[3] The failure of this program to achieve any widespread response from the populace, plus the fact that Mussolini had never deemed it expedient to employ "racialism" as an instrument of control before, but had actually stated that race is a feeling, not a reality, seems to furnish conclusive proof that race prejudice has not been an integral part of Italian culture. There are several historical circumstances which appear to account for the lack of color consciousness among the Italian people. In the first place, Italy is preponderantly Catholic. According to the Census of 1931, out of a population of 41,000,000, all except 150,000 returned themselves as Catholics. This means that a racial criterion has never superseded the religious as the basis for judging individuals or groups; a person's religious affiliation has traditionally been more important than the color of his skin.

In the second place, the Italians have been long inured to racial intermixture and hence would not rebel against the addition of new elements of different cultural background. The very divergence of physical types in Italy itself would tend to minimize the importance of color as a basis for differentiating ethnic groups.

THE NEGRO IN SPAIN

Race Policy Similar to Other Catholic Countries

The attitude of the Spanish people toward race is similar to that of other Catholic countries in which the medieval freedom from race prejudice has never been destroyed. The undiminished influence of the Catholic Church has perpetuated religion and not race as the basis for social distinction.

In spite of the validity of this general observation, the framers of the Spanish Constitution of 1931 envisaged the development of racial prejudice by the anti-Republican forces as one instrument for attacking the Republic. Consequently, article 25 of that document provided that "race, descent, sex, social class, wealth, political ideas, or religious beliefs, shall not be considered the basis of privilege in public law." The overthrow of the Republic in 1939 came after three years of heroic resistance by the anti-Fascist forces among which were some 200 Negroes including Thaddeus Battle, Sterling Rochester, Captain Oliver Law, Lieutenant Walter Garland, and Dr. Donawa. These men were members of the famous Abraham Lincoln Brigade which consisted of American Negroes and whites who dedicated their lives to fight against German and Italian Fascism.

The ideology of Spanish Fascism does not contain the concept of race as an instrument of policy, largely because there is no basis for it in Spanish culture. Furthermore, a racial policy would interfere with Franco's plans to restore Spanish cultural supremacy in Latin America where large Negro and Indian groups live. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that two Negro girls from Dutch Guiana have been studying at the Spanish University of Santander on fellowships granted by the Franco Regime.

THE NEGRO IN NORTHERN EUROPE

Race Policy Influenced By Imperialism

Both the Netherlands and Belgium are more aware of the color question than the Scandinavian States by virtue of the fact that the two former countries are imperialist powers ruling over many black subjects. The form of imperialist control, in a large degree, has determined the racial attitudes of these two peoples. The Dutch, for example, have been more inclined toward a policy of assimilation than the Belgians who have opposed higher education for any of the colonials; and, as a result, the only Negroes in Belgium before the war were colored American entertainers and seamen from the colonies. Although there were no evidences of race prejudice, it is interesting to note that the Negro Americans were considered as far superior in intelligence and initiative to the Belgian colonials. This, of course, cannot be considered as objective praise for the Negro American, but only as a rationalization for Belgian oppression of the black colonial.

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[3] F. M. Snowden. "Race Propaganda in Italy," Phylon, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1940.

Of the 2,000 to 4,000 Negroes in the Netherlands before the war, several had achieved prominence in intellectual circles. Dr. J. F. E. Einar of Dutch Guiana was a librarian at the National Museum of Anthropology, and two Communist authors had attained recognition in literary circles. Albert Heldman of Paramaribo was the author of *The Dollar Dictator* and *The Quiet Plantation;* and A. de Kom of, *Slaves of Suriname.* Rudolf van Lier was a poet of some importance.

Also, it has been reported that there are approximately 50 Dutch Guiana born physicians in the Netherlands, from 50 to 100 Guianese school teachers in the schools and many Negro Dutch employed in the Social Security Office. Many of these persons are members of the Suriname Association, an organization for the protection of the interests of Dutch Colonials.

Permeation of Democratic Practice

The Scandinavian countries are thoroughly permeated with the ideals and practices of democracy; a condition due, in a large degree, to a high standard of living, advanced social legislation, and to a population with a high degree of political sagacity. Having lost their tropical possessions years ago, it has not been necessary for these States to develop any racial rationalization for the control of subject peoples. Consequently, there is no race prejudice in Scandinavia.

In Sweden, during the war, a law was passed making it a crime to abuse Negroes, Jews, or Catholics in public, or in writing, or to breed hatred or contempt against any group of human beings because of their race or religion. This comprehensive law was not initiated to protect the less than 100 Negroes out of a total population of 7,000,000 Swedes, but was directed against Nazi sympathizers made bold by the initial gains of the Germans in the last war.

In the city of Copenhagen, there are reported to be 200 permanent residents of Negro extraction, most of whom came to Denmark in 1917 when the Virgin Islands were sold to the United States by Denmark. The most prominent member of this colony is Mr. Lewis Larcheveant, the owner of one of the largest restaurants in the Danish capital.

Before the war, Negro musicians were extremely popular in Scandinavia and, exchange restrictions permitting, they will be welcomed just as enthusiastically again. An issue of a Danish newspaper for August, 1946, quotes a theatre manager as having a contract with Marian Anderson, Duke Ellington, and a group of Negro dancers from England for appearance in Denmark. A recent concert by the Harlem Dancers in Copenhagen would indicate that the pre-war influx of Negro entertainers is to be repeated.

Prior to the war, colonial students were required to finance their education in the Dutch universities; but since the revolt in Indonesia, the Government has granted 123 scholarships to the people of that area. Two-thirds of the total was granted to non-whites. It appears that this step may serve as a precedent for similar Government action in the Dutch West Indies, thus permitting some members of the low income groups to acquire the benefits of higher education at the expense of the State.

THE NEGRO IN RUSSIA*

Complete Equality of All Races

The complete equality of all races is an integral element in the beliefs and attitudes fostered by the Government of the Soviet Union. Over 170 different nationalities of many varied racial stocks live within the borders of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and consistent and energetic efforts have been made to improve the economic and social positions of each group and to encourage cultural self-expression. This approach to the problem of nationality and race is unique among the nations of the world. Generally, the dominant nationality attempts to impose its culture upon minority national groups instead of pursuing the policy of mutual accommodation practiced in the Soviet Union.

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*See Division on Status and Opportunities of Negroes in Russia, for a further discussion.

Protection for all cultural or "racial" groups is guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution which provides that:

> "Equal rights for citizens of USSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life, shall be an irrevocable law."

This is not only a statement of principle, but the penalties to be invoked for any violations are severe:

> "Any direct or indirect limitation of these rights, or conversely, any establishment of direct or in direct privileges for citizens on account of their race or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, shall be punished by law."

Similar guarantees are provided for the election of deputies, "irrespective of race, nationality, and religion."

This rational attitude of the people of the Soviet Union represents a decided break with the old cultural tradition of the Czarist Empire. The Romanovs actively encouraged prejudice against the Jews and ordered periodic pogroms against them. Furthermore, in certain sections of the Empire, Negroes had been held in slavery. They had been imported into the Georgian section of the Caucasus, at the time when that territory was still under Turkish rule, and were inherited by Russian landholders when the region was conquered by the Slavs.

At present, there is a Negro colony in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic which has become fully integrated with the other people of that region. Bashir Shamba, a member of that group of several hundred Negroes, was made a member of the District Committee of the Communist Party of Tbilisi in 1942.

Negroes Play Important Roles in Russia

In all of the Soviet Union, there are not more than 1,000 Negroes, including indigenous and foreign born. Many of the latter are from the United States and have come to play important roles in the Soviet system. One of them was appointed to the Moscow City Council in 1945 after having achieved fame in a case involving the expulsion of two white Americans who had insulted him. Lloyd Patterson of Hampton Institute was employed at one time as a designer of sets in the Meyerhold Theatre; Mrs. Margaret Glasgoe worked for three years in an auto plant at Stalingrad; John Sutton was an agricultural expert for over 6 years; Wayland Rudd has won acclaim as a musician.

The testimony of Paul Robeson as to the absence of race prejudice in the Soviet Union carries special weight because of his frequent visits to, and extensive travel throughout, the country. He has been quoted as saying, "Everywhere I went, I found the same welcome, the same warm interest, the same expression of sincere comradeship toward me . . ." His son remained in the Moscow schools for several years.

It is a matter of record that Negroes fought in the Red Army during the last war together with members of other "racial" groups, all of whom, with the exception of the few recruits to General Vlassov's Army, defended their country with unimpeachable heroism. One explanation of the almost superhuman resistance of the Red Army to the Wehrmacht is found in the *Order of the Day*, celebrating the 24th Anniversary of the Red Army. It stated:

> "The Red Army is free of racial hatred. It is free of such a degrading feeling because it has been based upon a spirit of racial equality and respect for the rights of other peoples."

EUROPE AND THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES

Europe Criticizes The United States of America

The attempt of the United States to assume moral leadership in the post-war world is increasingly handicapped by the growing awareness among the European peoples of the American treatment of its Negro minority. This chink in the "shining armor of righteousness," which the United States now wears, is being exploited by the Soviet Union and by the Communist Party press and radio of all of the European States where Communism is a legal movement. A list of items broadcast from Moscow is most revealing: Moscow Soviet Home Service, July 23, 1946, the beating and blinding of a Negro veteran in South Carolina; August 2, 1946, report on the lynching of 4 Negroes in Georgia; June 24 and 25, 1946, violence against Negroes in Mississippi. Similar programs were carried by the Moscow Soviet European Service in French and several other languages.

Coverage of the Negro problem is found in *Land of Folk, Country and People*, the daily organ of the Danish Communist Party. On successive days, Bilbo was quoted as demanding that, "all red-blooded Anglo-Saxons in Mississippi use every means at their disposal to prevent Negroes from voting." The comment of the paper was, "A pretty little picture of the trend of thought in the circle, which Churchill in his Fulton (Missouri) speech urged to stand watch for western Democracy and our Christian culture."

In an interesting article in the same paper entitled, *The Race Problem in the Theatre*, mention is made of *Deep Are the Roots* and *Strange Fruit*, and the hope is expressed, "that these plays will accomplish their mission, namely, to help the whites to a reasonable attitude about Negroes."

Anglo-American Contradictions

Often, British and American spokesmen lay themselves open to attack because of their lack of understanding of the contradictions in their own societies. For example, the American General, John Lee, was taken to task by *Izvestia* for statements made at a reception in Bristol, England. The General had declared that Britons and Americans must be patient with the Russians because they lag behind the Anglo-Saxons in "the customs of civilization." The *Izvestia* commentator suggested that the descendants of the slaves shipped from Bristol to the United States had not improved their position overmuch and, in confirmation, cited the inflammatory statements of Bilbo and the beating up of a Negro veteran. The implication was clear to all readers and to the listeners of the broadcast from Moscow. How can the general speak about civilization as long as such happenings are tolerated in his own country?

The most telling indictment of the treatment of Negroes in the United States was made by Ilya Ehrenburg, the famous Soviet correspondent, who visited the United States in June, 1946. His sketch, *In America*, was printed in full in *Izvestia*, was broadcast in two installments on the Moscow Radio, was produced in *Land og Folk* and in *Osterreichische Zeitung*, publication of the Red Army in Austria. An edition of the latter paper carried a picture of the *Funeral March* held in Washington to protest the lynching of 4 Negroes in Georgia. It is reasonable to assume that similar publicity of this type has been carried by the Communist Press in other countries.

The following summary of Ehrenburg's sketch is included for two reasons: First, because of the wide circulation which it has received in Europe; and secondly, because it is written by someone who possesses a perspective lacking even to Negroes in the United States.

Other Impressions Made on Europeans

To Ehrenburg America is a mixture of all nationalities bound together by the fact they are Americans. He notes with surprise, however, that in spite of the multi-national character of the United States, "united by a young patriotism," there is no national equality. America has established a hierarchy of races.

> "The English, Scotch, and Irish comprise the aristocracy. They are followed by the Scandinavians and Germans, then the French and Slavs. A great deal lower are the Italians, and much lower the Jews and Chinese. Even lower than that are the Puerto Ricans. And finally, at the bottom of the stairs, the Negroes."

Of particular interest is the evaluation of the Negro's position in the North:

> "The New Yorkers like to emphasize the liberalism of the North: 'Our grandfathers fought against slavery.' In any southern town one can see memorials to the soldiers of the southern army. They are memorials to the defeated. In this war which shook America the southerners were defeated. More often than not, however, it seemed to me that they are memorials not to the defeated but to the victors, because the South not only preserved the principles of slavery, it even succeeded in innoculating it in the North to a certain degree. Indeed, in New York . . . one cannot throw out a Negro from a restaurant, but if he thinks of insisting he will be told that the empty tables are reserved."

"Harlem is a Negro ghetto," says Ehrenburg,". . . dirty, poor, miserable —and yet gay."

When Ehrenburg was asked what part of the United States he wished to visit, he chose the South because he believed one could only understand the "Negro Problem" by going there. His description of Mississippi is worthy of quoting at length:

> "In Mississippi the Negroes comprise half of the entire population and half of the population is therefore deprived of the right to vote. This is managed quite cynically and is well known to all Americans in the south as well as the north. In Mississippi, I remember how indignant some journalists were with the Yugoslavs People's Front Government for depriving of the right to vote about 200,000 persons who collaborated with the Germans. The same American journalists think it quite natural that millions of American Negroes, amongst them those who fought in the war for America's freedom, have no right to vote. I would like to ask my American readers: What is fairer —to deprive people with black consciences of the right to vote or people with black skins?"

Ehrenburg found little of the highly popularized American standard of living in Mississippi but much of "the black misery of the Black."

> "The land belongs to the whites. They lease it to the blacks. The renters are to pay half of the cotton yield to the landowners. . . . The little cash the Negro receives he may spend in the little shops belonging to these very masters. Let it look juridically like a lease; in reality it is nothing but slavery. And the owner of the land patrols his plantation, shouts at the Negro, orders him about, and conducts himself like a king or a god."

Of Bilbo, Ehrenburg has this to say:

> "The leader of the slaveowners, is Senator Bilbo, a red-haired, red-nosed demagogue who attracts his audience by improper ancedotes and frenzied appeals to keep the blacks in check. He drinks whiskey at home and milk in public."

The Soviet writer is convinced that ultimately racialism will be crushed in the United States but he warns that all must realize "how deep this disease has gone, how far it has penetrated into the minds of the average American."

American Foreign Policy Questioned

Europeans, particularly those who have suffered directly from the disastrous effects of Nazi racialism, find it difficult to reconcile the platitudes of American foreign policy, as they are "applied" to other parts of the world, with the treatment which the Negroes receive in the United States. The European people are even more aware of the contradictions in this situation —democracy abroad, segregation at home—than are the American Negroes. For the latter's perception is dulled somewhat by their culturally derived indoctrination with American nationalism.

Whatever the aims of the Soviet Union may happen to be in stressing racial segregation in the United States, the contrast between its position and that of Great Britain on the same question is significant. The London *Daily Worker*, the organ of the English Communist Party, has reported that the British Broadcasting Company recently suspended a broadcast, American Letter, by Alstair Cook, just as he was beginning a characterization of Senator Bilbo. The official reason for this action was considerations of policy.

It would seem as though the most potent factor making for a change in the general attitude of Europe toward

the Negro is the American Army of Occupation. White Americans of liberal persuasion who have been a part of that army have stated that the average white American soldier is much more concerned about fraternization of Negroes and white women than he is about denazification. Many, with the implied approval of higher authorities, are carrying on a consistent campaign of indoctrination which must be reminiscent of the German Propaganda Ministry. An excellent example of the effects of this indoctrination is seen in a letter written by a Dane about a disturbance involving American Marines and Danish civilians. The writer stated "that perhaps one of the Negroes had a knife; this only served to teach the Danes that a Negro problem existed. They are wilder than we are." The writer was Superintendent of the Danish Bus Service with the American Army in Bremerhaven.

DIVISION XXXVI

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF NEGROES IN BRITAIN

By Harold A. Moody*

London, England

A VIEW OF VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

In spite of the degrading circumstances under which the Negro was introduced to the British people and the obstacles which he subsequently encountered, the Negro in Britain has made substantial progress. In many fields of human endeavor, he has demonstrated abilities and achievement of no mean order.

Negro Seamen

First, may be mentioned the seamen who are the oldest and most numerous of the Negro community. The largest influx of this group came after World War I, when they were actually encouraged to settle down in Britain. Later, however, especially during the years of depression, efforts were made to get rid of them. The intervention of the League of Coloured People assisted in establishing their right as British citizens thereby enabling them to remain. It is not yet clear as to how much this group will increase, if at all, as a result of World War II. So far there is no evidence of difficulties arising on matters pertaining to the employment of Negro seamen.

Negro Professional Artists

There have always been a considerable number of professional artists able to earn their livelihood in a respectable manner on the stage. Many have been very successful. More recently, however, there has come into prominence a new group of film artists securing lucrative incomes and, incidentally, providing seasonal employment for qualified individuals. With the growth of the film industry in England, there will probably be further development in this type of occupation for Negro artists. Among the Negro stars who have come into prominence, Robert Adams stands out for his performance in *Men of Two Worlds*, followed by Perto Posuka and his *Ballets Negres*, which has had a successful run. Mention should be made of Edric Connor who had a long run of performances on the British Broadcasting Company in *Serenade in Sepia*. In 1946, Connor gave two excellent recitals at Wigmore Hall.

Negro Industrial Technicians

During the war, a considerable number of Negro technicians were brought over from the West Indies to work in the Royal Ordnance Factories. With the closing-down of these factories at the end of the war, most of these technicians returned to their homeland. A small number remained in England to secure extra training for technical work. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that the opportunity for securing remunerative employment will become increasingly limited.

Mention should be made of clerical possibilities in the technical field, especially for young Negro women. More girls have secured clerical positions than ever before. The probabilities of opportunity for qualified persons in the clerical aspects of this occupation are considerable although the number of girls adequately trained is small. Practically the only other occupational outlook for the Negro girl is in the field of domestic service where there is an increasing demand, but there is an unwillingness on the part of the girls to choose this field.

Negro Doctors

The Negro doctors in England have been especially successful. They are generally liked by their patients and are by no means confined to service in the poorer areas. Far more white people than colored are counted among their patients. In this independent field, the Negro is able to show himself to good advantage.

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*Editor's Note: Dr. Harold A. Moody died at his home in Peckham, England on April 24, 1947, in the midst of establishing a cultural center in London for colored peoples of the world.

Negro Nurses

The same holds true for women in the field of nursing. At one time it was difficult to secure admission to hospitals as probationer nurses but the League of Coloured Peoples took up the possibilities with the London County Council and hospitals opened their doors to student nurses. Soon it was possible to fill places with some excellent candidates and as a result the field widened. It is probable that as long as the present dearth of nurses continues Negro student nurses will be welcomed for training. Nevertheless, there are still a few hospitals that refuse to admit them.

New Vocational Interests Among Students

With the new thirst for educational development and demands for self-government hastened by World War II, there has been a large influx of students from Africa and the West Indies. It is very interesting to observe the new and increasing trends of thought among them. Before the war, students came mostly to drift into the fields of Medicine and Law with only a few brilliant exceptions, who entered the field of Sociology, Commerce and Economics. Today young men and women are preparing themselves to take full charge of the affairs in their own lands.

The Government too has assisted in stimulating this interest by awarding scholarships and securing admission to suitable schools for students interested in the new fields. Already there are a few scholars of whom the Negro people can be justly proud. The following should be mentioned: Dr. W. Arthur Lewis, Lecturer and Examiner in Economics at the London School of Economics and Political Science; Dr. E. E. Williams lecturing at an American University; Dr. Malcolm E. L. Joseph-Mitchell, who in addition to holding an appointment in the Department of Inland Revenue in England has held important offices in the service of the Government; and Dr. C. O. J. Mathews employed in an Advisory capacity with the I. L. O. in Canada. Other members of the Negro race holding administrative appointments include Mr. Learie N. Constantine, the world famous cricketer whose work in the Government Welfare Department was recognized by the award of an M. B. E., in the New Year honors.

Negroes in the Military Forces

Members of the Military Forces in 1939 first had the barriers removed from the King's Regulations which, until that time, had prevented them from attaining commissions. Since then several Coloured men have obtained the commissioned rank, some reaching the rank of Major, and have otherwise done magnificently. The Royal Air Force has decided that the barrier should be removed permanently and it is confidently hoped that the two other Forces will follow suit. On the whole, conditions are much better for the Negro in Britain than formerly but it must be recognized that there is still a long way to go before it can be said that no prejudice exists.

SOME ORGANIZATIONS IN BRITAIN

The League of Coloured Peoples

The League of Coloured Peoples has done a great deal of work since its formation. The arousing of the consciousness of the British people to the injustice experienced by the Coloured peoples in this country is largely due to the activities of this organization.

One barrier after another has been successfully attacked. Admission to hospitals and colleges; admission to the Commissioned ranks of the Forces; the Seamen in Cardiff; resolutions on Mass Education in 1931, leading up to the Government's Report on Mass Education of 1938; "A Charter for Coloured Peoples," a report on Race Relations and the Schools are only some of the highlights of the activities of this organization founded by Harold A. Moody in 1931.

The West African Students' Union

The West African Students' Union has also functioned for many years but has hitherto catered almost entirely to West African peoples. Nevertheless, efforts are now being made for its further development and its General Secretary has been touring West Africa in an effort to collect funds. A committee set-up by the late Dean of Westminster has also launched a campaign for funds to help in realizing the objectives of this Union. This organization will play an increasingly important role in furthering the best interests of the African in Britain.

The West Indian Students' Union And the Pan-African Federation

The West Indian Students' Union and the Pan-African Federation are both recent organizations and it is yet impossible to say to what extent and exactly what part they will play in the future. The last mentioned held a successful Pan-African Congress in 1945 which Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois attended as a representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

Advisory Committee For Negro Colonials in Britain

The Government which, prior to the formation of the League of Coloured Peoples, had done very little in a direct way, has built-up an entirely new department which is playing an important and effective part in the development and welfare of the Negro Colonial in Britain. This new department is under the capable leadership of Mr. J. L. Keith, O. B. E., who is assisted by Ivor G. Cummings, Esq., of West Africa. Its Advisory Committee has done a very good piece of work in organizing and opening a number of hostels to house students.

DIVISION XXXVII

STATUS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF NEGROES IN RUSSIA

By HOMER SMITH

Moscow, USSR

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND RACIAL EQUALITY IN RUSSIA

The Negro likes Russia for her belief in racial equality and Russia likes the Negro. Upon arriving in Russia, whether to work in any profession or trade for which he is qualified or only as a vacation visitor, the Negro—particularly the Negro from America—finds himself suddenly thrust into an entirely new and different world—a *promised land*, as it were. He finds all doors wide open to him, with *welcome* written on all thresholds and on all faces. No *Black Belts*, Harlems or other ghettos based on nationality, race or color are to be found. No *second class* citizens exist; no color caste practices; no racial discrimination; no Jim Crow segregation. The *badge of color*, the Negro soon finds out, instead of being a disadvantage to him, becomes an advantageous *badge* which, if anything, has been known to tip the scales in his favor, but never to his disadvantage.

In Russia, the Negro finds absolute and even, constant and unwavering economic, political and racial equality, not only for himself, but for all of the more than fifty different nationalities which comprise Russia's heterogeneous population. Besides, he finds all these rights and equalities implemented in the fundamental law of the country, the Soviet Constitution, which proclaims, guarantees and enforces complete equality for all nationalities and races and full equality before the law for all citizens. In addition, the Soviet Constitution makes it a crime punishable by law to propagate racial prejudices and animosities against any race or nationality. In brief, the Negro finds in Russia in the fullest measure the answer to the question: "What does the Negro want?"

Undoubtedly, the newly-arrived Negro has read much about, and knows of, the great economic revolution in progress in vast Russia. He finds the cordiality and hospitality of the Russian people a refreshing and welcome contrast to the discrimination, segregation and other frustrations which he left behind in his own country.

Naturally, therefore, many of them spend their first few days enjoying the friendly atmosphere by making several rounds of the barber shops and public bathhouses, the theaters and moving picture houses, the parks, and clubs, the cafes and restaurants, the hotels and dance places, and after having made acquaintances and friends in many apartment houses and homes where he has been welcomed with open arms, the Negro then settles down to the economic side of life. Equality follows him onto the job; he finds no "job ceiling;" he gets the job for which he came here and for which he is qualified; he is paid equal wages for equal work. "First to be fired, last to be hired" does not haunt him. He is fully and equally covered by all of the benefits of the job—promotions, sick leave with pay, vacations with pay, premiums, trade union membership, etc. His psychological transformation is complete; his race pride increases; his chest expands appreciably; his head is held higher. All his frustrations have disappeared.

Russians First Knew American Negroes Intimately

Russians have the highest respect for Negroes; Negroes respect Russians. And there is an unusual amount of understanding among Negroes and Russians. It might with truth be said that this understanding is the outcome of mutual respect.

It was only during the past ten or fifteen years that Russians came to know Negroes at first hand. Of course, the wealthy and influential Negro, George Thomas, prior to the Russian Revolution was close to the Czarist court and aristocratic circles and operated Moscow's well-known Aquarium Summer Garden. Jack Johnson, the boxing champion, spent some time here, and in earlier days there have been individual Negroes living in Russia, but these usually hobnobbed only with Russian elite, aristocrats and intellectuals. The Negroes who came to Russia during the past fifteen years came to work in Russian industry and agriculture alongside the plain Russian men and women. Of course, Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson and Caterina Jarboro captivated the country in the realm of music and song.

A VIEW OF NEGRO PARTICIPATION

Skilled American Negroes In Russia

The first highly-skilled American Negro to arrive on the Russian scene was Robert Robinson, who was engaged about in the early 1930's by the Soviet Government to come to Russia and help to train Russian youth—boys and girls—in the highly-skilled trade of tool-making at the then building Stalingrad Tractor Works. Robinson had learned his trade well at Ford's Motor Works in Detroit, and the Russians highly-valued him and his skill and he soon became a favorite among them. The Russians showed what they thought about "racism" when two prejudiced white Americans insulted and assaulted Robinson at Stalingrad. These men were put on trial and found guilty and ordered out of the country. After the Stalingrad Tractor Works had passed through its period of "growing pains" and began producing tractors, Robinson was invited to come and work in the giant Moscow Ball-Bearing Plant, where high-precision skill is an absolute necessity. Here again he was assigned to training young Russian workers, and he has given the plant about three dozen highly-skilled machine tool-makers. He has been cited innumerable times by the Plant's Administration as an outstanding specialist and for his many inventive innovations. Whenever there is some technical difficulty at the plant, Robinson is always turned to for advice and assistance in solving it. The population of the ward in which the plant is located elected him in 1934 as one of their deputies to the Moscow City Council. The plant also sent Robinson to study in one of the city's engineering schools and he recently graduated as a mechanical engineer, his diploma thesis having been tank construction, which he upheld with flying colors before a commission of experts.

Shortly after Robinson's arrival in Russia, a group of eleven American Negro agricultural specialists arrived at the invitation of the Soviet Government to help in putting the country's cotton culture on its feet. In this group were men trained at such colleges as Tuskegee, Wilberforce, Iowa State, Virginia State College, A. and T. College of North Carolina. Their assignment was the improvement of Soviet cotton agriculture, both scientifically and mechanically, with their headquarters in Tashkent, Soviet Central Asia, in the heart of Russia's cotton growing district. Some of them spent most of their time in the laboratories of the Central Plant Selection Station in Tashkent, while others devoted their labors to working in branch field laboratories and in the mechanization shops. Included among these agricultural workers were John Sutton, an agricultural chemist and a former understudy of Dr. George Washington Carver; George Tynes, specialist in poultry husbandry; Charles Young, Jr., son of the late Col. Charles Young. While in Russia, Sutton made the valuable discovery of making twine and rope from rice straw.

Richard Williams of Columbia University, where he studied under the electrical wizard, Steinmetz, is at present working as an electrical engineer at the rebuilding of the great Zaparozhye Aluminum Works, which the Germans wrecked. He was for ten years chief electrical mechanical engineer for the Dalton Manufacturing Company and later for the Schlick Razor Company in Old Greenwich, Conn. Williams' first assignment in Russia was as an electrical maintenance engineer at the giant Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Works in the Urals. He later worked on a hydroelectrical construction job in the valley of the Ferghana river in Uzbekistan. Williams is credited with having discovered, through close observation and experiments, while working for the Continental Fire Insurance Company in New York City, that skyscrapers sway minutely in high winds, although this is unobservable to the naked eye. This discovery was later confirmed by architects and engineers using highly-sensitive precision instruments.

Negroes in the Theatre And Moving Pictures

In Soviet theatrical and moving picture circles, Wayland Rudd, is well-known. He is at present an actor in the famous Stanislavsky Theatrical Studio. Rudd has taken part in many Soviet-made films, including O'Henry's *Alias Jimmy Valentine*, Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn*, Jules Verne's *Fifteen Year Old Captain*, and many others. He graduated from the Moscow Institute of Theatrical Art as a theatrical director. He was on Broadway in America in *Porgy*, *Bloodstream*, and *The Sentinel*, and was for several years a member of Jasper Deeter's Hedgerow Theater in Philadelphia. Rudd is often called upon for consultation when American plays are being staged in Russia, his latest consultation having been given during the staging in Moscow of Lillian Hellman's *The Little Foxes*.

By far the *veteran* of all foreign Negroes living in Russia is an American Negro woman, Madam Coretti Arle-Titz. She has lived in Russia both under the Czar and under the Soviets. Madam Arle-Titz is well—and widely-known on Russia's concert stage as a talented and popular singer. She sings in Russian, English, Spanish and French. When a young girl, she sang in the choir of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York City. Madame Arle-Titz, who has given concerts all over Russia, is a graduate of the St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) and Moscow Conservatories of Music. She was a close friend of the late noted Russian writer, Maxim Gorky. Her husband is Professor Boris Titz, well-known professor of the piano in the Moscow Conservatory of Music.

Negroes in Other Fields

Another American Negro woman, Miss Vivienne France, spent some time in Russia working as consultant in the anthropophysical laboratory in the University of Moscow. She is a graduate of Columbia University and was formerly Dean of Women at North Carolina State College and Head of the History Department in LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tennessee.

The well-known journalist-writer, Eugene Gordon, formerly of the Boston Post, spent several years on the editorial staff of the Moscow Daily News. While in Moscow he was elected to membership in the Soviet Writers' Club, the country's leading literary club.

Both of the announcers on the American broadcast program of Radio Moscow were until recently Negroes—Lloyd Patterson, New York born Hampton graduate, and Mrs. Williana Burroughs, former New York City school teacher. They were chosen because their enunciation and pronunciation were found to be most typically American. Unfortunately, Patterson died during the late Soviet-German war and Mrs. Burroughs died in 1945 while on a trip to America.

One of the most highly-respected American names in Russia is that of Paul Robeson. Robeson is lionized whenever he comes to Moscow, and his records are regularly included in radio broadcast programs. Whenever Robeson arrives in Moscow it is always announced in the newspapers, which is a very unusual honor. Robeson naturally—aside from his great art as an actor-singer—appeals to the Russian people. He is the type of artist who does not shut himself up in the ivory tower of his art, isolated from the common people. Robeson takes an active part in the struggles and trials and tribulations of his own people and of all other progressive peoples. Therein is the reason for his irresistible appeal and popularity in Russia, where Russian artists also take an active part in public and social life as deputies to the Supreme Soviet, the Moscow Soviet, the District Soviets, and take patronage over various social institutions.

Marian Anderson and Caterina Jarboro made tremendous and indelible impressions on the Russian public, who saw in these great artists the finest singers America has ever sent to Russia. Music critics exhausted their vocabulary of adjectives in praise of their profound and finished mastery of the vocal art. One music critic reminded Russian singers that they had much to learn from Marian Anderson, and there was preliminary talk of casting Jarboro in the role of *Aida* at Moscow's great Bolshoi Theatre.

The highest ranking Negro in Russia in 1946 was Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Ph.D. (Harvard), and former war-time *Black Cabinet* member in charge of Negro training and employment in the Office of Production Management and the War Production Board and later Director of Negro Manpower Service on the War Manpower Commission. Dr. Weaver served in Russia in the highly responsible position of Reports Officer on the UNRRA Mission to the Ukraine. This position carried diplomatic status, which meant that Dr. Weaver was the only Negro in Russia with diplomatic rank. During the absences of the Chief of the Mission, Marshal MacDuffie, and the Deputy Chief, Paul White, Dr. Weaver, as next senior ranking officer, was often in charge of the Mission and responsible for all of its work and activities and distribution of its supplies worth tens of millions of dollars. Dr. Weaver prepared the Ukraine Mission's report for presentation to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council meeting which was held in Geneva, Switzerland, in the summer of 1946. American and British correspondents who visited the UNRRA Ukraine Mission's headquarters in Kiev frankly admitted that "'Doc' Weaver is the dynamo and brains of the Mission."

NATIVE NEGROES IN RUSSIA

There is a group of native Negroes living in the Soviet autonomous Socialist Republic of Abkhazia on the eastern Black Sea coast. Most of them live in Ochimcheri District between Sukhumi and the Turkish border, but there are others scattered about in the nearby mountainous region. They have been living here for many generations, first under the Georgian and Russian Czars and later under the Soviets. Their exact number is not known. They speak the Akhazian language, have long ago absorbed the culture and customs of the region, and the Census counts them as Abkhazians. Due to the widespread intermingling of the blood of the many nationalities living in the region, they are fast losing their Negroid features and are developing into a type more in common with the other local nationalities. Instead of opposing, Russia encourages intermarriage. However, the very old members of this group (some of them are more than 100 years old) still retain their Negroid features. Historians believe they were brought here through Turkey and Persia as slaves from Abyssinia, and the older members distinctly resemble Abyssinian types rather than other African types. These Negro-descent Russian citizens are engaged in agriculture on collective and State farms, along with many other nationalities, their main crops being tea, citrus fruit, tobacco, vineyards, and tung trees. The climate of the region is subtropical. The Negroid citizens have complete economic, political and social equality with all other citizens, many of them having held, and are holding, high public office.

ECONOMIC CRISES PERMANENTLY ELIMINATED IN RUSSIA

In discussing Russia's hospitable and hearty attitude toward Negroes, many persons are inclined lightly to dismiss the question by saying: "Oh, well, there are so few Negroes in Russia; if there were a lot of them, things would be different." But the matter is not so simple as all that. In the first place, Russia has a Socialist form of society, where production is for use and not for profit. Everything is planned, and economic crises and mass unemployment, which would create a sharp and bitter struggle for jobs, are unknown and considered impossible of ever occurring. It is firmly believed in Russia that there will always be jobs for all, that instead of workers hunting for jobs, there will always be jobs hunting for workers. Ten Negroes or ten thousand Negroes in Russia would make no difference in the attitude of the Russian people toward the Negro. There are many millions of dusky-skinned, high-visibility national minority peoples already living in Russia—Uzbeks, Tartars, Tadjiks, Armenians, Turkmens, etc.—but their presence in millions has not in the least been detrimental to their enjoyment of full equality, nor have the majority Russian people developed any signs of racial prejudice or animosity toward them. Those persons who so lightly raise the "theory of numbers" in support of their contention that "if there were a lot of them, things would be different," may be quite right as regards America, South Africa, and some other capitalist, competitive economy countries. But their "theory" can hardly be applicable to Socialist Russia, where economic crises, struggles for jobs and unemployment have been permanently liquidated. Indeed, many Russians have been heard to ask: "Why don't more of your people come over here to work and live with us?"

PART FOUR

THE NEGRO IN LATIN AMERICA

DIVISION XXXVIII

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE NEGRO IN LATIN AMERICA

By Rayford W. Logan
Howard University

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The principal West Indian islands form a magnificent arc stretching from the eighty-fifth meridian southwest of Florida to approximately the sixtieth meridian at the eastern end of Venezuela. They thus make the Caribbean a virtual inland sea except for the Yucatan Channel on the west and the vitally important strategic and commercial passages between the islands. Immediately to the north of the arc are the Bahama Islands and some eight hundred miles to the northeast of the Bahamas is Bermuda. Close under the arc is Jamaica and a short distance off the coast of Venezuela are three Dutch West Indian islands. On the mainland of South America, adjoining Venezuela where Trinidad almost touches it are the three Guianas, British, French, and Dutch.

Early History of the West Indies

The history of the West Indies is colorful, romantic, and depressing. Columbus made his first landfall in 1492 at Watling Island (San Salvador) in the Bahamas. The first permanent white settlement in the Western World was established before the end of the century at what is now Ciudad Trujillo, capital of the Dominican Republic. From the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the Caribbean was "The Focus of Envy," "The Cockpit of International Rivalry," the favorite preserve of the most famous buccaneers from Hawkins to Bluebeard.

Spain at first had "legal" title to all these lands by virtue of her treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. But the other European powers refused to recognize this bilateral partition of the Western World, and Spain's commitments in Europe made it impossible for her adequately to defend her colonial prizes. The Habsburg kings of Spain had to fight against the rebellious Dutch and defend the Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Empire from Turk and Protestant. At the very moment of the discovery of the Western World, Spain expelled two elements of the population, the Jews and the Moors, who might have contributed greatly to preserving the Spanish preponderance.

Caribbean Map At End Of Napoleonic Wars

By the end of the Napoleonic Wars, 1815, the political map of the Caribbean had been fixed as far as European rivalries were concerned. England had acquired most of the spoils—Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, the Bahamas, and Bermuda, the Windward Islands, the Leeward Islands, British Guiana and British Honduras. The French had managed to salvage Martinique and Guadeloupe (and dependencies), the northern part of St. Martin and French Guiana. The Dutch, who at one time had threatened even British naval supremacy, had managed to hold on to the apparently almost worthless islands of Curacao, Aruba, Bonaire, St. Eustatius, Saba, the southern part of St. Martin, and Dutch Guiana. Denmark held on to three small islands in the northeast. Spain held only Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo, the eastern two-thirds of the island of Hispaniola.

The western third of Hispaniola, which had become the French colony of Saint Domingue at the end of the seventeenth century, was now the independent republic of Haiti. On January 1, 1804, the ex-slaves of the French colony, aided by some freemen, yellow fever and international rivalries, had proclaimed the independence of the first nation in the Caribbean, the first Latin American nation, the second republic in the Western Hemisphere. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century Haiti attempted to rule over Santo Domingo, but in 1844 the Dominican Republic was able to liberate itself. Spain reasserted her sovereignty briefly during the American Civil War, but the Republic regained independence when Spain saw that the North would be victorious.

United States Made Changes In Caribbean Map

It remained for the United States to make the final and most important changes in the map of the Caribbean. Cuba, as a result of the Spanish American War, became the third independent nation, but a protectorate of the United States. Puerto Rico fell into the lap of the United States. In 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt "took" the Panama Canal Zone from Colombia. Investments by United States capitalists in the era of "Dollar Diplomacy" kept pace with the consequent increasing strategic importance of the Caribbean.

Two world wars have now dramatically revealed that the security of the United States depends in large measure upon her preponderance in the West Indies. During the first, marines occupied Haiti (1915), the Dominican Republic (1916), and the United States purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark in 1917. The marines were withdrawn from the Dominican Republic in 1924 and from Haiti in 1934. In the latter year the United States relinquished the right under the Platt Amendment to intervene in Cuba for the preservation of independence and orderly government. But in 1940, more than a year before the United States entered the second world war, the United States leased for ninety-nine years air and naval bases in Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Lucia, Trinidad and British Guiana. Anglo-American cooperation was further recognized by the establishment of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission on March 9, 1942. The United States blockaded the Vichy forces in Martinique and Guadeloupe and sent troops to aid in the defense of the oil refineries in the Dutch islands of Curacao and Aruba. Puerto Rico became a formidable air base. In a very large measure the Caribbean is today an "American Lake."

POPULATION OF THE WEST INDIES

Changes in Racial Composition Of Population

Not only has the political map of the West Indies undergone these significant changes since the Spanish discoveries, but the racial composition has likewise been transformed. Whatever may have been the number of Arawak and Carib Indians who inhabited the islands, today they have been virtually exterminated. The Spaniards did not settle in large numbers in the islands, especially after news came of the discovery of vast quantities of precious metals in Mexico and Peru. The climate kept any considerable number of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Danes or other Europeans from taking up permanent residence. The wholesale importation of Negro slaves from Africa to work on sugar, coffee, and other plantations eventually made the West Indies almost a new Negroland. East Indians and Javanese constitute about one-third of the population of Trinidad, two-fifths of British Guiana and almost one-half of Dutch Guiana.

It is almost impossible, however, to arrive at any accurate estimate of the racial composition of the islands. Apart from the question of race as a scientific label, less white blood is required in the West Indies for a person to be white than in the United States. Especially in Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, thousands of persons are considered white there who would be called colored in the United States. Estimates of the colored population in Cuba and Puerto Rico range from one-third to one-half. Although the Dominican Republic has tried to convince the outside world that it is a white country, practically all visitors have concluded that its population is about two-thirds of mixed blood and almost one-fifth more of Negro blood. The other islands with the exception of the tiny Dutch island of Saba are predominantly Negro and colored—in the Caribbean more emphasis is placed upon the distinction than in the United States. The Dutch islands off the coast of Venezuela, for example, are about ninety per cent Negro and colored. Haiti is overwhelmingly black with a small percentage of mulattoes.

Areas and Distribution Of Population

Practically all these islands are overpopulated, as the following table indicates.[1]

Area and Population of Islands of the West Indies

Island	Area in Square Miles	Population
Independent Nations		
Cuba	44,164	4,776,824
Haiti (2)	10,000	3,500,000
Dominican Republic	19,332	1,969,773
American		
Puerto Rico	3,435	2,020,378
Virgin Islands	132	24,876
British		
Bermuda	19¼	33,428
Bahamas	4,375	68,846
Barbados	166	200,674
Jamaica (including small islands)	4,846¼	1,250,000
Trinidad and Tobago	1,980	535,499
Windward Islands		
Grenada, with Carriacou	133	87,805
St. Lucia	233	76,174
St. Vincent and Dependencies	150	61,349
Dominica	304	53,686
Leeward Islands		
Antigua, Barbuda and Redonda	170½	42,789
St. Kitts-Nevis, with Anguilla	152	39,746
Montserrat	32½	13,332
Virgin Islands	67	6,720
British Guiana	89,480	361,754
British Honduras	8,598	62,512
French		
Martinique	385	241,000
Guadeloupe	583	304,239
French Guiana	34,740	42,643
Dutch		
Curacao Territory—Island of Curacao, Aruba, Bonaire, St. Eustatius, Saba, southern part of St. Martin	384	130,000
Dutch Guiana (Surinam)	50,000	177,980

(2) Editor's Note: See also Division XXXIX for population of Haiti.

Over-Population of Islands

Practically all these islands are overpopulated and the population is increasing. Cuba and the Dominican Republic are relatively fortunate since they have a population density of only about 100 per square mile. Haiti, on the other hand, has a population density of 350 per square mile in terms of total land and probably more than 450 in terms of arable land. Puerto Rico's population density is about 590 per square mile, and that of Barbados more than 1,000.

In the three independent nations and in Puerto Rico particularly, where the Catholic religion is powerful and where consequently birth control has made little headway, this problem of overpopulation is likely to become worse, at least temporarily. Emigration is not likely to afford any considerable relief in the near future. No independent nation has opened its doors to Negro migration on a large scale. British and French Guiana, the apparently sparsely inhabited possessions, do not have much land suitable for settlement. Finally, during recent years there has been a movement from the rural areas to the urban centers.

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[1] The figures are taken from The West Indies Year Book (London, New York and Montreal, 1945), except for the Netherlands West Indies and the French West Indies. Those for the Netherlands West Indies are based upon information given by authorities in the islands in 1946; those for the French West Indies upon Raye R. Platt et al., The European Possessions in the Caribbean Area (New York, 1941).

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE WEST INDIES

General Distribution of Poverty Among Negroes

Generally speaking the Negroes of the West Indies are at the bottom of the ladder economically. There are, of course, some exceptions. Some Negroes are wealthy and university educated. Moreover, there are many poor whites especially in Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico. As Professor Rupert Emerson once pointed out, with respect to the last named, there is so much poverty that it can not all be distributed among Negroes only.

Since most Negroes were brought to the islands as slaves, it is easy enough to understand why they are at the bottom. Moreover, when the slaves were freed, no real effort was made to provide them with the means of gaining a livelihood. Above all there was no widespread distribution of land among the freedmen. They became in large measure a landless proletariat. Today vast plantations are owned by white individuals or corporations. Jamaica has about one-half of its total area in 1,400 estates. In St. Vincent more than one-half of the privately owned land is in thirty plantations. Martinique was owned almost in its entirety by one thousand families. In 1938 more than one-third of the total area of Puerto Rico was included in thirty-five estates. Cuba is notorious for its vast plantations, mostly owned by American sugar corporations.

Haiti was the only country where any large scale distribution of land was carried out. But the destruction of the machinery on most of the plantations, the small size of the plots made necessary by the large population, and the hostility of the rest of the world prevented this first modern attempt to give freedmen an opportunity to earn a living where they best knew how—on the land—from being a success. The Dominican Republic in recent years has been more successful in its agrarian program because it has more fertile land and a smaller population. Land is being reclaimed from even the sides of mountains for state-supported agricultural developments.

Wages and Incomes Incredibly Low

But whether the Negro be a small farmer or a worker on a plantation, his income and wages are incredibly low by American standards. This low income and wage usually prevail in an agricultural economy. One can best understand the situation by considering the import of the statement that the "South is a colony of the North" in the United States. The South sells its cotton and other farm products at low prices to the North and buys back manufactured articles at high prices. The prices of southern goods are low in part, at least, because of the low wages paid to the workers. The prices of northern goods are high largely because of the high wages paid to the factory workers. This, in brief, is the "arithmetic of imperialism."

On rubber plantations in Haiti operating under the auspices of the United States Government, workers are paid thirty cents a day, the minimum wage. Here, as in many other instances, the minimum wage is the maximum wage. In Puerto Rico, shortly before the war, the average annual income for farm laborers was less than $120. Twenty-five cents a day is generally accepted as the average wage for laborers in the British West Indies. In Cuba, where wages on the sugar plantations are higher, the worker gets his pay only during the cutting and grinding season—the *zafra*—which may last four months. The *zafra* is somewhat longer in the Dominican Republic. President Hoover told the bitter truth when, after a visit to the Virgin Islands, he publicly announced that the United States had acquired "an effective poor house." Even though wages in some instances have risen as a result of the war, the increased cost of living has prevented any considerable improvement in the standard of living. The West Indian Islands, as far as most Negroes are concerned, are a gigantic poor house.

Meager Wages in the Trades

Wages in the trades are a little higher, but the added cost of living in urban centers keeps these workers poverty-stricken. The needlework industry in Puerto Rico is notorious as a "sweat shop." Domestics may average ten dollars a month throughout the islands. Negroes are usually relegated to the lowest paid jobs. There is a tendency, for example, in Cuba and the Dominican Republic to employ Negroes or light mulattoes in the better white collar positions. In Cuba, however, where the "fifty per cent law" of President Grau San Martin in 1933 required the employment of at least that percentage of Cubans in certain basic industries, many Negroes were employed as drivers of street cars and busses. But few were employed as conductors because, it was alleged, the white passengers resented the closer personal contact.

These low wages obviously make it well-nigh impossible for the workers to buy many manufactured articles since most of them are imported from countries of high labor costs, especially the United States. In this connection it is necessary to destroy a common fallacy which asserts that thirty cents a day will go much farther in the West Indies than in the United States. A moment's reflection will make it clear that this statement is true only with respect to goods produced by labor at thirty cents a day. But thirty cents a day will go no further in the West Indies for the purchase of a radio made in the United States than will thirty cents a day in the United States. If the radio cost, say, thirty dollars, the West Indian would have to pay one hundred units of thirty cents just as an American would. (No consideration, for the sake of simplicity, is given to added costs of transportation and tariff charges, which in some instances are high.) The meaning of this "arithmetic of imperialism" becomes clearer when one realizes that it would take the wages of one hundred days for the West Indian to buy a radio while it would take the wages of only six days for an American who earns five dollars a day. Further, many Americans have recently received an *increase* in their *hourly* wage equal to the *daily* wage of many West Indians.

Financial Status of Workers Better In Netherlands West Indies

The Netherlands West Indies provide a pleasing contrast to this general poverty. Curacao and Aruba have two of the largest oil refineries in the world. The oil companies, whatever their reasons may be, pay their "pick and shovel men" about fifty cents an hour. As a consequence, these workers are able to buy many articles manufactured in the United States. The writer, who visited these islands during the summer of 1946 was amazed to find the vast difference between the standard of living of the people, about ninety per cent of whom are Negroes, and that of most other Negroes in the West Indies. Even in these Dutch Islands, however, there was a ceiling on the job opportunities for Negroes.

Industrialization Needed But Difficult

These islands, however, furnish proof of the need for industrialization if the widespread poverty is to be eradicated. But most of the islands will find it difficult to engage in any large scale industrialization because they are lacking, so far as is known, in coal, iron ore, oil and the means for producing extensive hydroelectric power.

The diversification of agriculture has also been proposed as a means of alleviating the poverty. But the principal need is for the production of more food crops for home consumption. Even if there were an increase in agricultural products for export, the low prices paid would not materially improve the situation. Unless the inhabitants of rich nations like the United States are willing to pay higher prices for their coffee, bananas, sugar and other commodities, diversification of agriculture will be no panacea.

Nor is the tourist trade likely to be the solution. There are simply not enough tourists to add any considerable income to all the islands. Moreover, the tourists would spend their money for personal services which are notoriously paid low wages and for basketry and needlework which they would want to purchase at bargain prices. A modicum of improvement would result from an expansion of animal husbandry, fishing, and the division of the big landed estates. Many competent economists assert, however, that the sugar industry can operate profitably only with large plantations.

EDUCATION IN THE WEST INDIES

Schools Inadequate and Poorly Attended

Since the islands are, generally, gigantic poorhouses, provisions for education are inadequate. Illiteracy ranges from eighty per cent in Haiti down through about forty per cent in Trinidad to three per cent in the highly fortunate Dutch West Indies. The following figures show the percentage of the total population registered in the primary schools in the British West Indies: Bermuda, 15; Bahamas, 20; Jamaica, 13; Trinidad and Tobago, 16; Barbados, 14; Leeward Islands, 16; Windward Islands, 16; British Guiana, 16; British Honduras, 15. These figures include white as well as colored students. The situation is about the same in the French West Indies.

At first sight these percentages do not seem alarmingly low since about twenty per cent is usually considered the proportion of the total population that should be in the elementary schools. But, first, average attendance except in Bermuda where it is about eighty-five per cent is only about two-thirds of the registered enrollment. Second, the vast majority of the students are in the first four grades. Third, a very considerable number are taught in one-room schools by poorly trained teachers. In brief, facilities for education are probably not quite so good as those in the most backward States in the United States.

Except in Bermuda, however, there is generally no segregation in the public schools. But a kind of segregation prevails in the private schools since few Negroes are able to attend them. Finally, there are proportionately more government-aided denominational schools than there are in the United States.

Small But Select Enrollments In Secondary Schools

Since so few children attend school beyond the fourth grade, there is naturally a rather small enrollment in the secondary schools. The quality of teaching is, however, generally much better than it is in the elementary schools. A very considerable number of West Indian students who go to colleges and universities in the United States, the United Kingdom and France, hold their own with the best students trained in the best secondary schools in those countries. Even if due allowance is made for the fact that these West Indian students are largely a select group, it is clear that the secondary education is superior to that in many of the States in the United States.

West Indian University Needed

There are also several colleges in the British West Indies. But Codrington College in Barbados is the only institution in the British West Indies where the degree of an English university, Durham, can be obtained under conditions of residence and examination. Although some scholarships are available for professional and graduate study abroad, there is obvious need that the long discussed West Indian University be established as soon as possible. The need is all the more urgent because of the unusually heavy enrollment in British, Canadian and American universities.

Elementary and Government High Schools in Dutch Area

The Dutch West Indies provide elementary education for all without segregation and with mixed teaching staffs. About 20,000 out of 24,000 students are taught by Catholic Brothers and Sisters. These are not parochial schools like those in the United States—they are government schools like the others with an added course in religion. There is some criticism because of this preponderant role of the Church. Tuition is charged in the high school, which corresponds roughly to grades seven through ten, but children of the poor do not pay. Peter Stuyvesant College which goes through approximately the Junior College in this country prepares students for professional and graduate work in Holland. Obviously, only the children of the very well-to-do can usually pursue this higher education. The insular authorities definitely oppose higher education in the United States for the islanders.

Backward Status of Puerto Rican Schools

Puerto Rico, like the British and French West Indies, has an elementary system about on the level of the backward States in the United States. Out of 493,618 children of elementary school age, 326,480 are in the first eight grades. This number is about sixteen per cent of the total population. But about sixty per cent of the students are on a half-day basis. The schools, especially in the rural areas, leave much to be desired both with respect to facilities and to the training of the teachers. Some idea of the small number who finish the elementary grades is seen in the fact that in 1944 only 16,320 were enrolled in the last two years of high school and 32,500 in the seventh, eighth and ninth grades. By contrast, while 9,000 were in private pay elementary schools, there were 2,800 in private high schools. Considerable progress has been made in reducing illiteracy from seventy-five per cent in 1900 to about twenty per cent today. The University of Puerto Rico is the only university in this West Indian colony providing professional and graduate training.

Superior Schools in the Virgin Islands

The Danes introduced compulsory education in their West Indies in 1841. Today education is compulsory in the Virgin Islands for every child between six and fifteen unless he or she has completed sooner the sixth grade. Graduates of high schools are generally admitted to colleges in the United States without examination. Scholarships facilitate education abroad for a small number. A teachers' training institute prepares teachers for the primary grades. The public school system provides many of the facilites obtainable in the best schools in the United States such as nursery schools, free lunches, nurses, and medical services.

It is only natural that the United States, especially during the war years, has been able to spend more for education in her colonies than has England or France. The English Government has announced plans for expanding education especially on the elementary level.

Public Education in Haiti Retarded By Small Revenue

Public education in Haiti, on the other hand, is still retarded by the very small revenue at the disposal of the Government. Even if every cent of the total revenue of about six million dollars were spent on elementary education, there would be available only about $10.00 per capita for the 600,000 children who should be in the elementary schools. This would leave nothing for secondary and higher education. Haiti is a striking example of the relationship between the poverty of a country and its inadequate educational facilities.

Many of the "best families" send their children to private (usually Catholic) schools. The University has faculties of Law, Medicine (including Dentistry and Pharmacy), Engineering and "Philosophy." There is little opportunity for advanced study in the social sciences. The University of Haiti, like those in other Latin American nations, is not on a par with the best in the United States.

Education Free and Compulsory in The Dominican Republic and Cuba

The Dominican Republic has made enormous strides under the dictatorship of General Trujillo toward the eradication of illiteracy. Much of his success has been due to the fact that the Dominican Republic has one-half the population of Haiti and twice the revenues. Education is free and compulsory. Before long, illiteracy should be practically wiped out so far as children born in the past few years are concerned. There is, of course, no segregation in the public schools, but as elsewhere the number of white children in private schools and in the University of Santo Domingo is much larger than the proportion to the total population.

Cuba reveals something of the same situation. Education is free and compulsory; illiteracy should soon be no longer a major problem for children born in recent years; there is a disproportionate number of white children in private schools and in the University of Havana.

General Attempt to Adapt Curricula to Popular Needs

Both the colonial powers and the independent republics realize the necessity for adapting their curriculum to meet the needs of the people. More progress has been made in Haiti perhaps than elsewhere. Despite the invidious differences made in favor of agricultural and trade schools during the period of the American Occupation, the Republic has continued to give more emphasis to this type of education than it did prior to the intervention. The English Government has announced that it will give more attention to vocational training in the future. The oil refineries in the Netherlands West Indies have set an excellent example for the training by industry of craftsmen that it needs. In the three republics, however, there are still too many young men training for the law. The students in the University of Haiti and especially of Cuba frequently play a more active role in politics than do students in the United States.

HEALTH CONDITIONS IN THE WEST INDIES

Health Situation Deplorable

Just as poverty has retarded education, just so it has created a deplorable health situation. Malnutrition is widespread, for contrary to a popular belief most of these islands do not produce enough food to supply the population. This is especially true in the islands where there are large sugar plantations. It is almost incredible that smoked fish is imported into many of the islands. At one time Haiti imported butter from Denmark. Rice and kidney beans, bananas and plantains are the main staple of diet for most of the people, and rice is generally imported except in the Dominican Republic which now has an export crop. It is not uncommon for peasants to suck a sugar cane stalk in order to get a little added energy. The consumption of coffee and rum is high for the same reason. A piece of meat is about as rare throughout the year as it was during the recent meat famine in the United States. It is difficult to keep good milch cows in these subtropical regions. Canned milk, usually from the United States, is drunk by those who can afford to buy it. The American Oil Company in the Dutch island of Aruba, furnishes powdered milk to the students in its trade schools and reports excellent results.

Malnutrition and Disease Susceptibility

In brief, malnutrition deriving from lack of adequate food crops and the inability, because of low wages, to purchase imported foodstuffs, makes many West Indians peculiarly susceptible to certain diseases such as tuberculosis. Puerto Rico is notorious for its high tuberculosis rate. Other diseases common throughout the West Indies are malaria, hookworm, yaws and venereal diseases. The incidence of these diseases is increased by primitive sanitation. Especially appalling is the small number of houses that have either flush toilets or adjacent toilets of any kind. Although the sun is frequently referred to as the principal "doctor," the tropical rains add to the incidence of many diseases. The Netherlands West Indies again reveal a happy contrast. The workers are paid wages that permit them to buy imported foodstuffs. The absence of rain, except for a brief period, as much as the traditional Dutch habit of cleanliness, keeps down many diseases—malaria, for example, is virtually unknown. But there is a surprisingly large number of houses even in the cities of Willemstad, Oranjestad and San Nicolas without inside toilets.

Organized Efforts to Prevent Disease

The International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation has during recent years spent large sums especially for the draining of swamps that are the breeding grounds of malaria. The medical officers of the United States Marine Corps in Haiti laid the foundations for a public health program that has been furthered by the training in the United States of a number of physicians in public health programs. Cooperative clinics in Cuba, a kind of group hospitalization plan, have brought medical services to many who would otherwise have been deprived of them. The School of Tropical Medicine of the University of Puerto Rico, aided by Columbia University and the Rockefeller Foundation, has added greatly to the effectiveness of the treatment of tropical diseases. But fundamentally the health of the West Indies will be improved by the prevention rather than by the cure of diseases.

RACE RELATIONS IN THE WEST INDIES

Race Relations Better Than in the United States

However deplorable the economic, educational and health conditions may be in the West Indies, they reveal one glaring superiority over the United

States, namely, in race relations. Some persons have exaggerated this superiority, especially with respect to Cuba and the Dominican Republic, by asserting that there is no race prejudice in them. There are, indeed, few manifestations of race prejudice in public places. Race discrimination is prevented by law or Constitution. But both republics have private clubs that are limited to white members. The existence of the justly famous Negro Club Atenas in Havana is evidence that Negroes feel that they are not welcome in certain quarters, for the writer believes that Negroes do not as a rule voluntarily segregate themselves. In the Negro Republic of Haiti, the Hotel Sans Souci does not admit colored guests. Hotel 1829 in the Virgin Islands until early in 1946 similarly barred Negro guests. Puerto Rico, where American influence is strongest, has the worst record of racial segregation. Elsewhere racial segregation as such is virtually unknown in public places.

There is, however, a nexus between race and class that all too often results in racial discrimination. Most Negroes simply do not have the money which permits them to eat in first-class restaurants, go to first-class theatres, stay in first-class hotels. For example, during 1942, the writer went every day for a month to the Florida restaurant in Havana. The only colored persons who came there were three strolling musicians. The visitor to Cuba or the Dominican Republic can not fail to observe that the clientele of the best establishments are largely white and that the color becomes darker as one goes down in the scale.

Moreover, there are a few establishments in Cuba where Negroes definitely are not welcome. As a distinguished colored Cuban remarked in 1942: "We can go wherever we please, but there are some places where we know that we are not wanted, and so we don't go." American Negroes living in States that have a civil rights law prohibiting discrimination in public places are familiar with this device. After a number of years the pattern of an exclusively white clientele becomes so fixed that a Negro is likely to be denied service.

Americans Responsible For Racial Discrimination in Some Public Places

It is obvious that the influence of Americans is most largely responsible for these cases of what amounts practically to racial discrimination in some public places. But the exclusion of Negroes from private clubs is by no means confined to those countries that have come under American influence. In the opinion of some students, the upper-class Spaniard is perhaps even more prejudiced in his private affairs than is the American. In Cuba, they sometimes draw the line against Cubans, be they white or black. The Netherlands West Indies also have a few private clubs from which Negroes are barred. Nowhere, so far as the writer knows, is there any discrimination in public transportation. The general absence of segregation in public schools has already been noted.

Class System Among Negroes Based On Color

One of the most distressing problems in the West Indies is the class system among Negroes based largely on color. The Negro Republic of Haiti has a very bad record in this respect. Indeed, the January, 1946 revolution was in part a determination on the part of the "black elite" to gain power from the "mulatto elite." Although the regime of President Lescot was not entirely a mulatto group—President Lescot, for example, was brown skin—and although the new regime is not exclusively black, the color question was made the principal issue in the election of the new president. While the question of color is not so acute elsewhere as it is in Haiti, it is nevertheless a problem of serious proportions in most of the West Indies.

Class Not Caste Causes Inter-racial Problem

The problem is one of class and not of caste. Black men have risen to the highest positions in all the islands, except Cuba, to which mulattoes have attained. But it is more difficult for them to do so. The reason again is easily understandable. During the period of slavery there was a much larger percentage of black people among the slaves than there were mulattoes and there were more free mulattoes than there were free Negroes.

Moreover, in many instances white officials and employers have preferred mulattoes in the higher positions where they are closely associated in their work. Because of the advantages that generally accrue from a lighter color, there is a natural desire to marry a lighter person so that the children may have these advantages. Finally, the "black elite" is not necessarily more interested in the black masses than is the "mulatto elite."

Because of the small number of Jews, Chinese, East Indians, and Syrians they do not generally constitute a grave problem. There is, however, some anti-Semitism among Negroes and some feeling against other peoples who have gained more wealth and social position than have many Negroes. Some Dominican Negroes consider themselves superior to Haitian Negroes and some Dutch West Indian Negroes consider themselves better than English West Indian Negroes. On the whole, however, relations between and among the various peoples of the West Indies are more friendly than they are in most parts of the United States. There is an almost complete absence of group conflicts based on race. Intermarriage is not prohibited by law and, while it is not common between Negroes and whites, it is generally not frowned upon.

NEED OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS

"Even in normal times the standard of living in many of the islands of the Caribbean is precariously low." This conclusion opens the foreword of *The Caribbean Islands and the War*, prepared by the United States Section of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission and published by the Department of State, 1943. The foreword continues: "For the past 50 years commissions appointed by the various governments to investigate social and economic conditions in the Caribbean, as well as philanthropic foundations and private investigators, have been publishing disconcerting, and sometimes shocking, reports as to conditions in many of the islands. As a result of some of these investigations, remedial or palliative measures have been taken, but for the most part the area still remains a social and economic anachronism in a progressing Western Hemisphere."

THE WEST INDIES AND WORLD WAR II

World War II Contributed To Sub-Standard Living

The war naturally made it more difficult, at least temporarily, to maintain even the normal sub-standards of living. The Axis powers, fully aware of the dependence of the West Indies upon food imports, almost disrupted shipping in the Caribbean. Submarines also sank a large number of tankers plying between Venezuela and the Dutch islands of Curacao and Aruba and fired upon a number of islands. In the first six months after Pearl Harbor the Allies, moreover, had to transfer some of their larger ships from the Caribbean to other theatres. Early in 1942, according to the report mentioned in the preceding paragraph, "the Caribbean found itself faced by famine in a few sections and potential famine in many others."

Prices rose sharply as a consequence of the decrease in supply, increased costs in the United States, Great Britain and Canada from which most of the goods were imported, increases in shipping costs, increases in demand resulting from an expanded purchasing power, and war time priorities which aggravated the decreased supply.

The construction of American bases in Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Lucia, Trinidad and British Guiana offset much of the unemployment resulting from the war. But Jamaica was hard hit by the lack of shipping for bananas, many of which had to remain to rot in the fields. The Bahamas suffered greatly from the loss of the tourist trade as did many other islands, especially Haiti. Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti found sugar piling up in warehouses because bags imported from the even cheaper labor areas of the Far East were almost unobtainable. Puerto Rico's unemployment situation in 1942 was worse than that in the United States at the depth of the depression in 1933.

West Indies Contributed to War Effort

Despite the opportunities thus provided for propaganda by the enemy, the West Indies contributed notably to the war effort. Although official reports have not been made public, the British West Indies Year Book for 1945 stated that the War Office had announced early in 1944 that a contingent of fighting troops from the Colonies would shortly be moved to an active theatre of operations. The Year Book also stated that a large number of decorations and awards had been conferred upon West Indians. The occupation of the French West Indies by the Vichy representatives prevented any considerable number from there from participating in the fighting elsewhere, but some individuals are known to have served with distinction in the European zone.

Laborers, especially from Jamaica, helped to relieve the shortage in the United States. Other British West Indians found work in the critically important oil refineries of the Netherlands West Indies. An expansion of the oil production in Trinidad and a tremendous increase in bauxite exported from the Guianas were the major contributions of the British West Indies to the strategic materials. Oil executives are not greatly exaggerating when they say that the high octane gasoline sent from Curacao and Aruba supplied more than half the bombers that devastated Europe.

Haiti, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic vied with each other in being the first to declare war on the Axis after Pearl Harbor. All three made available air bases and allowed American warships to use their ports freely. They expanded their exports as much as possible. Indeed, the expansion of rubber production in Haiti to help meet the needs of the United States and her allies was the major economic reason for the revolution of 1946. Many food crop plots were turned over to the rubber plantations. When synthetic rubber production had expanded in the United States and the end of the war was in sight, the rubber program in Haiti was abruptly discontinued with resultant unemployment aggravated by the reduction in the already inadequate home production of food.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMISSION

The war once more brought into sharp focus the "social and economic anachronism" that still exists in the West Indies. Dire necessity made the United States and Great Britain act promptly. They established on March 9, 1942 the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. The six members were to "concern themselves primarily with matters pertaining to labor, agriculture, housing, health, education, social welfare, finance, economics, and related subjects in the territories under the British and United States flags within this territory, and on these matters will advise their respective Governments." Political matters were thus excluded from the scope of the Commission's activities which were to be of an advisory nature only.

The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission was expanded in December, 1945 into the Caribbean Commission which includes the Governments of France and the Netherlands. At the first session at Barbados, March 21-30, 1944, representatives of ten British colonies and American colonies and one observer each from Canada and the Netherlands adopted recommendations that formed the basis of a joint statement by the United States and the United Kingdom. It was the first international conference in which there was direct participation by representatives of non-self-governing areas. The second session met at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, February 21 to March 13, 1946. This second session, like the first, adopted a number of recommendations on such subjects as agricultural diversification, industrial diversification, trade within the Caribbean and transportation, health education and exchange of health information, nutrition with special reference to school lunch programs, quarantine, plant and animal quarantine, research (especially the role of the Caribbean Research Council), tourism, local crafts, sociological surveys, and a conference of soil scientists. Among the members of the Caribbean Commission at its St. Thomas meeting were Madame Eboue, the widow of the former governor-general of French Equatorial Africa, and Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Professor of Political Science in Howard University on leave as Acting Chief, Division of Dependent Area Affairs, United States State Department.

At the present time the extent to which these laudable recommendations will be carried out rests primarily with the metropolitan countries—France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States. Until the colonies of the West Indies become self-governing, Negroes there can have little to do with any program for their own betterment.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WEST INDIES

New French Constitution A Disappointment

France, so far, is the only one of these four colonial powers that has drawn up a general constitution that provides for the administration of its colonies. The Constitution of September 28, 1946, approved by the people on October 27, 1946 is a distinct disappointment to those who hoped that France would grant substantial equality to her colonies. The French West Indies, as in the past, are treated as departments in the sense that they elect deputies on the same basis of representation as do the departments in metropolitan France. But the representation of "Black France" in Africa is so small that it, together with the deputies from the French West Indies, can exercise little influence in the National Assembly which alone has the right to vote laws. While the colonies in West Indies and Africa have an unspecified percentage of one-half of the representatives of the Assembly of the French Union, this body has only consultative and advisory powers.

The French West Indies have long enjoyed universal suffrage which now includes women and has for many years sent Negroes to the French legislative bodies. But so long as the colonies are ruled by a legislative body in France in which colonial subjects have only a small voice, the right to elect members of the legislative branch of the colonial legislature has little significance.

Recent Dutch Policy in Netherlands West Indies

The French Constitution is so disappointing that perhaps one should not expect too much with respect to the Netherlands West Indies. The Queen on December 6, 1942, announced her intention to hold a conference in which Holland, Indonesia, Curacao Territory (which includes all the Dutch West Indian Islands) and Dutch Guiana would participate for the purpose of establishing a new "partnership." At the end of the war, the Indonesians who had suffered from exploitation comparable to that in the West Indies launched a revolution which had been further inspired by Japanese propaganda against the white powers. Holland and Britain were too weak to subdue the revolutionists and in an agreement announced on November 19, 1946, Holland granted virtual independence to the major East Indian islands. Leaders of the autonomy movement Curacao told the writer in the summer of 1946 that they had faith that the Queen would hold the conference as soon as the settlement had been reached with Indonesia. But many careful observers are afraid that the "partnership" will be between two independent entities, Holland and Indonesia, and two dependent areas, Curacao Territory and Dutch Guiana. True partnership can not rest upon such inequality.

Virtual Self-Government Granted to Jamaica

England in 1944 made the most significant step in the recent political history of the Caribbean when she granted Jamaica virtual self-government. The insular Government consists of a Governor appointed by the Crown, a Privy Council, a Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives. The Privy Council which consists of four officials and two nominated unofficial members advises the Governor on judicial matters. The Executive Council, which is the principal instrument of policy, consists of three officials and two unofficial members of the Legislative Council nominated by the Governor and five members of the House of Representatives elected by that body. The Governor presides over this body and has a casting but not an original vote. Although in general he is bound to accept the advice of the Executive Council, he may in certain circumstances reject it and report his reasons to the Secretary of State for Colonies. The Executive Council is responsible for the preparation of the budget and the initiation of all financial measures, a power which in the United States rests with the House of Representatives.

The Legislative Council consists of five official members and not less than ten unofficial members defined as persons not holding any office of emolument under the Crown in Jamaica.

The House of Representatives consists of thirty-two members, elected for five years, upon an adult suffrage "without poll tax," as English colonial officials take delight in telling American audiences. The powers of this House of Representatives are the crux of the extent to which self-government has been granted.

If any bill is passed by the House of Representatives in two successive sessions and has been sent on to the Legislative Council at least one month before the end of the session and has been rejected by the Legislative Council in each of those two sessions, that bill, on its rejection for the second time by the Legislative Council, shall, unless the House of Representatives otherwise resolve, be presented to the Governor for his "assent," meaning approval. If the Governor approves, or if he reserves it for His Majesty's approval and the latter approve, the bill thereupon becomes law. This procedure is subject to the stipulation that one year shall have elapsed between the date of the second reading in the first of the sessions and the date on which it passes the House in the second of its sessions. In England, if the House of Commons approves a measure under comparable circumstances, the King has no power to withhold his assent. But in Jamaica the Governor may, in certain circumstances, if he deems it expedient in the interest of public order, public faith or good government, declare that any measure introduced in either house has the force of law. Most important of all, "when a bill is presented to the Governor for his assent, he may, according to his discretion, declare that he refuses to approve it." Consequently, one can hardly assert that Jamaica is a fully self-governing colony.

At the first election of the House of Representatives on December 14, 1944, the Jamaica Labor Party, led by Mr. Alexander Bustamente, gained 21 votes, the People's National Party, led by Mr. Norman W. Manley, both colored, 5. The other constituencies returned 5 independent candidates. Since then a People's National Party has been transferred to labor. The new Constitution was formally proclaimed in effect on January 9, 1945. At the end of five years it is to be reviewed for further expansion of self-government.

Jamaica Constitution a Yardstick Of Self-Government

This Jamaica Constitution provides a yardstick for the measurement of self-government in the other West Indian colonies. Adult suffrage exists only, in addition, in the French West Indies already discussed, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Barbados, for example, in 1938 out of a total population of 193,082 allowed only 6,381 to vote. In 1946, only about 6,000 out of a total population of some 125,000 in the Netherlands West Indies had the right to vote. In all these instances there were, of course, some white voters. Since the Governors of both the British and the Netherlands West Indies possess effective veto powers, the powers of the Executive Council and of the Legislative Council have little meaning.

Jesus T. Pinero, First Puerto Rican Governor

The United States has taken two steps, neither of which is as important as those put into effect by the French, the English or the plans of the Dutch. In Puerto Rico the United States has, for the first time, appointed a Puerto Rican, Jesus T. Pinero, as Governor. The entire Cabinet, also for the first time, is composed entirely of Puerto Ricans. But articulate Puerto Ricans demand statehood, independence, or complete self-government within the American empire. Statehood is unlikely in view of the large Negro population. Independence is aleatory because of the economic disadvantages that would ensue. A larger degree of autonomy which would permit Puerto Rico to enjoy the economic benefits of membership in the American empire would seem to some to be the best immediate program for Puerto Rico.

William Henry Hastie Appointed Governor of Virgin Islands

President Truman appointed an American Negro, Mr. William Henry Hastie, Dean of the Law School of Howard University and former Federal judge in the Virgin Islands, Governor of those islands. Both these steps were acclaimed as minor gestures toward self-government, but neither can be considered equal to the advances made by the Jamaica Constitution of 1944.

Two Other Possibilities For Political Advancement in West Indies

Two other possibilities for political advancement remain to be considered. One is West Indian federation and the other is progress under the Charter of the United Nations.

Federation would be easier for the English colonies alone than for the other colonies and the three independent republics because of questions of language, race, and religion. Federation would have many advantages from the point of view at least of administrative economy. But federation without a larger degree of self-government would mean little for the Negroes of the West Indies.

Trusteeship Rejected By West Indians

Trusteeship is rejected by practically all West Indians, French, British, and Dutch. As far as the United States is concerned, it is not even discussed for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. But even if trusteeship is not considered, Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations deserves consideration. This chapter contains the words "sacred trust" which are found in article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, but not in the Chapters XII and XIII, which deal with the trust areas. Chapter XI provides that the colonial powers shall send information to the Secretary-General "for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions." It was agreed in London in February, 1946, that the Secretary-General is to include a summary of this information in his annual report to the General Assembly. The value of this procedure will be determined by the extent to which a summary of the discussions in the General Assembly inspire public opinion to demand improvement of the conditions thus exposed.

Limited Power of the International Labor Office and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Two other international agencies merit consideration. One is the International Labor Office and the other is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Neither of these organizations has any power to intervene in the domestic affairs of any nation, including their colonies. They may submit recommendations just as may the Caribbean Commission.

THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS—THE HOPE OF THE WEST INDIES

Finally, the World Federation of Trade Unions is seeking to develop an international organization in which only representatives of trade unions may effect progress for the great masses of people in all parts of the world. While this international organization will speak only for labor, it will not attempt to intervene in the local jurisdiction of trade unions. If, however, local trade unions become powerful enough to gain collective bargaining and the other constructive rights of labor in the United States, they may become the agencies by which the masses of the people in the West Indies may eliminate the "social and economic anachronism" of the West Indies. Otherwise, it should not be surprising that the disinherited masses may turn to Communism.

DIVISION XXXIX

THE NEGRO IN HAITI

By REMY BASTIEN

Petionville, Haiti

During the period 1939-1946 which this division proposes to survey, important events occurred in Haitian life, principally in the political sphere. Statistical information may prove deficient in many aspects due to lack of published reports and accurate census in Haiti—i.e., demography, diseases, and economy. We will study separately the essential developments of this period with something of an historical background when necessary for the understanding. Since Haiti uses the metrical system, we will use it here for certain statistics and, unless otherwise specified, all currency will be given in the Haitian *gourde* which is approximately 5:1 dollar, U. S. A.

POPULATION

Ethnical Considerations

The population of Haiti has suffered no noticeable change in number due to immigration or emigration. Its rate of increase is the same or only slightly higher as a result of hygienic measures. Haiti is a Republic consisting of from ninety to ninety-five per cent so-called "pure" Negroes with a small percentage of mulattoes and whites. Some good studies have been compiled and published by Haitian scholars dealing with the ethnical constituents of Haitians of today: Price-Mars, *L'Afrique Noire et Ses Peuples* (1942) and *Evolution Stadiale du Vodou* by Denis et Duvalier (1944). Both recapitulate the heterogeneous origin of the slaves brought to the French Colony of Saint-Domingue, from Senegal to Madagascar. Members of different tribes—of Sudan, Guinea or Congo—of non-understandable languages, with varied customs and beliefs, under the leadership of the Dahomean, fused their tribal religions into the Vodou and later adopted Catholicism and used the Creole language of many French colonists. Unfortunately, up to this time, it has not been possible to carry on researches in physicial anthropology in an effort to determine whether or not somatic traits of the ethnical groups, mentioned above, subsist in certain Haitian regions. Such efforts may prove futile since much blood mixture has occurred since the eighteenth century, perhaps erasing sub-racial traits. In any case, it would be interesting to undertake an anthropological survey of Haitian countrymen and the mulatto.

Population and Vital Statistics

Concerning the census in Haiti, we have been dealing up to this time with approximate numbers. But in 1942 the United States offered to Haiti the services of Chester W. Young, a specialist, "for statistical work over a period of several years." Lacking qualified assistants and a governmental bureau, Mr. Young's work of necessity had to be slow. He began by compiling old sources. In March, 1943[1] Young reached an approximate round number of 3,000,000[2] inhabitants in Haiti; the best sources being the Catholic clergy birth and death records, plus a number of followers proclaimed by less popular sects: Wesleyan, Methodist, Adventist, etc. The numbers for 1941 are the following: Catholics in 115 parishes, 2,663,000; non-Catholics, 56,474, totaling 2,719,474.

Data obtained in 1942 indicate for a round 3,000,000 population the following rates of birth, death, and marriage in Haiti: Births, 44,805, or 14.9 per cent; deaths, 12,416 or 4.1 per cent; and marriages, 3,298 or 1.1 per cent. Such percentages explain the rapid increase of the Haitian population which is now after 140 years, eight times what it was in the beginning of Haitian independence in 1805. At that time, after the bloody massacres and battles against the French and between political factions, the Negro and mulatto population of 1789 of 480,000 inhabitants[3] dropped to 375,000 according to Humboldt—a number very near to the 380,000 given by the census ordered by the Independence hero, Dessalines, in 1805. The infant mortality rate is not accurately known but is, in all probability, high due to lack of hygienic conditions, miscarriages resulting from untimely work of pregnant women, and inadequate diet. The low marriage rate is explained by the system of natural union or placage, which rests upon a certain economic basis. This system, however, is not to be confused with mere concubinage or an extramarital union.

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[1] Journal of the Inter-American Statistical Institute, Vol. 1-3, pp. 21-25.

[2] West Indian Year Book, 1945, gives 3,500,000.

Haitian population is about 83 per cent rural and only 17 per cent urban[4], as follows: Rural, 2,590,000; urban, 510,000; a total of 3,000,000. The average rural family contains six members.

The Problem of Over-Population

The density of population is now one of Haiti's chief problems. The agreement reached in December, 1942 by the Dominican-Haitian Boundary Commission, at work intermittently since 1929, deprived Haiti of more than 1,000 square kilometers[5], reducing the territory to a mere 26,000 square kilometers, which immediately puts it in the class with El Salvador as one of the two smallest American Republics. Haiti, however, is far ahead as the more densely populated, with 115 inhabitants per square kilometer (or nearly 300 per square mile). Since a large part of Haiti is desert or semi-desert, the countrymen crowd into small valleys or plains, in hamlets of some 100 to 500 inhabitants. One family constitutes what is called a "habitation." Outside eight or nine principal cities, totaling at the maximum 350,000, the other *urbes* are only moderately sized villages with a large majority of agricultural population. To summarize: The average density of the rural folk is much higher than the general average given for the total area of Haiti and may reach 175 per square kilometer.[6]

It is understandable that with such a population problem, immigration must play a small role in Haitian demography. In 1937, the apparent solution to the super-population—immigration problem was disturbed by the return from Cuba and the Dominican Republic of more than 30,000 Haitians, engaged in those countries as sugar-cane plantation workers. This resulted from Fulgencio Batista's decree in Cuba and Trujillo's cold-blooded massacre of 12,000 border-living Haitians. About the same time, emigration started in Europe due to the Nazi persecution of Jews and non-Nazi peoples. The policy of the Haitian government toward the refugee was a friendly one; but no lands were available for agricultural settlements and only a few Germans, Poles, and Austrians came to Haiti. These established themselves in Port-au-Prince, principally, where they are trying, at times successfully, to work in small industries such as sisal weaving, mahogany carving, or in the butcher's trade.

Immigration

The immigration of Caucasian races has been almost negligible in Haiti.

Since the Constitution of 1805 forbade white people to possess estates in Haiti, very few have tried to live in the country despite the fact that there has been no antagonistic attitude on the part of Haitians toward them. The Constitution of 1918, imposed by the United States on Haiti during the Marine Occupation, suppressed the article denying right of property to whites. Favored by the protection and security given by the Occupation (1915-1934), the number of foreigners, the great majority of whom were of Caucasian stock, i.e., Italian, Syrian, French, German, etc., increased from a round number of 2,000 in 1910 to 3,000 in 1930.[7] We can be sure even in the absence of published statistics, that since 1939 the number of resident foreigners, chiefly American officials have increased. Immigration on any considerable scale, however, has slight possibilities in Haiti. There are some Chinese immigrants engaged in laundry work and in the restaurant business, while the Italians are generally shoemakers and jewelers. Syrians are shopkeepers or wholesalers and retailers, while the majority of the French are clergymen or nuns. (Of the number, 668, there were a few Canadians and Spaniards in 1930). Negro immigration has been insignificant, during the past seven years, and has never been successful since the days of President Boyer (1818-1843) when governmental policy tried to improve Haitian agricultural methods and to constitute a "middle class" with the help of American Negroes. Although 13,000 of them came to Haiti, the plan failed. During the Geffrard reign (1859-1867) the idea was attempted again, and 2,000 American blacks from the Southern States were established in the cotton-growing Artibonite river region, but without real success.

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[3] Moreau de St. Mery, "Description de la Partie Francaise de Saint Domingue," 1, 285. 1797.

[4] Evaluation of Dantes Bellegarde in "La Nation Haitienne" quoted by C. W. Young, loc. cit.

[5] A kilometer is equal to 3,280.8 feet, or 0.621 of a mile.

[6] Estimation of the Haitian Delegation to the Inter-American Demographic Congress, Mexico City, Oct. 1943.

[7] Inter-American Statistical Year Book, 1942. Macmillan. New York. Nationalities not specified.

Attitude Toward Immigrants

The Government seldom expressed a hostile attitude towards immigrants except in regard to land property, and only this as a protection against the establishment of *latifundia* and its logical consequence, servitude. Syrians were temporarily expelled from Haiti two or three times before 1915. But in 1935, in order to protect Haitian enterprise, retail business was closed to "anyone who was not a Haitian d'origine." That measure, if it had worked, might have affected principally the Syrians. The law was modified in January, 1939, and finally suppressed by a Decree-Law of January 13, 1943. President Lescot's Constitutional Amendments of June 2, 1935, permit the holding of public offices by foreigners who have become naturalized Haitians; but only after a 10-year residency in the country. The presidency is accessible only to citizens "born of a Haitian-born father."

We can expect better demographic data of Haiti in the future from the foundation, the "Societe d'Investigations Statistiques et Demographiques," established in 1945, whose aims are "to encourage the collection of national statistical data essential to the study of economic, social and cultural matters."

HEALTH

Magnitude of the Health Problem

Along with the over-population problem, the health problem of the Haitian people is of major importance. During the 1939-1946 period, it received increased attention; but its solution is far from being reached. The principal components of the problem are: Lack of hygienic conditions among the rural population resulting from illiteracy and ignorance; insufficient number of doctors; inabilty to provide more rural clinics; lack of communication facilities; inadequate diet; low economic status of the peasant; and the retarding effect of the medicine man or *bocor* in the country. As a result, yaws, tuberculosis, malaria, and other ills undermine the health of a very high per cent of the population—lowering their working capacity and production. Superficial observers stamp the peasant with "laziness," when the characteristics observed are too frequently a result of ill health. The health care of the Haitian people is under the direction of the National Service of Hygiene and the American Sanitary Mission, plus some private hospitals and a small number of free clinics whose personnel work without remuneration from the government. There are ten governmental hospitals.

Housing is poor in the country and among the common people of the cities. The countrymen build straw-covered houses in the plains as well as in the mountains with little or no ventilation. The floor is batten earth and most of these people have no beds. Contamination is easy and prevalent. The slums in Port-au-Prince, near the harbor, have been areas of pestilence. They were partly cleaned during the Vincent presidency (1930-1941) but far from completely. In other cities, the slums remained the same.

Non-Existence of Rural Health Facilities

As for sanitation—in the country, facilities are almost nonexistent. In the towns, insufficient drainage systems and high prices hamper the introduction of the so-called "modern comforts"—the cheaper latrines being in use for more than 90 per cent of the houses. The number of showers is increasing, but small familial pools or "bassins" are still common. The newer sections of Port-au-Prince inhabited by wealthy families, however, show all the architectural improvements for comfortable living. The National Service of Hygiene has increased the number of visits by its agents to private houses and is requiring more persistently that the people observe precautions against mosquitoes and other infectious insects. In order to improve the efficiency of that service, more than a dozen inspectors were sent, in 1942-1943, to Puerto Rico on fellowships to study sanitation for a period of some four months. The principal cities received some of these inspectors upon their return and a true campaign of sanitation was undertaken by Dr. Jules Thebaud, head of the National Service of Hygiene. Public indifference or lack of enthusiasm jeopardized the desirable results of that effort. The task is not an easy one, however, since Haitian cities are generally built on the flat plains of the coast—unhealthy areas where drainage is not easy and swamps are abundant. A natural result is a high malaria frequency. In Port-au-Prince, however, special care has checked the incidence of that disease. In the Petit-Goave region, where the Rockefeller Foundation worked against it, and in the Plain of Les Cayes, the prevalence of malaria is approximately 70 per cent and 80 per cent, respectively. The increase of banana culture since 1935 under the monopoly of the Standard Fruit Company is said to be responsible for an increase of malaria in certain sectors; for example, Saint-Marc, Petit-Goave, and the western point of the southern peninsula, as the banana tree favors the growth of larvae between its leaves.

The Government distributed quinine at a very low price to the people until the sources of quinine were cut off in 1942 by the war in the Pacific. Agronomist, Andre Mangones, proposed in the same year the cultivation of a variety of quinine in Haiti, but the project was not considered, since atabrine was obtained in sufficient quantity. The same writer advocated a project for milk control at Port-au-Prince, aiming at pasteurization of the food brought from the country; but this received no attention. Women, mounted on small donkeys, continue to ride through Port-au-Prince streets selling milk, which is often contaminated.

Tuberculosis a Major Social Problem

Tuberculosis, if not a "first" disease, presents a social problem in the cities which is difficult of solution. It is considered a disease to be ashamed of and, is therefore, more deadly than any other one. Citizens may not admit its presence, and, as a result, the hospital statistics are incomplete. In any case, Bulletins of the Service National d' Hygiene estimate that from 24 per cent to 26 per cent of deaths registered in the hospitals result from tuberculosis. Since a majority of the victims come from the country, this percentage—it may be higher—is a fair estimate. In 1942 Dr. Edouard Roy, Jr., a specialist in tuberculosis, who had returned from Italy and the United States, undertook with the help of the government a program against the disease. The plan included the collection of funds for the construction of a sanatorium of 100 beds on the slopes of Hospital Hill, south of Port-au-Prince. Intensive propaganda convinced the people that tuberculosis is curable and not "shameful." The collection of funds took a very fashionable turn when some of the wealthy people subscribed $500 (United States currency) per bed. The Tuberculosis Sanatorium, the first in Haitian medical history, was pompously inaugurated and blessed by the Archbishop of Port-au-Prince in the presence of President Lescot and his cabinet in 1944. One wonders to what extent it will be useful or even available to the common people, as long as hospitalization is very expensive.

Poor Adaptation to Climate

We can observe in relation to tuberculosis that the Haitian peasant has little adaptation to the climate. As we noted before, the houses are the same in hot plains as they are in high valleys and mountains, where the weather is subject to swift changes. Because of his low economic level, the peasant has not been able to provide himself with suitable special garments. He clothes himself in the same fashion everywhere. He goes barefooted and unprotected against hookworm. Hookworm is considered, along with malaria and yaws, one of the morbid "triad" of Haiti. In 1935, according to Dr. Camille Lherisson[8], 26 per cent of the rural population examined in one sector was affected by it. It is probable that the percentage is even higher since certain mountainous sections of Haiti are difficult to investigate because of their inaccessibility. Zones free of the disease are flat, salty and quite rare. In order to fight against hookworm, but also because of a "decency complex," peasants were asked to wear shoes or sandals, at least when coming to town. Violation of this requirement is punishable by jail sentence. The government, perhaps, wishes to avoid the idea on the part of foreigners and visitors that Haiti is a country of barefooters. But dramatically enough, prisoners can be seen in their red-and-white-striped clothes and barefooted, going through Port-au-Prince on their way to perform work at some high governmental or military official's private house which is under construction.

The Prevalence of Yaws

Yaws has a long and painful history in Haiti. It appeared as early as 1509, seventeen years after the arrival of Columbus[9] presumably brought over from Africa by the slaves. During all the French colonial period (1697-1803) *pian*, as the disease is known in Haiti, was frequent. The prevalence of the disease was due to many causes. Living conditions were bad; slaves were generally crowded into communal houses; the diet was inadequate and of poor quality, slaves were often reduced to eating snakes and insects The Negroes during the eighteenth century developed a kind of vaccination against yaws by innoculating the children so that they could not contract the disease later.[10] After the independence of Haiti in 1805, medical care was slight, and up to 1915, with the American Occupation, no broad effort was undertaken to check the increasing spread of yaws. Leyburn writes: "An American, Dr. Paul Wilson, in 1922, first called yaws the primary physical curse of Haiti. . . . By 1931, the Public Health Service had given in twelve years 2,655,386 injections. Progress has been swift, but the fight against yaws is one which has to be waged continually."[11] In spite of all improvements, the percentage (78 per cent) of the population affected by yaws was not much lower when in 1943 a branch of the American Sanitary Mission started a broad-scale program against the disease. Doctors Dwinelle and L. Dudley did an excellent job with the means at their disposal. The extent and results of their activities may be seen in the following statistics:

Number of clinics for the treatment of yaws, 9; monthly average of cures, 1,000; percentage of the rural population affected, 80 per cent; cases registered from March to December, 1943, 141,320; injections, 208,877; cases registered, January to September, 1944, 175,881; injections, 217,712; cases registered, October, 1944 to September, 1945, 117,654; injections, 403,706; cases registered, October, 1945 to December, 1945, 46 287; injections, 123,615; cases registered, January to February, 1946, 38,574; injections, 101,040.

Penicillin was used, but it seems that better results were obtained with Marpharsan and Subsalicylate of Bismuth. Statistics for pestilencial diseases in the Americas for 1940-1943, published in 1946 by the Haitian Bureau of Public Health, give the following: Smallpox, yellow fever, rickets—no cases registered. Poliomyelitis: Two cases in 1943—no fatalities.

In resume, the health situation in Haiti for the period 1939-1946 received more attention than ever before, with hopes of better results for the coming years—especially for yaws and malaria. In 1942, a governmental decree pretended to require all medical students before receiving their degrees (instruction in medicine is practically gratis in the National faculty) to complete a one-year period of field practice among the countrymen. The measure, in spite of its patriotic character and value, was not well understood and provoked strong protests. It is doubtful whether it ever worked successfully.

Although the Army budget represents for the years we are surveying an average of 25 per cent of the National Budget, the Public Health Service received only 9 per cent of it, representing less than $600,000 a year for 3,000,000 inhabitants, i. e., 20 cents per capita.

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[8] "Diseases of the Peasants of Haiti," American Journal of Public Health, XXV, No. 8, 1935.

[9] M. G. Levacher, "Guide Medical des Antilles," 1847, quoted by Leyburn, p. 275.

[10] Labat, "Nouveau Voyage aux Iles de l'Amerique." Paris, 1762.

[11] Leyburn, James G. The Haitian People, p. 275. 1941. Yale University Press.

ECONOMIC STATUS

Economic Problems

Haiti is known as one of the poorest, if not the poorest, of the American Republics. With a large population whose resources are mainly agricultural and with but few industrial possibilities which result in tremendous import-activity—such as textiles, flour, soap, dried fish—Haitian economy is static and will be until something (an increase in industry) is added to augment her production or lighten, relatively, the burden of importation. If the natural oils, coconut for instance, could be used for soap fabrication; if cooperative fisheries could exploit the richness of Haitian coasts; or, if textile mills could use Haitian cotton, their products could be cheaper than the imported ones and at the same time such activity would call for Haitian laborers.

Certain aspects of this theory have been put into operation. In 1944, the Government of Lescot entered into an agreement with private businessmen for the establishment of the first cotton textile mill with a capacity production of 3,000,000 yards per year. A small fishing cooperative was founded, and efforts were made in the agricultural field to improve methods and introduce new crops. Although the War had accelerated the latter measure, it caused serious mistakes which will be explained later.

The Land and the People

Despite the fact of land distribution by Petion and Boyer (1807-1843), it is estimated that half of the Haitian territory belongs to the State—i.e., about 13,000 square kilometers. When mountainous areas unfit for cultivation and desert lands are subtracted, less than 10,000 square kilometers ready for cultivation remain.

We must remember that the rural population is estimated at around 2,500,000 which gives us one square kilometer for each 250 inhabitants. This arable land produces enough agricultural goods to give a low yearly income of about $75.00 per capita to the countryman, besides small earnings from basketry, ceramics, poultry, and husbandry. The main crops are maize, millet, manihot and vegetables —a great part of which is for sale at the town markets at a relatively low price. Coffee, the basic export product of Haiti, is not cultivated on any great scale. In the coffee lands each countryman has around his house a few plants growing in a nearly wild state.

The Rural Population

The rural population is an agricultural one. When the fields must be sowed, the men of a village gather and in a group clean them and sow them. This community effort is called a *coumbite*. The women go to the market accompanied by the young girls, covering long distances over bad trails. Boys are initiated into agriculture at an early age. The possession of two fields far apart often induce a peasant to have two wives, which practice, of course, is in complete disagreement with the Church. Frequently, however, this practice is not based on immorality but rather on necessity. While the peasant builds his house with little expense, he must buy many imported articles, such as textiles for his clothes, soap, tools, etc. The plough is practically unknown in Haiti; the hoe is the chief tool. The peasant is ignorant of the principles of rotation and only when constant cropping reduces the production of a field does he let it rest for some years. Meanwhile, he cleans another patch of land or uses one formerly in use. Deforestation is a grave danger to Haitian rural, and consequently, national economy. The irrigation system of colonial times fell into oblivion, and areas at that time green with sugar cane are now covered by dusty xerophytic brushes among which a few goats wander.

The National School of Agriculture

The fight for the improvement of Haitian agriculture began really in 1924 with the foundation of a National School of Agriculture, better known as the S. N. P. A. (Service National de la Production Agricole). The first step in developing the school was the training of agronomists and other specialists. There were at the beginning many blunders and much bluffing, and the so-called American experts earning high pay were too frequently ignorant. In spite of all, 63 students received their degrees in agronomy and 116, the title of rural teachers.[12] Propaganda was begun among the peasantry to explain the disastrous results of deforestation. The cultivation of existing crops was encouraged by bonuses and the distribution of tools. This innovation was already in progress when in 1939, with World War II, came the coffee drop to eleven cents (United States currency) per kilo. (In 1929 coffee sold for 55 cents a kilo). The French market closed; the economy of Haiti received a severe blow. Employees' paychecks suffered reductions of from 20 to 30 per cent, until 1943. When the United States entered the war, Haiti was in a very bad economic condition, with little hope. In 1941 hope came, but disasters followed.

Increased Production and Commerce

The Government policy was the introduction of new plants whose products could be exported: Coriander, chilli-pepper, soya, derris, Bulgarian anise; and to increase the cultivation of existing ones—sisal was among the more important, along with banana, rice, millet, and vegetables. Commerce with the United States increased, as the following round numbers in dollars indicate:

Export	*Import*
1939..$5,000,000	1939..$3,000,000
1940.. 5,000,000	4,000,000
1941.. 6,000,000	7,000,000
1942.. 5,000,000	6,000,000
1943.. 5,000,000	
1944.. 6,500,000	
1945.. 6,500,000	

After 1943 Haitian Export stood high and the Budget was increased. But the balance was not enough in favor of exportation and the economic situation of the rural population grew worse than ever.

Two companies or Societies were at work: The J. G. White Company, concerned chiefly with communications improvements, i. e., roads, bridges and harbors; and the S. H. A. D. A. (Societe Haitiano-Americaine de Developpement Agricole) established in 1941, backed by the Export-Import Bank of Washington which aimed "to serve as the instrument of agricultural diversification and social welfare in the rural areas.[13] Both were supposed to give work to Haitians, to the countrymen especially. Shortly before the S. H. A. D. A. started working, President Lescot, in a speech delivered to the Gonaives region peasants, told them that soon they would have "indigestion from too much work." The promise took form in a big cryptostegia project for lastex production. To that end nearly 100,000 hectares of land were scorched, without consideration for the countryman, his family and his fields—giving place to the new strategic plant.

On September 24, 1942, the Government increased the minimum pay of workers from twenty cents (United States currency) to thirty cents a day. The measure was not well received by American companies, but it worked. The cryptostegia project was an utter failure, resulting in the near-starvation of thousands of peasants. The attitude of the S. H. A. D. A. white officials was, furthermore, haughty and entirely unfair toward their workers. In the southern peninsula, the sacking and destruction of fields, general disorders, and high disease rate among the laborers were results of inadequate administration. This condition was revealed to the Haitian people in a report written by a young agronomist, Lassegue, which report the Government kept secret. However, S. H. A. D. A. was more fortunate in its lumber project.

Five Year Economic Development Plan

In 1943, the Government of President Lescot studied a Five Year Plan for Economic Development. Lescot, in a public address at Cap-Haitien on October 17, 1945, sketched the project as follows: Forestation, irrigation, new roads, development of cattle raising, new crops, and the foundation of new villages in order to diminish the overpopulation in certain zones by bringing families upon newly irrigated sections. The center of the project was the central northern region of Haiti, but works were to be developed in many other parts of the country. The project, the cost of which was estimated at $10,000,000 required an arrangement between Haiti and the United States concerning the payment of the Public Debt in such a way as to permit Haiti to use the surplus income for its own advancement. The political events of January, 1946 frustrated the accomplishment of Lescot's quinquennial plan. The same fate was reserved for the building of a cotton textile mill, the foundations of which were destroyed by the revolutionary mobs of January, 1946.

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[12] David, Jean P., Les Contributions du S. N. P. A. & E. R. a l'Agriculture Haitienne, Bulletin 29 of the S. N. P. A. & E. R., Port-au-Prince, 1944.

[13] Inter-American Affairs, 1942. New York, 1943.

War Effects on Industry

Under the stress of necessity, the War cutting down the importation of certain goods and increasing prices, a number of small industries started in Haiti with the help of the Service National de la Profession Agricola. But lack of sufficient husbandry did not permit big scale development in dairy and meat products. However, meat importation was reduced considerably as can be seen in the following figures:

Year (Average for)	*Kilos*	*Value*
1926-1936	814.201	889.513 gourdes (5 to a dollar)
1936-1941	231.99	312.919 gourdes (5 to a dollar)

We have no statistics at hand for the period 1942-1946, but it is certain the importation was not higher than that of the last period quoted above.

Soap was fabricated in small quantities. The industry of sisal and mahogany goods developed to the point where a proletarian nucleus began to emerge in the cities.

The coastal shipping by Haitian small steamboats, locally built, has grown rapidly since 1941. Since that time, they have performed regular cargo service between Cuba and the Dominican Republic.

A new road was opened between Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haitien, and between the capitals of the two republics—Port-au-Prince, Haiti and Ciudad Trujillo, Santo-Domingo.

Haitian Budget, 1939-1946

The figures for the Budget from 1939 to 1946 are as follows: (Haitian budget works from October 1 to September 30 of the next year).

1939-1940	Gourdes:	29,188,991.81
1940-1941		29,188,991.81
1941-1942		29,189,000.00
1942-1943		27,336,814.26
1943-1944		27,528,000.00
1944-1945		35,991,000.00
1945-1946		36,680,600.00

We observe for 1944-1946 a notable increase (about 1.6 millions United States currency) as compared with the average for 1939-1944. Keeping only to figures, that would mean a big improvement in Haitian economy. Export values were high on such items as sugar, sisal, cotton, coffee, oils; the internal income doubled between 1941 and 1944; the external debt for the 1922-1923 A and B obligations and the J. G. White Contract passed from 62.5 millions of gourdes in 1941 to 53.3 in 1945. But one must not forget that prices of imported goods, aside from the activity of black marketeers, were very high. When certain regions of Haiti were starving, Lescot permitted the export of food, in increasing quantity, by his relatives. Many officials built their fortunes thanks to the War and at the expense of the Haitian masses. A lack of honesty and sincerity in Lescot's policy deprived him of doing far more than he could have done in order to improve the economic situation of Haiti.

EDUCATION

Education and French Culture

Haitians are proud that their country is the only American Republic in which the official language is French. The fine culture, French culture of the Haitian elite, enriched by Greek and Latin, is acknowledged by scholars everywhere. There are plenty of poets; but what about the non-elite portion of the population which represents more than ninety-five per cent of 3,000,000 inhabitants? Only a few of this large majority can either understand or speak French with any degree of readiness. Their language, Creole, does not allow them (without long studies) to handle the much dreamed-of elite ornament, French. Aside from the problem of insufficient schools, roads, hospitals, doctors, and teachers —because of lack of money—Haiti is confronted with a more serious problem in education, namely, bi-lingualism. Haiti, a democracy in name, has its laws written in French which nine-tenths of its population cannot understand and read. Official duties require the knowledge of French, and if outside the elite caste a very few can afford secondary schools and an average education, key-governmental positions are accessible only to the elite members. But, one will say, rural education is delivered in French. How nearly true is this statement?

Lack of Proper Teacher Preparation And Pay A Hindrance to Rural Education

In 1931, after President Vincent's rural education reform, there was revealed the lamentable state of the schools: Illiteracy of many teachers who were performing their duties with little or no enthusiasm because of sickness resulting from famine-pay, frequently under $6.00 a month; no benches; no desks; no maps. In 1939, the number was raised to 456 better equipped schools and the teachers were given better training and a minimum salary of $6.00 a month.

Problem of School Attendance

Another problem is the one of attendance. In 1931 there were 17,679 pupils registered in the rural schools, but only 4,022 attended.[14]

The reason is not too difficult to understand. Rural population is scattered among small villages or familial habitations in mountainous parts, valleys and interior plains of Haiti. With only 456 schools, the boys and girls in most of the villages and hamlets have to walk long distances to reach the nearest school. But boys and girls are not free of work. All hands are needed, and as soon as they are eight years of age they start helping their fathers in the fields, taking care of the cattle and cover many kilometers with the women on their way to and from the town's markets. It is easy to see that the inadequate, if any, knowledge of French learned by a country boy during irregular attendance at school, is swiftly cancelled by the constant use of Creole at home. Approximately 90 per cent of illiteracy, according to a 1946 evaluation of Roger Dorsainvil of the Department of Public Education, is the result. This is the highest rate of illiteracy in the American Republics. The Haitian people, however, should not bear the blame for their illiteracy. It should lie, rather, upon the officials who are responsible. Why, one might ask, since Creole is the true language of Haiti and understood by all, is it not taught to the people? Creole was, and is, stigmatized a patois, i.e., something inelegant, uncivilized. But linguists proved that the said "patois" was a full-fledged language with its own grammar and fitted to answer the basic requirements as any other language. It was a giant step when some clear minds recognized that fact and started fighting for Creole education in the country and among the masses.

Need For Instruction in The Native Language

The name of Christian Beaulieu who died in 1943 will not be forgotten by the Haitian people. Graduated from Columbia University, Beaulieu was really the first, after small isolated movements from priests of various sects, to propose something in education concrete and well-thought out. For four years he fought for his idea and died too soon to see his victory. His plans which Dr. Price-Mars reviewed skillfully in a leaflet published in 1943[15] consisted, not only in the teaching of reading in Creole to the masses but in the writing and printing of a small popular encyclopedia including sections on arithmetic, natural sciences, agriculture, husbandry, history of Haiti, hygiene, civics, etc. The technique of the reading method was so conceived as to enable the countryman to learn French in a more simplified way.

The program received little attention from the Government. About the same time, another method based on Dr. Frank E. Laubach's theories— the use of vernacular language to teach illiterate peoples—was introduced. In 1943, Laubach himself came to Haiti. Lescot's Government made a lot of noise about the program. Experiments started with good results. A small newspaper was regularly printed in Creole, and centers for literacy opened. The slow progress of these efforts can better be understood by looking at the average $600,000 of the Public Education Department Budget, which must be expended for faculties, colleges and rural schools.

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[14] "L'Oeuvre d'education rurale du gouvernement du President Vincent," Port-au-Prince, 1936.

[15] "Le Probleme de l'Analphabetisme et sa solution," Port-au-Prince.

Primary Education Made Compulsory

On January 10, 1942, under Lescot, a law carrying out Article Eleven of the National Constitution, made primary education compulsory for children from 7 to 14 years of age. And that education is free, but Haiti lacks sufficient schools. Before Lescot, in October, 1940, an apprenticeship training center was opened near Port-au-Prince in connection with the School of Agriculture.

It can be seen that more attention is paid to questions related to the rural population, because aside from its number, it represents the true Haiti and its sufferings. When one considers the 90 per cent illiteracy of Haiti, discussions about the value of Greek and Latin in education become of minor importance. On the other hand, in spite of the War, Lescot established, with the help of Canadian priests, seven new primary schools in the Southern Department. His plans were also to include the construction of a new College for Girls and of a University Center where provincial students could live at Port-au-Prince. Teachers' paychecks were also increased, the minimum pay passing from $6.00 to $16.00 a month for primary schools, and from $30.00 to $40.00 a month minimum for colleges.

Haitian Students Receive American Fellowships and Scholarships

Another important development in education was the speedy increase, with the War and the Good Neighbor Policy, of scholarships in Haiti. Between 1941 and 1946, 345 Haitian students received fellowships and scholarships, chiefly in the United States, for studies in agronomy, pedagogy, medicine, social sciences, economy, etc. The will to obtain scholarships and the increase of American business interests in Haiti requiring clerks, stimulated the study of English in the country. A Haitian-American Institute for Inter-cultural Exchange was founded and free English courses taught.

"Anti-Superstitious Campaign"

An important fact related to the "moral education" of the Haitian people occurred between 1941 and 1942. The Catholic clergy, tired of the untiring activities of Vodou priests and of Vodou practices, started a crusade designated as the "Anti-Superstitious Campaign." A Vodou priest, who is entirely different from a *bocor* or a "medicine man" whose activities are truly evil, was stamped under the same *bocor* etiquette, and the whole Haitian folk religion declared diabolic with a medieval roughness and lamentable lack of what we could call "Ethnological Spirit." The clergy was not in sufficient numbers and the fall of France in 1940 cut off all further supply of young missionaries. Nevertheless, the campaign claimed for itself decisive successes in the northern, central and southern regions of Haiti. The capital, Port-au-Prince, was to have been caught by a concentric movement at the end of the Crusade. There were public penances, *auto-da-fes* and violences in many cases. Treasures of archaeological (since pre-Columbian stoneworks are said to be inhabited by spirits in Vodou belief), historical and artistic interest disappeared or were destroyed. It seems clear now that the Government, after a first approval, withdrew. As priests one Sunday were announcing the coming of the crusade upon Port-au-Prince, disorders were provoked in various churches by the firing of pistols. In February, 1942, the campaign was stopped and in December of the same year Lescot and the Archbishop of Port-au-Prince, in the presence of a dense crowd, put Haiti officially under the protection of the Virgin of Perpetual Help. The crusade was a failure. Vodou continued to be practiced and will be until persuasion, schools and clinics in sufficient numbers teach the countrymen that their *loas* are not responsible for their misfortunes, their sicknesses, or successes in cropping.

Vincent, among his spectacular realizations, built and provided with some thousands of volumes, public libraries in the principal cities of Haiti, including a National Library at Port-au-Prince which was beautifully organized and clean. With the coming of Lescot in 1941, all were closed except the National Library which continued to grow.

Founding of the Bureau Of Ethnology

In October, 1941, an official Bureau of Ethnology was founded. Its aims were to preserve archaeological remains in Haiti, study folk customs, and by means of lectures and publications teach the public about them. Thanks to the activity of that organization headed by the late Jacques Roumain, the opinion of Port-au-Prince changed regarding Vodou as satanic and shameful. There were public performances of ritual dances and songs, and they were judged interesting as well as artistic.

A private Institute of Ethnology headed by Dr. Jean Price-Mars was also founded, and since 1941 courses in sociology, general anthropology and archaeology have been given to a small group of enthusiastic students. There are some good studies on ethnology published by both organizations.

In resume, the decisive step upward in the Haitian educational system is the practice of teaching in Creole—which if followed with tenacity can be the means of integrating more than three-fourths of its population into the active life of the country, and consequently make easier the work of hygienic and agricultural improvements, and morality.

POLITICS

Since 1804, the date of its Independence, Haiti's political status has been that of a Republic—except when Dessalines, the liberator, crowned himself Emperor and stated that he was the "only noble" of Haiti, and when fifty years later, big-headed Soulouque took the title of Faustin the First. The jails were often full and firing squads busy whenever a distinction was not established between defenders of liberty and professional revolutionists; troubles were endemic; and outside, imperialism and "Big Stick" policies were in vogue. But in 1939 things were different.

Stenio Vincent As President

Stenio Vincent had been elected nine years before (1930) by the best democratic votes Haiti had ever cast. Hearts were full of hope: Vincent was an ultra-nationalist and the country, occupied since 1915 by Marine forces, was eager to prove its capacity of self-government in liberty and order. The elections proved the people could make good use of their rights, choosing the best as their representatives; but the presidential choice soon revealed itself to be a nightmare.

In August 1934, as a result of Roosevelt's policy, Marine forces withdrew from Haiti. Vincent proclaimed himself the second Liberator and less than one year after, a plebiscite ratified his Constitution of 1932. Afterwards it was modified by a pseudo-referendum *populaire* in 1939, and finally in 1944 Lescot added a few touches.

Provisions of Revised Constitution

According to that revised Constitution, all Haitians 21 years old have political rights except in cases of idiocy, etc. The Haitian women, aged 30 years, can be elected Deputy, Senator, or member of the City Council. The Deputies, thirty-seven in number, are elected by universal vote, in the same way as the Mayors and their assistants. Of the twenty-one Senators, eleven are named by the Deputies following a very complicated pattern: Two lists of candidates are submitted, one by the Electoral College and the other by the President himself. Four Senators are elected for two years, four for four years, and three for six years, making a total of eleven. But the remaining ten are simply chosen by the President who give him a literal control by obligation of obedience from the Senate. If to this we add that the President is Chief of all Armed Forces, we see that Democracy is a mere word in Haiti. When the War came in 1939 it served as a good excuse to cancel all elections. In 1944, Lescot with his constitutional revisions, announced elections of Senators, Deputies and Mayors for a period extending to one year after the end of the War. At that time women were promised the right to hold these charges. Deputies and Senators already in office and happy about the opportunity of remaining longer in power became more and more obedient and servile in order to avoid being "fired"—a constant threat hanging over their heads.

Since 1939 there has been practically no elective office-holding in Haiti except when Vincent elected himself life-senator with a monthly salary of $500. All important posts in justice, education and public works were distributed by Vincent, but he changed the members of his cabinet. Lescot did not make such changes except in the Foreign Department which saw three ministers under his reign—the last one being Gerard Lescot, elder son of the President. In 1945 Lescot created a new Ministry of Education in order to lighten the burden resting on Maurice Dartigue, Minister of Agriculture and Public Education—two jobs requiring each full time and great capacities.

General View of the Political Situation, 1939-1941

In 1939, Vincent after nine years of despotic power which violated the Constitution by firing opposing senators, jailed and killed by torture free-writing newspapermen; persecuted Communists; wasted national income or divided it among favorites—was nearly overthrown in 1938 by a military complot, provoked by the humiliating settlement of the 12,000 border-living Haitians massacred by Trujillo.[16] Vincent, who asphalted ten kilometers of road and used to throw coins to the mob as he passed by—the demagogic Vincent, sick and old, faced another grave problem: WAR. After hostilities began in Europe, coffee—the blood of Haitian commerce—was not even worth a wooden nickel. In 1941, instead of applying for a third presidential term, perhaps judging that eleven years were enough, he passed the power over to Elie Lescot, former Ambassador in Ciudad Trujillo and Washington.

Elie Lescot, the New President

Lescot was born in 1883 in northern Haiti. He received 56 votes against only 2 in opposition at the April 15th election. On May 15, 1941, he took charge. Lescot's discourses to the people had been full of promises of honesty, patriotic love . . . "I am ready to lay my life down for the happiness of my people." He was quite a "histrion." That was proved when on December 8, 1941, he declared war on Japan one or two hours before the United States did. From that moment Lescot's policy was clear: "Please Washington and I am saved." It was right that Haiti should have to contribute to the anti-fascist struggle, but the necessities of a people sick to the point we have described and on actual verge of starvation must be considered before blind concessions are given for strategic maneuvers—which, conducted carelessly, resulted in failure and a surplus of misery. It is true that in exchange Lescot received the construction of a small drydock, tanks, guns, planes, and something more useful, a sanitary mission for the fight against yaws.

In spite of all, the figures for exportation were high but life became difficult in Haiti, as everywhere, due to the rise of prices. Besides that, Lescot's policy became a model of nepotism—sons, nephews, cousins, little cousins, and friends of all of them received well-paying jobs. For personal advantages, Lescot gave rights to capitalistic companies incompatible with national interests. At a time when the Atlantic Charter, Democracy, Freedom, Teheran, and other headlines of the order were in vogue, Haitian newspapermen who tried to find their application in Haiti were thrown into jail to be taught that such words when used by "small fry" were a calamity for the people. Lescot was balancing a full-fledged dictatorship of fascist color.

Military Complot

In April, 1944, the National Assembly, always ready to please the chief, extended his term of office to May 15, 1951. The War was chosen as a scapegoat, and Lescot accepted the extension with a spirit of self-sacrifice for the progress of the people. But the people were tired of the farce. During the same year, 1944, in July, a military complot against Lescot's life failed. Half a dozen people were shot and the situation was brought under control. Lescot began playing the Mecene, inviting famous writers—Andre Maurois, Andre Breton, Henri Thorez, etc.—as guests of the Haitian people. The President's cordiality and humor were vaunted broadly—if not his policy. On January 7, 1946, the end came. Lescot was overthrown by a true mass revolution inflamed by the unjust jailing of a young editor.

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[16] Lescot allowed, in August 21, 1941, by Agreement with the Dominican Republic, Haitian laborers to cross the frontiers and be employed in that country again.

The jailing provoked a general strike. The army killed some defenseless manifestants; but Lescot was forced to resign. A military triumvirate took over the power and on May 12th elections were held for deputies and senators. It seems that the army did not keep a neutral attitude and sabotaged the popular will for free elections. On August 13, Dumarsais Estime, former Secretary of State and of Public Education in which he showed good administrative qualities, was elected President of Haiti. Now Haiti faces the same problems we have been studying, plus numerous others—principally of caste and class—created by the January Revolution.

NATIONALITY, RACE, CASTE AND CLASS PROBLEMS

Nationality problems are scarcely known in Haiti now. At the outbreak of the War, some young people born of German fathers and married to black or mulatto women, in spite of their racial descent, declared themselves to be and acted effectively, as Nazis. A few Italians followed in the same way. They were put in a prison fort where they received decent treatment. A number of "pure" Germans were put under arrest and their properties sold publicly (let us say that "Lescot and Company" bought the best of the lot at low prices).

Of racial problems there is much to say, despite the fact that Haitians are all of the same race. Inter-racial segregation was due to the fact that Americans who were stationed in Haiti during the occupation and after, kept from social contacts with Haitians, having their own clubs where Haitians were not admitted. In 1941, with the advent of the War, they were ordered to mix socially with the Haitians.

To understand actual race problems in Haiti, a brief historical review is necessary. By 1760, the French colony of Saint Domingue was in full development in spite of the Seven Years War. Plantations were numerous and slaves were constantly imported to answer the high demands for more workers. But the descendants of the first settlers of the colony, outlaws, pirates, and political refugees, had grown rich; noblemen of France came and also acquired properties. The first settlers, by having relations with their slave women, created the mulatto.

Free Negroes and Mulattoes As Landowners

In Paris such social equality was considered a danger for the colony's security, and segregation started. Mulattoes and Negroes were subjected to innumerable humiliations, such as special clothing; special locations in public places, churches and theaters; prohibition of wearing swords and other weapons, etc. Despite all these hindrances they had enough money to educate their children in France; and they tried to erase traces of their African origins by marrying white.

When 1789 came and the subsequent revolution in Saint Domingue, Negro landowners of all skin shades asked for equal rights. The mass of the slaves soon followed, and under the leadership of ex-slaves, as well as black landowners, won liberty for Haiti in 1804. In order to unite the new Republic, Dessalines, in the Constitution of 1805, decided that all Haitians would be called "blacks," trying in that way to destroy the skin classification of mulattoes, griffe, quarteron, etc. It was an ingenious idea.

Soon the cultural superiority of the free-blacks of colonial times weighed in the balance. Educated Negroes, as well as mulattoes were needed for governmental offices. Educational facilities being very limited in the new Haiti, those who had official titles possessed greater possibilities for educating their sons. The mass of ex-slaves were too busy, by necessity, working in the fields to give much attention to creating a new class.

Meaning of Elite

Education, personal fortune, and skin color constituted the characteristics of the Haitian elite which became rather a caste than a class. Birth decided whether one would be classed with the common people or with the elite. The work of the latter was non-manual. Elite members studied medicine, law or engineering—law being the most popular since it leads to political positions.

Recently the word elite came to mean the mulattoes, whose political action as the directing class of Haiti failed to give the country a stable economy and organization. Education was no longer a quasi-monopoly, and brilliant young scholars from the people were being neglected for offices in favor of mulattoes who were not always capable. Lescot's government was said to be mulattophile; scholarships were frequently given to mulattoes—whether or not qualified. Between 1939 and the January, 1946 revolution, "la question de couleur" (the color problem) was a constant source of disturbance. When the Revolution came, of the seventy mushroom-grown political parties, many, if not the majority, were demanding rights for the people, for the blacks, asking for a black President. Some extremists urged a general *bourgeois massacre*—the word "bourgeois" pointing to the directing class, among which were many blacks. On the other hand, the elite was in decadence. Commerce and capital were in the palms of foreigners, Americans, Syrians, and newcomers who had adopted the Haitian nationality for business advantages. Haiti's society needed a reform and a thoroughgoing one. A proletariat was on the march and was not protected against exploitation. Sugar, sisal, mahogany industries in or near the principal cities employed thousands of workers not organized into syndicates, with little social security and ridiculously low salaries.

Social Security

Although 100,000 Haitian workers were operating the strategic plant projects—cryptostegia for latex and sisal principally—Haiti was not represented in Montreal in July, 1943 at the meeting of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security. The Convention aimed at "facilitating and developing the cooperation of the Social Security administrations and institutions."[17] At the beginning of 1944, officials of the International Labor Office visited Haiti to explore possibilities of implementing the provisions of the 1943 legislation and establishing a Bureau of Social Security.[18]

Social considerations to the worker were increasing. The Revolution accelerated those considerations since their necessity could now be freely discussed. It is too early, as we have already mentioned, to see the ultimate effect of the Revolution upon the Haitian social structure. There will be, no doubt, some mistakes, but certainly good will also result.

MILITARY SERVICE AND PARTICIPATION OF HAITIANS DURING WORLD WAR II

Officially, no member of the Haitian Army, called Garde d'Haiti, was sent to War. Undoubtedly some Haitians living in the United States, France or England fought for the United Nations' cause. Because of the War, however, the Haitian Army was increased from about 3,000 to over 5,000 men. A small aerial corps and coastal navy force were created, and new weapons received.

As we are speaking of the Army, let us describe summarily its role in Haitian life. Even if the Army is materially as clean as one can imagine, its spirit is a good example of immorality and rottenness. The Army, which performs also the functions of police, is well known for its cruelty and sadism in torturing prisoners. The national jail in Port-au-Prince which was closed to newspapermen, was a center of starvation, immorality and sickness, to a degree which one living in psuedo-democratic Haiti could not imagine. The money for the diet of the prisoners was taken by the officers for themselves and they could after a few years of administration build luxurious villas and drive big, shining Buicks. And it was the same in all the branches of that corps. Practically, the Army was becoming a mercenary group without any interest in national problems, but whose function was to keep order at any cost. For that job the officers received exceptionally high salaries as compared with those of teachers.

It was a current opinion in Haiti that no Revolution was possible as long as the Army was on the side of the regime. But instead of a bloody revolution, impossible in Haiti because the only existing weapons are in the Army's hands—it was a combination of passivity, strikes and a cohesion of all beliefs which overthrew Lescot's dictatorship.

A LITERARY AND ARTISTIC NOTE

In 1943, Philippe-Thoby Marcelin, Haitian poet and novelist, received the Pan-American Novel Prize with his work "Canape-Vert" which describes the life of a peasant couple in a hamlet near Port-au-Prince.

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[17] Inter-American Affairs, 1943.
[18] Ibid., 1944.

In 1944, Dewitt Peters, an American painter, founded a center of Art in Port-au-Prince. The institution, which had little official help at the beginning, met a not anticipated enthusiasm. True Haitian painting began, and dozens of young people with talent were discovered, receiving the best of encouragement. They came from the elite as well as from the people, and worked in excellent spirit at the Centre.

Haitian canvases, the artists of which at times did not know how to read or write, were shown with great success at the Whyte Gallery in Washington and the American-British Art Center in New York.

PART FIVE

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

DIVISION XL

AN ANNOTATED LIST OF BOOKS BY OR CONCERNING NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES, IN AFRICA AND IN LATIN AMERICA

1938-1946

By Jessie P. Guzman
Tuskegee Institute

Nearly 600 books on or relating to the Negro are annotated in this division. The books are listed under three headings—"Books concerning the Negro in the United States"; "Books concerning the Negro in Africa"; and "Books concerning the Negro in Latin America."

The books on the United States are classified under the following subjects: "Art," "Biography and Autobiography," "Children's Literature," "Church and Religion," "Drama," "Economic Conditions," "Education," "Folklore," "History and Travel," "Literature," "Music," "Novels on or Relating to the Negro in the United States," "Poetry," "Politics and Suffrage," "Post War and Peace Plans," "Race Problem and Race Relations," "Racial Characteristics and Racial Differences," "Social Conditions," "Sport," "Youth."

The books on Africa are classified under two subjects: "Books Discussing the History and Problems of Africa," and "Novels Concerning African Life."

The books on the Negro in Latin America are unclassified.

BOOKS CONCERNING THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

Art

*Locke, Alain, (Ed.), *The Negro in Art.* A Pictorial Record of the Negro Artist and of the Negro Theme in Art. Washington, D. C. Associates in Negro Folk Education. 1940. 224 p. Part I presents "the whole range of the work of the Negro artist from landscape and figure painting to still life and abstract design." Part II shows "how incomparably broader the field of Negro art is than the work of the Negro artist merely." It indicates "the deep and sustained interest of artists generally in the Negro subject." Part III, "The Ancestral Arts," presents "African Art and its Regional Styles."

The Negro Artist Comes of Age. A National Survey of Contemporary American Artists. Albany Institute of History and Art, January 3rd through February 11, 1945. 48 p. An exhibit of the work of thirty-eight painters and sculptors, with a short biographical sketch and a statement showing where their work has been exhibited.

†*Porter, James A. *Modern Negro Art.* New York. Dryden Press. 1943. 272 p. Begins with Negro artisans and artists whose lives ante-dated the last quarter of the 19th century. The author has related Negro art to general trends, events and periods in American cultural history from the mid-eighteenth century to the present time.

Subject Index to Literature on Negro Art. Selected from the Union Catalogue of printed Materials on the Negro in the Chicago Libraries. Federal Works Agency. Works Projects Administration. Chicago, Ill. Chicago Public Library Omnibus Project. 6.p.No. 65-1-54-273 (3). 1941. 52 p. (Mimeographed) Contains references to literature on Negro art, as well as references depicting the Negro's ancestral African background.

Biography and Autobiography[1]

†*Adams, Elizabeth Laura. *Dark Symphony.* New York. Sheed and Ward. 1942. 194 p. The autobiography of a Negro girl who became a member of the Catholic Church. A part of her story is the analysis of the spiritual world in which she lives.

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*Indicates known Negro authors.
†Indicates the volume is evaluated in the division, "Negro American Literature."

[1] For other biographies and autobiographies by Negroes see division, "Negro American Literature."

*Alexander, Sadie T. M. (Ed. and Comp.). *Who's Who Among Negro Lawyers*. Philadelphia. National Bar Association. 1945. 38 p. Contains brief biographical sketches giving essential data.

*Bontemps, Arna. *We Have Tomorrow*. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1945. 131 p. The successful stories of twelve young Negro Americans who "are doing what couldn't be done—until they did it."

Borth, Christy. *Pioneers of Plenty*. The Story of Chemurgy. Indianapolis. New York. The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1939. 303 p. Chapter XII deals with Dr. George Washington Carver, "First and Greatest Chemurgist."

Clark, Glenn. *The Man Who Talks with the Flowers*. The intimate Life Story of Dr. George Washington Carver. Saint Paul, Minn. Macalester Park Publishing Co. 1939. 64 p. Glenn Clark tells the story of how he met and was influenced by Dr. Carver.

Cooper, Alice Cecilia and Palmer, Charles A. *Twenty-Modern Americans*. New York. Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1942. 381 p. Included is a sketch of George Washington Carver, Agricultural Scientist, entitled, "Making something out of Nothing."

†*Davidson, Henry Damon. *"Inching Along" or The Life and Work of an Alabama Farm Boy*. An Autobiography. Nashville, Tenn. National Publication Co. 1944. 177 p. Deals mainly with the work done by the author in founding and maintaining the Centerville Industrial Institute, Centerville, Alabama.

*Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt. *Dusk of Dawn*. An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept. New York. Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1940. 334 p. This is Dr. Du Bois' autobiography. However, of it, he says, "I have written then what is meant to be not so much my autobiography as the autobiography of a concept of race, elucidated, magnified and doubtless distorted in the thoughts and deeds which were mine."

Embree, Edwin R. *13 Against the Odds*. New York. The Viking Press. 1944. 261 p. Here are told stories of accomplishment of 13 Negro Americans, eleven men and two women. Exemplifying success in different fields, they have achieved their positions in spite of the unremitting handicap of prejudice.

*Fauset, Arthur Huff. *Sojourner Truth*. God's Faithful Pilgrim. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1938. 187 p. When over forty years of age Sojourner Truth, born a slave and deprived of the barest rudiments of formal education, began to devote all of her talents and energies to the fight for the freedom of her race. Here is related her remarkable story.

Foner, Philip S. (Ed.) *Frederick Douglass*. Selections from his writings. International Publishers. New York. 1943. 95 p. A sketch of the life of Frederick Douglass and selections from his speeches on four subjects—Slavery, The Civil War, Reconstruction, The Democratic Spirit.

Foster, William Z. *Pages from a Worker's Life*. New York. International Publishers. 1939. 314 p. This autobiography is important because the workers of this country are in a large part Negroes. What the author has to say is of significance for them.

*Graham, Shirley. *Paul Robeson, Citizen of the World*. New York. Julian Messner. 1946. 264 p. Shows Paul Robeson as singer, actor, athlete, scholar, and humanitarian. Seldom are so many talents lodged in one individual and seldom is one individual able to use all of them for the benefit of others.

*Graham, Shirley and *Lipscomb, George D. *Dr. George Washington Carver, Scientist*. New York. Julian Messner. 1944. 248 p. A well written biography of Dr. Carver by two young Negro writers.

Guthrie, Woody. *Bound for Glory*. New York. E. P. Dutton and Co. 1943. 428 p. Tells the story of America's working millions—their loves, fears. and passions. Here you meet all kinds of people: Negro; Japanese; Chinese; the prejudiced; the tolerant; all struggling toward the same goal.

Gysin, Brion. *To Master, A Long Goodnight*. New York. Creative Age Press. 1946. 276 p. A historical narrative of the life of Josiah Henson, who was the model for Uncle Tom of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel.

Hagedorn, Hermann. *Americans: A Book of Lives.* New York. John Day Co. 1946. 392 p. Among other sketches it contains stories about Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver.

†*Handy, W. C. *Father of the Blues.* New York. The Macmillan Co. 1941. 317 p. An autobiography of the man who has contributed much not only to American music, but who has influenced the music of the world by his compositions.

Harlow, Alvin F. *Joel Chandler Harris.* (Uncle Remus) Plantation Storyteller. New York. Julian Messner. 1941. 278 p. This biography of the writer of the Uncle Remus stories is as fascinating as the stories are themselves.

Helm, McKinley. *Angel Mo' and Her Son.* Boston. Little, Brown and Co. 1942. 289 p. The biography of Roland Hayes, though it is written in the first person by the author.

Hilton, Ronald (Ed.) *Who's Who in Latin America.* A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of Latin America. Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Part II, Central America and Panama. Stanford University, Calif., Stanford University Press. 1945. 103 p. Six other parts of Who's Who in Latin America are to be prepared. Qualifications for admission to Who's Who in Latin America is residence, not nationality.

Holt, Rackham. *George Washington Carver.* Garden City, N. Y. Doubleday, Doran and Co. 1943. 342 p. The most extensive biography of the scientist of Tuskegee Institute that has been written to date.

Huff, Warren and Huff, Edna L. W. (Eds.) *Famous Americans.* Second Series. Los Angeles, Calif. Charles Webb and Co. 1941. 641 p. A sketch of George Washington Carver by Monroe N. Work is included here.

*Hughes, Langston. *The Big Sea.* New York. London. Alfred A. Knopf. 1940. 335 p. This is Langston Hughes' autobiography.

†*Hurston, Zora Neale. *Dust Tracks on a Road.* Philadelphia. London. New York. J. B. Lippincott Co. 1942. 294 p. The autobiography of Zora Neale Hurston told with the gift that Miss Hurston has for story telling.

McCulloch, Margaret C. *Fearless Advocate of the Right.* Boston. Christopher Publishing House. 1941. 279 p. The story of Francis Julius Le Moyne, benefactor of Le Moyne College, Memphis, Tennessee.

Miller, Basil. *George Washington Carver.* God's Ebony Scientist. Zondervan Publishing House. Grand Rapids, Michigan. 1943. 166 p. The facts for this volume were gathered from the resources of Tuskegee Institute, from both records and persons who knew the scientist.

Newcomb, Covelle. *Black Fire.* A Story of Henri Christophe. New York. Toronto. Longman's Green and Co. 1940. 275 p. A biographical sketch of Henri Christophe, the remarkable figure who played such a dominant role in Haitian history.

Pickard, Kate E. R. *The Kidnapped and the Ransomed.* New York. Negro Publication Society of America. 1941. 315 p. Originally published in 1856, this is a reprint from the first edition. It is the story of Peter Still as narrated by him to Kate Pickard. A vivid picture of the system of slavery and a scenic view of the moral codes and family ties of master and slave.

Preher, Sister Leo Marie. *The Social Implications in the Work of Blessed Martin De Porres.* New York. Blessed Martin Guild. 1941. 161 p. A scientific study of the work Martin performed in order that the social import of his activities may be ascertained.

†*Richardson, Ben. *Great American Negroes.* New York. Thomas Crowell Co. 1945. 223 p. Tells the story of twenty-one Negroes who have achieved success in various fields of endeavor—Popular Music; The Orchestra; Classical Music; Singers; The Theatre; Boxers; Track Stars; Education; Science and Invention; Literature; The Church; Politics; The Military.

Stidger, William L. *The Human Side of Greatness.* New York. London. Harper and Brothers. 1940. 231 p. Contains the life stories of 17 Americans. A sketch of the life of Roland Hayes, tenor, is among them.

†*Thompson, Era Bell. *American Daughter.* Chicago. The University of Chicago Press. 1946. 301 p. This autobiography of a Negro girl born

in a town in Iowa gives an intimate insight into the life of a Negro family. It is also the story of her struggle to secure an education, and then security through employment.

*Turner, B. Alfred. *From a Plow to a Doctorate. So What?* Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va. The author. 1945. 89 p. Part One is an abridged autobiography. Part Two presents a plan for assisting deserving students who have promise of scholarship and leadership.

Ulanov, Barry. *Duke Ellington.* New York. Creative Age Press. 1946. 322 p. This biography of one of the most important figures in the field of jazz music in addition to discussing his outstanding musical talents, lists every phonograph record the Duke has ever made.

Van Deusen, John G. *Brown Bomber.* The Story of Joe Louis. Philadelphia. Dorrance and Co. 1940. 163 p. Here is described in simple terms the rise to world renown, as a boxer, of a man who has reflected credit to his race, to his country, and to the sport over which he rules.

Vehanen, Kosti. *Marian Anderson, A Portrait.* New York. London. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1941. 270 p. This biography of the great singer is written by the man who was her accompanist and travelled with her for ten years on tours throughout Europe, South America and the United States.

Villard, Oswald Garrison. *John Brown 1800-1859.* A Biography Fifty Years After. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1943. 738 p. A revised edition of the life of John Brown first published by the author in 1910. The purpose is to set forth "the essential truths of history as far as ascertainable, and to judge Brown, his followers and associates in the light thereof."

Von Abele, Rudolph. *Alexander H. Stephens.* New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. 337 p. Biography of the outstanding southern statesman and Vice-President of the Confederacy, this book is also a study of the psychology of leadership.

*Walls, William Jacob. *Joseph Charles Price.* Educator and Race Leader. Boston. Christopher Publishing House. 1943. 568 p. The story of the man who forms the link in the leadership of the Negro in America between Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. He was not only an advocate for his people but a churchman, and an educator, having raised funds for the foundation of Livingstone College.

*Washington, Booker T. *Up From Slavery.* An Auto-biography. Garden City. New York. Doubleday, Doran and Co. 1945. 330 p. Latest printing of this famous auto-biography by the founder of Tuskegee Institute. It has become a part of the great literature of the world.

*Washington, John E. *They Knew Lincoln.* New York. E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc. 1942. 244 p. These stories and anecdotes are by old Negroes who knew, loved and remembered Abraham Lincoln. They were collected over a long period of years, and are authenticated by diligent research.

†*Wright, Richard. *Black Boy.* New York and London. Harper and Bros. 1945. 228 p. The story of the childhood and youth of the author as it was lived in the South. It tells how insecurity, poverty, fear, prejudice, injustice hounded him until he finally escaped not only to another section of the country but to a better way of life.

Yenser, Thomas (Ed.) *Who's Who in Colored America.* A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Persons of African Descent in America. 1941 to 1944 (sixth edition). Who's Who in Colored America. 2317 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. 606 p.

Yost, Edna. *Modern Americans in Science and Invention.* New York and Toronto. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1941. 270 p. Chapter X is about George Washington Carver, "The Wizard of Tuskegee."

Children's Literature[2]

Bannerman, Helen. *The Story of Little Black Sambo.* Philadelphia. David McKay Co. 1940. 25 p. The adventures of Little Black Sambo when he met four tigers in the jungle. At the back of the book is a phonograph record complete with music sound effects and color.

Barrows, Harlan H., Parker, Edith P., Parker, Margaret T. *Southern Lands.*

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[2] For other books for children by Negro authors see division, "Negro American Literature."

New York. Chicago. San Francisco. Silver Burdett Co. 1941. 296 p. This textbook in geography gives a view of Latin America, Africa, Australia from the point of view that the daily life of the pupils is related not only to the natural environment of their homes but also to that of places throughout the world.

Beim, Lorraine and Jerrold. *Two is a Team.* New York. Harcourt Brace and Co. 1945. 58 p. A little white boy and a little colored boy, the same size and the same age were playmates. They wanted a coaster but could not agree about how it should be made, so each made his own. They decided to have a race down the hill to see which coaster was the better. On their way down they ran into three people and did a lot of damage, which they had to repair. They decided to do this by building a wagon together. Thus by cooperating they found they had a better coaster than each could have separately.

*Bontemps, Arna (Comp.) *Golden Slippers.* An Anthology of Negro Poetry for Young Readers. New York. London. Harper and Bros. 1941. 220 p. These poems are suitable for young as well as adult readers. They were selected to entertain, and deal with many things—stealing kisses, washing dishes, rainy days, incident in Baltimore, etc.

Booth, Erma Rideout. *Nyarga's Two Villages.* New York. Friendship Press. 1945. 126 p. The life of African boys and girls as it is lived in the villages of the pleasant open country of Central Africa.

By Christopher Cat in Collaboration with *Countee Cullen. *My Lives and How I Lost Them.* New York. London. Harper and Bros. 1942. 160 p. The autobiography of Christopher Cat who has already lost eight lives and is now living his ninth and last one. The story of his lost lives is full of wit and humor.

*Cannon, Elizabeth Perry and *Whiting, Adele. *Country Life Stories.* Some Rural Community Helpers. New York. E. P. Dutton and Co. 1938. 95 p. Social study stories written for pupils on the elementary level in small rural schools dealing with persons and things in their daily life.

*Carrigan, Nettie W. *Rhymes and Jingles for the Children's Hour.* Boston, Mass. Christopher Publishing House. 1940. 57 p. The beauties of every day life are presented in a graceful and easy manner in these poems which are suitable for children of all ages.

Cat, Christopher and *Cullen, Countee. *The Lost Zoo.* (A Rhyme for the Young, But not too Young.) New York. London. Harper and Bros. 1940. 72 p. This story, part in verse and part in prose, is about all of the animals who for one reason or another had failed to get aboard Noah's Ark.

Darby, Ada Claire. *Jump Lively, Jeff!* Philadelphia, New York. 1942. 280 p. The story of Jefferson Davis Hichman who lived in "old St. Jo" that pleasant town on the Missouri river. Jeff keeps himself and his family on the jump with his many lively and ambitious projects.

†*Derricotte, Elsie Palmer, *Turner, Geneva Calcier, *Roy, Jessie Hailstalk. *Word Pictures of the Great.* Washington, D. C. Associated Publishers. 1941. 280 p. Stories of the lives of famous Negroes written especially for children. Achievements in the field of Music, Literature, Art, Education, Science and Invention, and Benefactors are presented with a foreword in each field. At the end of each story is an exercise.

Evans, Eva Knox. *Key Corner.* New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1938. 206 p. A delightful tale based on the author's experience in a Negro country community, this book about Johnnie Heath and Carmichael Carr and their new teacher has especial appeal to youthful readers.

Faulkner, Georgene and Becker, John. *Melindy's Medal.* New York. Julian Messner. 1945. 172 p. Melindy's grandmother was a wonderful story teller and she liked to tell how great grandfather, Mo, won his medal in the Civil War; how grandfather, William, won his medal in the Spanish-American War; and how Melindy's father won his medal in the first World War. Her only regret and Melindy's too was that Melindy was a girl and could not win a medal "for bravery in the field of honor." But Melindy did win a medal for "just pure bravery." How she did it makes an exciting story.

Gedo, Leopold. *Who is Johnny?* New York. Viking Press. 1939. 242 p. Jani, a little Negro boy, born in Hungary, sets out to find his long lost father. During his travels he finds in Budapest, Rudi, a red-head, who plays a harmonica and Sandro, an Italian boy, who had travelled with a circus in Vienna. These boys stuck together until they came to the Olympic Games in Berlin where Jani found his long lost brother who brings him to his father in America.

*Harris, Evangeline E. *Little Tot's Story of George W. Carver.* Family Publishing Co. Terre Haute, Ind. 1940. 19 p. A story for children in the primary grades.

*Harris, Evangeline E. *Our Family.* Evangeline E. Harris. Terre Haute, Ind. 1938. 32 p. Three stories told by a father to his children as they sit around their fireside, entitled: "Sammy's Christmas," "Booker T. Washington," "Paul L. Dunbar."

†*Jackson, Jesse. *Call Me Charley.* New York. Harper and Bros. 1945. 156 p. The story of how Charley meets the American race problem as most Negro children have to do.

*Kalibala, E. Balintuma and Davis, Mary Gould. *Wakaima and the Clay Man.* New York. Longmans Green and Co. 1946. 145 p. Authentic folktales of the Baganda Tribe of East Africa, with amusing illustrations.

Le Grand. *Saturday for Samuel.* New York. Greystone Press. 1941. 46 p. What happened when Samuel, Clarabel, his little sister, and Maw and Paw went to town on Saturday to buy groceries.

Mayer, Edith H. *Our Negro Brother.* New York. Shady Hill Press. 1945. 31 p. A volume for children of elementary school age, 8 to 14, which tells the story of a few well-known Negroes at different periods of our history. Its purpose is the promotion of racial understanding.

McGavran, Grace W. *Mpengo of the Congo.* New York. Friendship Press. 1945. 127 p. The story of a little boy named Mpengo and his sister, Ekila, who live in the Congo Country.

Newell, Hope. *Steppin and Family.* New York. London. Toronto. Oxford University Press. 1942. 198 p. How a boy who wanted to become a tap dancer achieved his ambition. The setting is in Harlem.

*Newsome, Effie Lee. *Gladiola Garden.* Poems of Outdoors and Indoors for Second Grade readers. Washington, D. C. Associated Publishers. 1940. 167 p. These poems are beautifully illustrated by Lois Mailou Jones.

Nolen, Eleanor Weakley. *Plantation on the Potomac.* New York. Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1941. 103 p. As brother and sister, Norman and Betsy, ten year old twins, visit the plantation home of their Aunt Belle. Reluctant to go because they did not care to leave Williamsburg, they are entranced by plantation life and only the fact that their family has been increased by another set of twins makes leaving easy.

Novikoff, Alex. *Climbing Our Family Tree.* How Living Things Change and Develop. New York. International Publishers. 1945. 96 p. Cleverly illustrated, this introduction to evolution, the story of life from one-celled animals to modern man, is a Young World Book.

*Shackelford, Jane D. *The Child's Story of the Negro.* Washington, D. C. Associated Publishers. 1938. 219 p. Written for pupils of the elementary grades, this book endeavors to help them appreciate the traditions, aspirations and achievements of the Negro. All of the material is motivated.

†*Shackelford, Jane D. *My Happy Days.* Washington, D. C. Associated Publishers. 1944. 121 p. A photographic study of the real life of a happy boy in a home where he has the companionship of an intelligent sister and where his parents guide them in their studies, their recreation, their work in the home and in their contacts with persons and things.

Sharpe, Stella Gentry. *Tobe.* Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1939. 121 p. Tobe, a six year old Negro boy, lives on a farm in North Carolina with his five brothers, two sisters, his mother and father. The story of the year round farm life of Tobe and his family—the animals, the garden, the fields, the woods, Hallowe'en, Christmas, Thanksgiving makes interesting reading.

Tarry, Ellen. *Janie Belle*. New York. Garden City Publishing Co. 1940. 28 p. The story of a little sick colored baby that was found in a rubbish can, taken to a big hospital, operated on by "Doctor Great, Doctor Big and Doctor Little," and named and cared for by Nurse Moore.

Wagner, Mabel Garrett. *Billy Bates*. New York. Friendship Press. 1946. 54 p. Billy Bates moves from Arkansas to San Francisco with his family where his father, formerly a handy man, became an industrial worker. Billy's whole life was transformed by this change of residence.

Church and Religion

Bell, Juliet O. and Wilkins, Helen J. *Interracial Practices in Community Y. W. C. A.'s*. New York. National Board, Y. W. C. A. 1944. 116 p. This study assumes: "1. That all women and girls are welcome to share in the full life of the Association; 2. The Y. W. C. A. is an interracial organization built upon respect for the dignity and worth of human personality regardless of race; 3. The Association is a fellowship of women and girls of all races who participate on equal terms in joint enterprises having values for all."

*Borders, William Holmes. *Seven Minutes at the "Mike" in the Deep South*. Atlanta, Ga. Morris Brown College Press. 1943. 62 p. These are radio sermonets, delivered over WAGA, Atlanta, Ga.

Directory of Negro Baptist Churches in the United States. Prepared by Illinois Historical Records Survey Division of Community Service Programs. Works Projects Administration. Chicago, Illinois. Illinois Historical Records Survey. Illinois Public Records Project. February, 1942. 2 vols. Contains the names of more than fifteen thousand congregations with names of the pastor, and the location of the churches.

*Drake, St. Clair. *Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community*. Report of Official Project 465-54-3-386 conducted under the auspices of the Work Projects Administration, Horace R. Cayton, Superintendent. Chicago, Ill. December, 1940. 314 p. One of the studies made in Chicago as a part of a larger program to study exhaustively various phases of a modern community.

†*Fauset, Arthur Huff. *Black Gods of the Metropolis*. Negro Religious Cults of the Urban North. Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Press. London. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1944. 126 p. A study of five Negro religious cults in Philadelphia.

Georges, Norbert (Comp.). *With Blessed Martin de Porres*. Favorite Stories from the Torch. 1935-1944. New York. Blessed Martin Guild. 1944. 231 p. Contains selection of articles on Blessed Martin and his work, which have appeared in issues of the *Torch*.

Gillard, John T. *Colored Catholics in the United States*. An investigation of Catholic activity in behalf of the Negroes in the United States and a Survey of the present condition of the Colored Missions. Baltimore. Josephite Press. 1941. 298 p. Information is given concerning the number of Negro Catholics in the United States, their churches, personnel, schools, social welfare and race relations.

Inventory of the Church Archives of New Jersey. Baptist Bodies. Seventh Day Baptist Supplement. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey. Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. Newark, N. J. Historical Records Survey. August, 1939. 161 p. This is a brief but comprehensive treatise of the Seventh Day Baptists.

Inventory of the Church Archives of New Jersey: Baptist Bodies. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects. Works Progress Administration. Newark, N. J. The Historical Records Survey. December, 1938. 289 p. The volume contains information on the names, addresses and organization of the New Jersey Baptist Churches.

Jones, Rufus M.; Lauboch, Frank; Moseley, J. Rufus; Jones, E. Stanley; Clark, Glenn; Judd, Walter; Magee, John G.; Shoemaker, Samuel M.; Daily, Starr; Vereide, Abraham; Harding, Glenn; *Thurman, Howard. *Together*. New York. Nashville. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press.

1946. 125 p. "From startlingly different backgrounds (these men) speak as one in heralding a resurgence of spiritual life that can weld the varied peoples of earth into a real brotherhood of Christ."

*McKinney, Richard I. *Religion in Higher Education Among Negroes.* New Haven. Yale University Press. 1945. 165 p. The author presents "historical and contemporary problems of religion among Negroes in American Higher Education." It deals with the religious and social attitudes of Negro students, and gives a critical evaluation of administrative attitudes, the teaching of religion, the influence of the churches, the programs of the Christian Associations and the religious work done through college chapel and counselling programs.

Negro Youth in City Y. M. C. A.'s. A Study of Y. M. C. A. Services among Negro youth in Urban Communities. New York. Bureau of Records, Studies and Trends. National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations. 1944. 80 p. This report deals with the availability and distribution of services of city Young Men's Christian Associations among Negro youth.

Parker, Joseph I. (Ed.) *Directory of World Missions.* Missionary Boards, Societies, Colleges, Cooperative Councils, and other agencies related to the Protestant Churches of the World. New York. London. International Missionary Council. 1938. 255 p.

*Pawley, James A. (Comp.). *The Negro Church in New Jersey.* Works Progress Administration. Emergency Education Program. Hackensack, N. J. 1938. 51 p. Intended to be used as a medium for securing a brief outline of the founding, the struggles and the achievements of the Negro Church in New Jersey.

*Polk, Alma A. *Listen Youth.* Pittsburgh, Pa. 1946. "A Manual for Adult Leadership of the Young People's Conference, Women's Missionary Society of the African Methodist Episcopal Church."

Preece, Harold and Kraft, Celia. *Dew on Jordan.* New York. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1946. 221 p. The folk religion of various sects and cults in the Southern hill country and elsewhere, where the people know more "about the Seige of Jericho than about the Seige of Stalingrad."

*Ransom, Reverdy C. and *Robinson, James H. *Year Book.* 1939-1940 Edition of Negro Churches. A record of religious activities of American Negroes, and Inter-racial co-operation through the medium of the church, with statistics and records of Negro life and achievements. Philadelphia, Pa. A. M. E. Book Concern. 221 p.

Stroup, Herbert Hewitt. *The Jehovah's Witnesses.* New York. Columbia University Press. 1945. 186 p. First hand observation of the activities both public and private of this religious sect.

Y. W. C. A. 1945. New York. National Board Young Women's Christian Associations. 1946. 43 p. A brief summary recording month by month some of the work done by the Y. W. C. A. during 1945.

Drama[2]

Barnouw, Erik (Ed.) *Radio Drama in Action.* Twenty-five plays of a changing world. New York. Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 1945. 397 p. Contains a script by Langston Hughes entitled, "Booker T. Washington in Atlanta;" one by Roi Ottley entitled, "The Negro Domestic"; and one by William N. Robson, entitled, "Open Letter on Race Hatred."

Bond, Frederick W. *The Negro and the Drama.* The Direct and Indirect Contribution which the American Negro has made to Drama and the Legitimate Stage, with the underlying Conditions Responsible. Washington, D. C. Associated Publishers. 1940. 213 p. Beginning with the backgrounds of Negro drama the author progressively shows the development of Negro drama from the period of mimicry up to the present.

d'Usseau, Arnaud and Gow, James. *Deep Are the Roots.* New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1946. 205 p. The love story of a Negro soldier and a white girl in the post-war period.

Green, Paul and *Wright, Richard. *Native Son.* (The Biography of a Young American.) A play in Ten Scenes. New York and London. Harper and Bros. 1941. 148 p. A play based on the novel by the same name.

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[2] For other dramas by Negroes see division, "Negro American Literature."

Hammerstein, Oscar II. *Carmen Jones*. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. 139 p. Based on Meilhac and Halevy's adaptation of Prosper Merimee's Carmen. It is a musical play with an all-Negro cast. The setting is a parachute factory in a southern town.

Lewis, Kate Porter. *Alabama Folk Plays*. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1943. 152 p. Three Negro comedies and two plays concerning poor whites.

Richardson, Thomas. *Place: America. (A Theatre Piece.)* Based on the History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. New York. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. 1940. 51 p.

Rodman, Seldon. *The Revolutionists*. A Tragedy in Three Acts. New York. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1942. 193 p. Deals with the revolt of the slaves of Haiti.

*Rosemond, Henri Ch. *Haiti Our Neighbor*. (A Play in Two Acts and Twelve Scenes). Brooklyn, N. Y. Haitian Publishing Co. 1944. 95 p. A vivid melodrama of the internal life of Haiti, based on facts concerning the struggle for independence.

Ryerson, Florence and Clements, Colin. *Harriet*. A Play in Three Acts. New York. Scribner's Sons. 1943. 212 p. Based on the life of Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Economic Conditions

Belfrage, Cedric. *South of God*. New York. Modern Age Books. 1941. 346 p. The story of Claude Williams and his work among white and black workers and especially among the miners and the Southern Farmers Tenant Union in Arkansas. It is more, it is the story of a martyr who remained unshaken when his beliefs were assailed though it meant poverty and suffering—even death.

*Bontemps, Arna and *Conroy, Jack. *They Seek a City*. Garden City, New York. Doubleday, Doran and Co. 1945. 266 p. The story of Negro migration within the United States. Here migration is divided into four periods: (1) That which took place via the Underground Railroad, as a means of escape from slavery. (2) That which took place after Emancipation when the freedmen went North seeking opportunities. (3) Migration during World War I when thousands of Negroes went to large northern centers to take the place of foreigners and others. (4) Migration during World War II again to cities to fill the shortages of industry caused by the lack of man power and by speeded up production.

Bullock, B. F. *Practical Farming for the South*. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1944. 510 p. The purpose of this handbook is to meet the needs of those persons—rural teachers, supervisors, principals, preachers, social workers, who though working among rural people have the "city pattern of thinking," because they have not had the advantage of rural training during their period of preparation.

*Cayton, Horace R. and Mitchell, George S. *Black Workers and the New Unions*. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1939. 467 p. A study of the economic status and industrial position of Negroes as industrial laborers and of their participation in labor unions. It is divided into five sections.

Huberman, Leo. *The Truth About Unions*. New York. The Pamphlet Press. A Division of Reynal and Hitchcock. 1946. 87 p. This pamphlet is divided into four parts entitled as follows: Part I, Why Unions? Part II, Union Structure; Part III, What About—; Part IV, "For the Extension of Democracy."

Hullinger, Edwin Ware. *Ploughing Through*. The Story of the Negro in Agriculture. New York. William Morrow and Co. 1940. 60 p. A brief and fully illustrated account of the Negro as a farmer, and of his vital part in the National farm program.

Infield, Henrik F. *Cooperative Communities at Work*. Dryden Press. New York. 1945. 201 p. With so many peoples having been dislocated by the war the world problem of rehabilitating them is facing most governments. The author feels that the merits of group settlement should be part of the preparation work of post-war resettlement planning. The F. S. A., Cooperative Corporation Farms and other F. S. A. projects are described and analyzed together with other cooperative efforts.

Labor Fact Book (7). Prepared by Labor Research Association. New York. International publishers. 1945. 208 p. Information on the Negro in Labor Unions, in the armed forces, health, housing, on railroad, discrimination and court decisions.

Labor Unionism in American Agriculture. Bulletin No. 836. Washington, D. C. U. S. Govt. Print. Off. 1945. 455 p. A valuable study showing the origins, developments, problems and accomplishments of unionism among farm workers in various parts of the United States.

Mezerik, A. G. *The Revolt of the South and West*. New York. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1946. 290 p. The revolt spoken of in this volume is that of the South and West against the East, which they blame for denying the rest of the country a fair opportunity. High cost of living, low wages, poor educational and health facilities are all blamed on the East.

Morris, Richard B. *Government and Labor in Early America*. New York. Columbia University Press. 1946. 557 p. "An original and comprehensive work which discusses the legal and social status of free and bound labor in Colonial days."

Northrup, Herbert R. *Organized Labor and the Negro*. New York. London. Harper and Bros. 1944. 312 p. The author analyzes the labor situation as it relates to Negroes participating in labor unions in America. He presents first a general picture as it relates to the major labor unions; namely, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and then discusses the status of Negro labor in the various types of industries in relation to organized labor within these industries.

O'Donnell, Cyril. *Recent Trends in the Demand for American Cotton*. A Supplement to the Journal of Business of the University of Chicago. January, 1945. Studies in Business Administration. Vol. XV, No. 1. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1945. 53 p. A study which should be valuable to private and public organizations which influence and determine policy with respect to the production and distribution of American cotton; and to others who manufacture and sell cotton products.

Raper, Arthur F. *Tenants of the Almighty*. New York. Macmillan Co. 1943. 403 p. The third sociological study made by the author of Greene County, Georgia. Beginning "with the story of the Indian, of the first white settlers, self-sufficient frontier farmers, slavery, war and reconstruction, wage hands and sharecroppers, time merchants and populists, 'weevil-free' land and boom times, boll weevil and deflation and hard years," he launches into the unified Farm Program and what it has meant not only to the people but to the land.

Raper, Arthur F. and *Reid, Ira DeA. *Sharecroppers All*. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1941. 281 p. This book states that the term sharecroppers should not be confined to the inclusion of those persons who work on farms only and contribute their labor, receiving in return a share of the crop; but should include that large class of workers in factory, downtown offices, chain-store clerks, salesmen, insurance agents, taxi drivers, filling-station operators, casual laborers, domestic servants and thousands of other workers tied down by low wages, insecurity and lack of opportunity. "A sharecropper shares in the risk without sharing in the control." White and black alike are caught in this share-cropping system which covers the South.

Stigler, George J. *Domestic Servants in the United States 1900-1940*. New York. National Bureau of Economic Research. Occasional Paper 24: April, 1946. 44 p. The study takes up: "The Number of Servants, 1900-1940"; "The Characteristics of Servants"; "The Wages and Hours of Servants"; and "Factors Affecting the Income of Servants."

*Stuart, M. S. *An Economic Detour*. A History of Insurance in the Lives of American Negroes. New York. Wendell Malliet and Co. 1940. 349 p. An authentic and comprehensive history of the economic struggles and achievements of the American

Negro. It provides a rich source of important information regarding the Negro that has not been obtainable previously in book form.

*Styles, Fitzhugh Lee. *How to be Successful Negro Americans.* A Guide to Success in Life and Business for Negroes in America. Boston. Christopher Publishing House. 1941. 102 p. The author believes that "there are thousands of Negroes in this country today who actually are obsessed with the conviction of defeat, whereas, the truth is if only they could rid themselves of such devastating notions, the mere removal of this handicap would catapult them to happiness and success."

Weaver, Herbert. *Mississippi Farmers, 1850-1860.* Nashville. Vanderbilt University Press. 1945. 139 p. This is an analysis of the economic structure of the agricultural population of Mississippi ten years prior to the Civil War, showing that as much attention was given to the growing of corn and livestock in Mississippi as to the growing of cotton.

†*Weaver, Robert C. *Negro Labor.* A National Problem. New York. Harcourt Brace and Co. 1946. 329 p. Tells what has happened to Negro Labor during the war years and also what racial problems will face both workers and management in the post-war period. It brings out also the occupational changes which have occurred in Negro labor and emphasizes the significance of such issues as full employment and the problem of union seniority. It also indicates the importance of the Fair Employment Practices Committee for the improvement not only of Negro labor but of racial understanding.

Wilson, Charles Morrow. *Corn Bread and Creek Water.* The Landscape of Rural Poverty. New York. Henry Holt and Co. 1940. 309 p. Erosion and drought, tenancy and migration, education, conservation, relief—the plans, the arguments, and the statistics, which bear upon them—all the features of the complicated and much discussed "farm problem" are contained in this volume.

Education

The Advisory Committee on Education, Report of the Committee. February, 1938. Washington, D. C. Govt. Print. Off. 1938. 243 p. Deals with the problems of Federal relationships to State and local conduct of education. America is committed to the social theory that all children of the country regardless of economic status, race, or place of residence are entitled to an equitable opportunity to obtain a suitable education. This theory has never been realized in practice. "The Committee is convinced that the Federal Government must continue and expand its efforts to improve and enlarge the social services, including education at the same time fostering and preserving the strength of local democratic action."

Alexander, Fred M. *Education for the Needs of the Negro in Virginia.* The John F. Slater Fund Studies in Education of Negroes. Number 2. Washington, D. C. Southern Education Foundation, Inc. 1943. 297 p. A study concerned with certain significant social, economic, and educational conditions of the Negro and their implications for the improvement of his education.

Americans All. Studies in Intercultural Education. Sponsored by the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction of the National Education Association. The National Council of Teachers of English. The Society for Curriculum Study. National Education Association. Washington, D. C. 1942. 385 p. A plea for the betterment of interracial and intercultural relations in the youth of America.

Beust, Nora E. and Foster, Emery M. *Statistics of Public-School Libraries 1941-42.* Biennial Surveys of Education in the United States 1938-40 and 1940-42. Volume II, Chapter VIII. Federal Security Agency. U. S. Office of Education. Washington. Govt. Print. Off. 1945. 54 p. "This study was undertaken with a view to obtaining some factual information regarding the status of the public school library during the school year 1941-42."

*Caliver, Ambrose. *Education of Teachers for Improving Majority—Minority Relationship.* Course Offerings for Teachers to learn about Racial and National Minority Groups. Washington, D. C. U. S. Govt. Print. Off. 1944. 64 p. The point of view of this pamphlet is that improving human relationships is primarily an educational job which can be accomplished only by "providing accurate knowledge about different races and groups, developing understanding and appreciation of these groups and improving attitudes of different individuals, races, and groups toward one another."

*Carpenter, Marie Elizabeth. *The Treatment of the Negro in American History Textbooks.* Menasha, Wis. George Banta Publishing Co. 1941. 137 p. The thesis of this dissertation is that writers of textbooks dealing with American history have not used the findings of historical scholarship in giving the Negro a "well balanced and informing" treatment. This neglect, the author thinks, may be due partly to attitudes held by these writers and historians toward the Negro and partly because of their desire to exclude controversial material. She makes recommendations for a "well-rounded treatment not only of the Negro but of American history in general."

*Colson, Edna Meade. *An Analysis of the Specific References to Negroes in Selected Curricula for the Education of Teachers.* Bureau of Publications. Teachers College. Columbia University. New York. 1940. 178 p. This dissertation has three purposes: (1) To provide specific information in selected fields of knowledge which can be used in the selection and presentation of instructional material on the Negro; (2) To present recommendations, growing out of the data secured, which will assist institutions for teacher education in making proper curriculum provision for understanding the Negro-white situation in the United States; (3) To contribute to the betterment of race relations in America.

*Daniel, Walter Green. *The Reading Interests and Needs of Negro College Freshmen Regarding Social Science Material.* Bureau of Publications. Teachers College. Columbia University. New York. 1942. 128 p. Presents a study of the general social science reading interests of students at Howard University and an appraisal of their needs.

Du Bois, Rachel Davis. *Build Together Americans.* New York. Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge. 1945. 270 p. From twenty years experience, the author reports "upon concrete programs, tested in more than 100 schools, for using the assembly as a nucleus to integrate school and community activities, for follow-up classroom discussions, and for social occasions, which give young people opportunity to practice new attitudes of good will."

Dunbar, Ralph M. and Foster, Emery M. *College and University Library Statistics, 1939-40.* Biennial Survey of Education in the United States 1938-40. Volume II, Chapter VI, Federal Security Agency. U. S. Office of Education. Washington. Govt. Print. Off. 1943. 105 p. This volume presents "basic statistical data on the libraries of the institutions of higher education in the United States and its outlying parts."

*Dyson, Walter. *Howard University. The Capstone of Negro Education.* A History: 1867-1940. Washington. The Graduate School, Howard University. 1941. 553 p. A documentary history of Howard University, the most outstanding university for Negroes in the United States, written by one of its professors of History.

Gibson, Joseph E. and Others. *Mississippi Study of Higher Learning.* 1945. 402 p. Chapter XIV deals with the "Development of Negro Education" and shows the status, the needs, the deficiencies, the proposed re-organization, and recommendations for the higher education of Negroes in Mississippi.

*Gleason, Eliza Atkins. *The Southern Negro and the Public Library.* University of Chicago Press. Chicago, Ill. 1941. 218 p. The aims of this investigation are: "(1) To define the legal basis of free public library service for Negroes in the South; (2) To identify all institutions offering permanent public library service to Negroes, thereby establishing the extent of library coverage for the group; (3) To revise figures of total library coverage in the South; (4) To identify the governmental type of the public libraries offering service to Negroes and to determine to what extent one type may offer wider opportunities for service than another; (5) To review the administration and services of the library units maintained for Negro library service; and (6) To determine to what extent the library facilities of private secondary schools and institutions of higher learning for Negroes supplement the regularly organized and publicly supported public library facilities provided for the groups."

*Gore, George W. Jr. *In-Service Professional Improvement of Negro Public School Teachers in Tennessee.* Contributions to Education No 786. Bureau of Publications. Teachers College, Columbia University. New York. 1940. 142 p. "Pictures the present status of the Negro teachers and the supervisory practices and teacher education facilities available to them in Tennessee," with an evaluation of the findings in the light of present standards.

†*Greene, Harry W. *Holders of Doctorates among American Negroes.* Boston. Meador Publishing Co. 1946. 275 p. Pertinent economic and social factors are included in this educational study of Negroes who have earned the doctorate, 1876-1943.

*Harris, M. LaFayette. *The Voice in the Wilderness.* Boston. Christopher Publishing House. 1941. 149 p. The result of the stimulating effect of the scholarship of Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, then President of the University of Chicago. "The author contends that education must include the whole person, and not just the mind. To include the whole person, it must include those basic factors which compose the major drives of choice and action."

*Harris, Ruth Miriam. *Teachers' Social Knowledge and its Relation to Pupils' Responses.* A study of Four St. Louis Negro Elementary Schools. Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 816. Bureau of Publications. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. 1941. 89 p. The major assumption of this dissertation is that the "understanding that teachers have of the communities in which they do their teaching is an important factor in the integration of their pupils' lives into their communities, and in the pupils' whole social adjustment."

Herlihy, Lester B. *Statistics of Nonpublic Elementary and Secondary Schools 1940-41.* Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1940-42. Volume II, Chapter IX. Federal Security Agency. U. S. Office of Education. Washington, D. C. Govt. Print. Off. 1945. 28 p. A summary presenting the second comprehensive review of elementary and secondary private and parochial schools issued by the Office of Education.

Hughes, Raymond M. and Lancelot, William H. *Education: America's Magic.* Ames, Iowa. The Iowa State College Press. 1946. 189 p. Each State of the Union is examined with reference to the ideal of universal education. Vital educational problems of America are also discussed.

*Johnson, Charles S. *The Negro College Graduate.* Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1938. 399 p. An extensive study of the objective records of college and professionally trained Negroes in the United States. The basis of interpretation of this study "is that education for Negroes in America is one of the instruments of their acculturation and that the higher learning and professional proficiency achieved are evidences not only of their changing social and economic status, but of their increased integration into American life."

Morgan, Charles T. *The Fruit of this Tree.* The Story of a Great American College and Its Contribution to the Education of a Changing World. Berea, Ky. Published by Berea College. 1946. 269 p. This history of Berea College synchronizes three historical works about the college.

Morphet, Edgar L. (Ed.). *Building a Better Southern Region through Education.* A study in State and Regional Cooperation. Tallahassee, Fla. Southern States Work-Conference on School Administrative Problems. 1945. 418 p. Represents the cooperative work of 14 States in the Southern Region and is an attempt "by a large group of educational leaders from an entire region to view the organization and administration of education in terms of its relation to the resources of the region and the potential development of those resources."

Norton, John K. and Lawler, Eugene S. *An Inventory of Public School Expenditures in the United States.* A Report of the Cooperative Study of Public School Expenditures. Washington. American Council On Education. 1944. 2 Vols. These two volumes form "a definitive study of inequalities in the financial support of public elementary and secondary education in the United States."

Swint, Henry Lee. *The Northern Teacher in the South 1862-1870.* Nashville, Tennessee. Vanderbilt University Press. 1941. 221 p. A story of the role which the northern teachers played in the education of Negroes in the South during the period 1862-1870, the organizations instrumental in sending these teachers to the southern area, and the reaction of the southerners to the presence of these teachers.

Voorhees, Oscar M. *The History of Phi Beta Kappa.* New York. Crown Publishers. 1945. 372 p. The official historian of Phi Beta Kappa gives the story of the Society as well as the history of the separate Chapters.

Warner, W. Lloyd; Havighurst, Robert J.; Loeb, Martin B. *Who Shall be Educated?* The Challenge of Unequal Opportunities. New York. London. Harper and Bros. 1944. 190 p. "Describes how our schools, functioning in a society with basic inequalities, facilitate the use of a few from lower to higher levels but continue to serve the social system by keeping down many people who try for higher places. The teacher, the school administrator, the school board, as well as the students themselves, play their roles to hold people in their places in our social structure."

*Whiting, J. L. *Shop and Class at Tuskegee.* A definitive Story of the Tuskegee Correlation Technique 1910-1930. Boston. Chapman and Grimes. 1941. 114 p. A story of the correlation between cultural and vocational subjects as related by one who was for 20 years Industrial Arts Education Adviser at Tuskegee Institute.

Folklore

Bennett, John. *The Doctor to the Dead.* Grotesque Legends and Folk Stories of Old Charleston. New York. 1946. 260 p. A few of these stories were collected from former slaves, but most of them are from Negroes of the first free generation.

Botkin, B. A. (Ed.) *A Treasury of American Folklore.* Stories, Ballads and Traditions of the People. New York. Crown Publishers. 1944. 932 p. Contains 500 stories and 100 songs of America's legendary heroes and strong men told "as the people tell them, in the glorious virile, earthy American language."

Bowman, James Cloyd. *John Henry, The Rambling Black Ulysses.* Chicago. Albert Whitman and Co. 1942. 288 p. The mythical, John Henry, weighing forty pounds at birth, grows into a tradition as well as an inspiration. This recent story of his adventures is interwoven with many songs and tales of the old South. The art work is done by Roy La Grone.

*Hurston, Zora Neale. *Tell My Horse.* Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott Co. 1938. 301 p. An intimate story of voodoo in Jamaica and Haiti by one who herself took part in the rites.

Kennedy, Stetson. *Palmetto Country.* New York. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1942. 340 p. This volume on American folkways in the "deepest South, Florida and the southern portions of Georgia and Alabama, presents all of the people: Crackers, Negroes, American tourists, Latin Cigarmakers, conch-fisherfolk; Greek sponge-divers, cowhunters, farmers, backwoodsmen."

Roberts, William F. *Dixie Darkies.* Negro Stories—Mule Tales—Race Relationships. Boston. Bruce Humphries, Inc. 1942. 150 p. Tales of Negro life in the South, told by one who spent his boyhood on a plantation in Central Mississippi.

Tallant, Robert. *Voodoo in New Orleans.* New York. Macmillan Co. 1946. 247 p. "A complete and authentic history of voodoo worship in New Orleans."

History and Travel

Civil War and Reconstruction

Aptheker, Herbert. *Essays in the History of the American Negro.* New York. International Publishers. 1945. 216 p. Based on original research, the author shows the role the Negro has played in various phases of American history as follows: "Negro Slave Revolts in the United States, 1526-1860"; "The Negro in the American Revolution"; "The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement"; "The Negro in the Civil War."

Aptheker, Herbert. *The Negro in the Civil War*. New York. International Publishers. 1938. 48 p. Says the author, "For two hundred years the American Negro people waged a persistent struggle against the diabolical system of chattel slavery, which was devised and continued for their super-exploitation. And they eagerly grasped the opportunity offered by the Civil War to accentuate their struggles."

Blied, Benjamin J. *Catholics and the Civil War*. Milwaukee, Wis. 1945. 161 p. A cross-section of Catholic opinion and action during the period of the Civil War is given in this volume of essays.

Bragg, Jefferson Davis. *Louisiana in the Confederacy*. Baton Rouge, La. Louisiana State University Press. 1941. 341 p. "In this study of Louisiana's Civil War history, Mr. Bragg deals particularly with the struggle to cope with the tragic problems created by the destruction of property, scarcity of specie and provisions, and the division of territory. The author also develops the inter-relationships and conflicts with the Federal-occupied portion of the state."

Calendar of the John C. Dancy Correspondence, 1898-1910. Detroit, Michigan. The Michigan Historical Records Survey Project. 1941. 27 p. A compilation of original source materials relating to John C. Dancy, Negro teacher, politician, orator and journalist.

Craven, Avery Odelle. *The Coming of the Civil War*. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. 491 p. The approach to and the interpretation of the Civil War are given a new slant in this volume. The author states that the war came not from differences as such but from distorting of differences between sections of the country and because of the generation of emotions concerning these distortions. It is a new evaluation of the part which slavery played in the Civil War struggle.

DeForest, John William. *A Volunteer's Adventures*. A Union Captain's Record of the Civil War. New Haven. Yale University Press. 1946. 237 p. DeForest's version of the Civil War, based on his letters and articles, edited with notes by James H. Croushore.

†*Du Bois, W. E. B., Johnson, Guy B. *Encyclopedia of the Negro*. New York. Phelps-Stokes Fund. 1945. 207 p. A "Preparatory Volume with Reference Lists and Reports." The reference material is brought down through 1942, and is divided into three parts as follows: I, Alphabetical List, with Notes on Major Subjects, and Bibliographical Suggestions. II, Library Resources for Negro Studies in the United States and Abroad. III, Bibliography of Bibliographies Dealing Directly or Indirectly with the Negro.

Dunham, Chester Forrester. *The Attitude of the Northern Clergy Toward the South. 1860-1865*. Toledo, Ohio. Gray Co. Publishers. 1942. 258 p. This study seeks to discover the ideas, opinions, convictions and attitudes that northern preachers held during the period 1860-1865.

Gray, Wood. *The Hidden Civil War*. The Story of the Copperheads. New York. Viking Press. 1942. 314 p. There existed in the North individuals and groups of persons who did not wish to war against the South during the Civil War. They held different views concerning what should be the national policy during this period of crisis. This is the story of these individuals and groups.

Horn, Stanley F. *The Army of Tennessee*. A Military History. Indianapolis. New York. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1941. 503 p. A comprehensive historical study. One of the interesting stories in this volume of particular interest to Negroes is the account of what happened when General Pat Cleburne, who was born in Ireland and who grew up in the British Isles, proposed to recruit Negroes as soldiers for the army of the Confederacy.

Lane, Brother J. Robert. *A Political History of Connecticut During the Civil War*. Washington, D. C. 1941. 321 p. The political development in the State of Connecticut during the Civil War.

Milton, George Fort. *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column*. New

York. Vanguard Press. 1942. 364 p. The relentless struggle that Abraham Lincoln was compelled to wage against the Union's secret and malignant foes at home. There is a parallelism between the foes that were boring from within during that struggle and those that were sympathetic with the enemies of America during World War II.

Milton, George Fort. *Conflict. The American Civil War*. New York. Coward-McCann Inc. 1941. 433 p. A concise history of the Civil War, with its military, economic and social consequences by a noted historian.

Ramsdell, Charles W. (Ed.). *Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Last Session of the Confederate Congress (November 7, 1864—March 18, 1865)*. Together with the Secret Acts of Previous Congresses. Durham, N. C. Duke University Press. 1941. 183 p. A nearly complete set of the hitherto unpublished laws of the Confederacy.

Randall, J. G. *Lincoln and the South*. Baton Rouge, La. Louisiana State University Press. 1946. 161 p. The author presents Lincoln as one who knew and understood the South and lauds his plan for peace as being "just and promising.".

Robinson, William M., Jr. *Justice in Grey*. A History of the Judicial System of the Confederate States of America. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press. 1941. 713 p. A complete judicial history of the Confederate States covering the organization and operation of the courts, the military tribunals, and the Department of Justice.

*Taylor, Alrutheus Ambush. *The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880*. Washington, D. C. The Associated Publishers. 1941. 306 p. Shows the role played by the Negro in the political, social and economic life of Tennessee and the forces and factors which tended to impede or support him in this effort.

General and Miscellaneous References

Adamic, Louis. *A Nation of Nations*. New York. London. Harper and Bros. 1945. 399 p. The theme is that America is not a "white Anglo-Saxon-Protestant civilization struggling to preserve itself against infiltration and adulteration by other civilizations brought here by hordes of foreigners and Negroes but a new civilization . . . owing much . . . to the mixture and interplay of our peoples, the plenitude of our resources, and the skills which all of us—Britons, Irishmen, Frenchmen, Scandinavians, Slavs, Jews, Negroes, agnostics—have brought here in the past three hundred years."

Aptheker, Herbert. *The Negro in the American Revolution*. New York. International Publishers. 1940. 47 p. The activities of the American Negro in a war for freedom. The author states that the motivating force in the history of the American Negro has always been his determined effort to be free. This has permeated his actions, his policies, his efforts, his music and his religion.

*Coles, Howard W. *The Cradle of Freedom*. A History of the Negro in Rochester, Western New York and Canada. Volume One. Rochester, N. Y. Oxford Press, publishers. 1942. 164 p. In compiling this volume the author used not only rare illustrations but also rare materials.

*Dreer, Herman. *The History of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, 1911 to 1939*. Published by the Fraternity. 1940. 331 p. This history of a fraternity among Negro college men tells of the founding of the organization, its expansion, the development of the administrative offices, the Omega program, the grand conclaves and trends as it faces the future.

Easterby, J. H. (Ed.). *The South Carolina Rice Plantation*. As revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1945. 478 p. "The documents include personal and business letters of the planter and his family, overseers' and factors' reports, lists of slaves and slave bills of sale, account-books, doctors' bills, order for supplies, diaries, etc. They begin in 1810 . . . and end in 1868."

*Eppse, Merle R. *A Guide to the Study of the Negro*. Nashville 2, Tenn. National Publication Co. 1943. 181 p. A manual which suggests various sources and activities by which the history of the Negro may become a more vivid and worthwhile subject for study in schools on the high school and college level, and is intended for use in connection with the text book by the author, entitled, "The Negro, Too, in American History."

*Eppse, Merle R. *The Negro, Too, in American History.* Nashville, Tenn. National Publication Co. 1943. 591 p. The author presents "a continuous story of constructive contributions of the Negro" to American culture.

*Eppse, Merle R. and *Foster, A. M. *An Elementary History of America including the Contributions of the Negro Race.* Nashville, Tenn. National Publication Co. 1943. 350 p. Purposes to supplement text books which trace the development of our national life without due regard to the part which the Negro has played.

Firestone, Clark B. *Flowing South.* New York. Robert M. McBride and Co. 1941. 263 p. This book is the result of five thousand miles of river travel covered in five vacations in 1930, 1937, 1938, 1940 and 1941 in the heart of America visiting St. Paul, Memphis, Vicksburg, Natchez, New Orleans. Many interesting experiences with Negro people are related here.

*Hershaw, Fay McKeene. *Memories of East South America.* Boston. Meador Publishing Co. 1940. 144 p. This is an account of a trip taken by the author with a friend to Buenos Aires in 1938.

*Hershaw, Fay McKeene and *Collins, Flaurience Sengstacke. *Around the World with Hershaw and Collins.* Boston. Meador Publishing Co. 1938. 151 p. A book showing the authors' journey around the world. It is interestingly illustrated by photographs.

Hesseltine, William B. *The South in American History.* New York. Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1943. 691 p. A revision of the author's, "History of the South" published in 1936. It essays a synthesis of the South's role in American History and a brief synopsis of Southern development. It covers material from "Planting the Southern Colonies" to "The New Deal and the New South."

The Howard University Studies in the Social Sciences. Washington, D. C. Howard University. 1938. 188 p. Contents: Africa and the Rise of Capitalism by *Wilson, E. William and Negro Disfranchisement in Virginia by *Martin, Robert E.

*Jackson, Luther Porter. *Negro Office-Holders in Virginia, 1865-1895.* Norfolk, Va. Guide Quality Press. 1945. 88 p. Information in this volume was obtained from descendants of these officeholders living in Virginia and other States; from older citizens, white and Negro, personally acquainted with them; from secretaries of institutions of learning of which fifteen were graduated; from court clerks; and from various manuscripts and printed materials.

King, Lloyd W. *A Suggestive Outline for the Study of the Negro in History.* Missouri State Board of Education. Special Bulletin. Jefferson City, Mo. Mid-State Printing Co. 1941. 109 p. An attempt "to reveal the unique place occupied by the Negro race in the history of civilization," and was made available to the schools of Missouri in order that they might correlate as much of it as possible with their history courses.

The Negro in Virginia. Compiled by Workers of the Writer's Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Virginia. New York. Hastings House. 1940. 380 p. The story of Negroes in Virginia which begins with their arrival in " a Dutch Man of Warr" and ends with a survey of their condition as city dwellers.

Robert, John Clarke. *The Tobacco Kingdom.* Plantation, Market, and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina. 1800-60. Duke University Press. Durham, N. C. 1938. 386 p. This volume should be interesting to all persons interested in the tobacco industry, whether as cultivators, marketers, manufacturers, economists or historians, as it relates the story of tobacco during the first six decades of the eighteen hundreds.

92nd Division. Summary of Operations in the World War. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. Washington, D. C. United States Govt. Print. Off. 1944. 45 p. In this booklet the active service of the 92nd Division in World War I is treated. It deals only with front-line infantry operations. The main features of the volume are: Organization, and Service from arrival in the A. E. F. until September 25; Meuse Argonne Offensive; Marbache Sectro and Woevre Plain Operation and Subsequent Service. It contains a valuable appendix, index and operation maps.

Rutledge, Archibald. *Home by the River*. Indianapolis, Ind. New York. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1941. 167 p. After an absence of forty-four years the owner of a plantation home, "Hampton," returns to restore it. This is the story of how he did it; and of the people who helped him. It is also a story of past and present plantation life.

75 Years of Freedom. Commemoration of the 75th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The Library of Congress. December 18, 1940. 118 p. The contribution of the American Negro to American culture was the theme of a series of exhibits and concerts in the Library of Congress on December 18, 1940 commemorating the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which ended slavery in the United States. The whole program of festival music, the exhibit of graphic arts and the exhibit of books, manuscripts, broadside, music, portraits and other illustrative materials are shown in this volume.

*Turner, Zatella R. *My Wonderful Year*. Boston. Christopher Publishing House. 1939. 117 p. Miss Turner records here impressions of her life in England and her visit on the Continent as a result of being the recipient of the fourth Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority Foreign Fellowship.

*Voorhis, Harold Van Buren. *Negro Masonry in the United States*. New York. Henry Emmerson. 1940. 132 p. This volume has two parts. Part One deals with "Unrecognized" Negro Masonry, and Part Two deals with Recognized Negro Freemasonry.

*Washington, Booker T. *The Story of the Negro*. The Rise of the Race from Slavery. New York. Peter Smith. 1940. 2 vols. This book was originally published in 1909. This is a reprint of the original volumes, and is "a simple, straight story of what the Negro himself has accomplished in the way of attaining to a higher civilization."

*Williamson, Harry A. *The Prince Hall Primer*. Rev. Ed. New York. H. A. Williamson. 1946. 60 p. Contains questions and answers about Prince Hall Freemasonry from its beginning up to the present time.

*Woodson, Carter G. *The Negro in our History*. Washington. Associated Publishers. 1945. 691 p. This eighth revised edition of the Negro in our History, a standard work on Negro History, has been brought up to date and includes a brief chapter on the second World War.

Slavery

Aptheker, Herbert. *American Negro Slave Revolts*. New York. Columbia University Press. 1944. 409 p. An extended history of the revolt of American slaves. The author does more than give the history of these revolts that took place. He discusses the whole background which sheds a greater light upon and gives a better understanding of slave uprisings.

Aptheker, Herbert. *The Negro in the Abolition Movement*. New York. International Publishers. 1941. 48 p. An investigation of the role which the Negro played in trying to free himself from slavery.

Bennett, Whitman. *Whittier, Bard of Freedom*. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1941. 359 p. The role which Whittier played in the anti-slavery movement is shown here. "He was the epitome of the most reputable middle class convictions of his era. He defied established society on one ground only—that of Negro slavery; but for that issue he would fight to the last ditch."

Booker, George W. *The Slave Business*. Scotch Plains, N. J. Flanders Hall. 1941. 53 p. The story of the slave trade of modern times. Its thesis is that slavery is still sponsored by men who claim to be the most civilized human beings in the world. That imperialistic exploitation of native people is as much a slave business as when Africans were chained and transported from their native lands to foreign soil.

†Botkin, B. A. *Lay My Burden Down*. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1945. 285 p. A collection of slave narratives made from a "selection and integration of excerpts and complete narratives from the Slave Narrative Collection of the Federal Writers' Project."

Buckmaster, Henrietta. *Let My People Go.* The story of the underground railroad and the growth of the abolition movement. Harper and Bros. New York. London. 1941. 398 p. Not only is the struggle of the Negro for freedom portrayed in this volume but revolutionary impulses as imperative as those which freed the colonists from British suppression are depicted.

Clark, Blanche Henry. *The Tennessee Yeomen 1840-1860.* Nashville, Tenn. Vanderbilt University Press. 1942. 200 p. The planter class, the poor white and the slave in southern life are well known from numerous accounts written concerning them. Though it is well known that there was a large non-slave holding middle class, not too much has been recorded concerning that group, especially of the farmers and small planters. This volume emphasizes the non-slave portion of the agricultural society in Tennessee.

Clark, Calvin Montague. *American Slavery and Maine Congregationalists.* A Chapter in the History of the Development of Anti-slavery Sentiment in the Protestant Churches of the North. Bangor, Me. Published by the author. 1940. 198 p. What the Congregational churches and their leaders said and did regarding slavery, from the beginning down to the Emancipation Proclamation. The opinions held among these churchmen run all the way from those who were apologists for slavery to those who were extreme abolitionists.

Clark, Glenn (Ed.). *The World's Greatest Debate.* Saint Paul, Minn. Macalester Park Publishing Co. 1940. 214 p. The author has brought together three debates of three separate periods and has unified them into a whole. He discovered that the great debates between Madison and Henry over the adoption of the Constitution; of Webster and Haynes over the Western Lands; and of Lincoln and Douglas over Squatter Sovereignty were not three separate debates but are in reality one Great Debate that might have occurred on one platform in one evening.

Coleman, J. Winston, Jr. *Slavery Times in Kentucky.* Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1940. 351 p. An account of the life, manners and customs of slavery as it existed in this Border State. Having few, if any large plantations, slavery was not as profitable here as it was in the lower South. Therefore, the institution was more domestic than commercial. It did, however, become a center for the slave trade.

Curtis, Ann L. *Stories of the Underground Railroad.* New York. Island Workshop Press Co-op, Inc. 1941. 115 p. Here are related the brave deeds of men and women, boys and girls who risked fines and imprisonment, community censure and bodily harm in aiding slaves to escape. These stories are suitable for young people as well as for grown-ups.

Foner, Philip S. *Business and Slavery.* The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1941. 356 p. The ante-bellum North believed that it was possible to save the country from the horrors of Civil War and struggled for many years to stave off the threatened dissolution of the Union. The business men of the North were linked by economic and social ties to the South and whenever any policy threatened to disrupt these ties they entered politics in order to prevent such disruption. However, they zealously supported the armed forces of the United States hoping that war would accomplish what peace could not.

Foner, Philip S. (Ed.). *Thomas Jefferson. Selections from His Writings.* International Publishers. New York. 1943. 94 p. The selections from Jefferson's writings included here are those dealing with "World Affairs"; "Democracy"; "Slavery"; "Religion"; "Education"; and "Science."

*Franklin, John Hope. *The Free Negro in North Carolina 1790-1860.* Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1943. 271 p. An examination of the legal status of the Free Negro, his place in the economic life of North Carolina, and also his social and religious life.

*Greene, Lorenzo Johnston. *The Negro in Colonial New England 1620-1776.* New York. Columbia University Press. 1942. 404 p. The role of the Negro in Colonial New England from a general point of view is the purpose of this dissertation.

There is a survey of the slave trade and sale in New England followed by a discussion of the social, political and economic repercussions of such activities upon the institutions of New England.

*Hamilton, Jeff. *My Master*. The Inside Story of Sam Houston and His Times. By his former slave Jeff Hamilton as told to Lenoir Hunt. Dallas, Tex. Manfred, Van Nort and Co. 1940. 141 p. These recollections as related by an ex-slave more than one hundred years old show a keenness of insight that is as unusual as it is revealing.

*Jackson, Luther P. *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860*. New York. D. Appleton Century Co. 1942. 270 p. Shows the types of work in which free Negroes were engaged and the extent of the property, including slaves, owned by them during the period 1830-1860.

Klingberg, Frank J. *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina*. A study in Americanization. Associated Publishers. Washington, D. C. 1941. 180 p. The story of the Negro's part in the building of South Carolina, as seen through the reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Klingberg, Frank J. *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York*. Church Historical Society. Philadelphia, Pa. 1940. 295 p. A study of the progress of the humanitarian attack developed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and its allied societies as it relates to Indians and Negroes in the Colony of New York.

Morton, Louis. *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall*. A Virginia Tobacco Planter of the Eighteenth Century. Williamsburg, Va. Colonial Williamsburg, Inc. 1941. 332 p. Here one finds an account of foundries, textile factories, grain mills, ships that plied up and down the Chesapeake and the Virginia rivers. Here is also an account of white workers as well as Negro slaves who worked on the plantations.

*The Narrative of *James Roberts. Soldier in the Revolutionary War and at the Battle of New Orleans*. Chicago. Printed for the author. 1858. Hattiesburg, Miss. The Book Farm. 1945. 32 p. An autobiographical sketch of a slave. It ends with the admonition to all Negroes, "Should this country ever again engage in war with any nation, have nothing whatever to do with the war; avoid being duped by the white man—."

Nuermberger, Ruth Ketring. *The Free Produce Movement*. A Quaker Protest Against Slavery. Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society. Series XXV. Durham, N. C. Duke University Press. 1942. 147 p. This is an account of an organized effort to boycott goods produced by slave labor.

Palmer, George Thomas. *A Conscientious Turncoat*. The Story of John M. Palmer 1817-1900. New Haven. Yale University Press. 1941. 297 p. John M. Palmer known as a "turncoat" from coast to coast because he was born and reared in a slave state but became a vehement abolitionist. A Southerner, he became a major general in the Union Army. A hereditary Democrat, he helped in founding the Republican party. Elected a Republican governor of Illinois, he switched back to the Democratic party. He fought for social reform and radical labor legislation though a lawyer of means and respectability. Says his biographer, he believed in Abraham Lincoln's advice, "Stand with anybody that is right . . . Part with him when he goes wrong."

Pennington, Edgar Legare. *Thomas Bray's Associates and Their Work among the Negroes*. Worcester, Mass. American Antiquarian Society. 1939. 95 p. Thomas Bray, an Englishman, early became interested and active in various societies for the reformation of manners, for the revival of church discipline among the clergy and for the reform of prison conditions. Out of his efforts grew the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and Doctor Bray's Associates, which had for its purpose the "erecting of schools for instructing the young children of Negro slaves in the Christian religion and such of their parents as show themselves inclineable." This volume is an account of the success and failures of such efforts for the enlightenment of slaves in the American colonies.

Robert, Joseph Clarke. *The Road from Monticello.* A study of the Virginia Slavery Debate of 1832. Durham, N. C. Duke University Press. 1941. 127 p. A summary of the causes and consequences of the debate, evidence concerning the economic interests in the institution of slavery possessed by the members of the House of Delegates, and representative selections from newspapers and pamphlets, rarely available.

Russell, Charles Edward. *A Pioneer Editor in Early Iowa.* A Sketch of the Life of Edward Russell. Washington, D. C. Ransdell Incorporated. 1941. 78 p. Besides showing the struggles of a pioneer in the newspaper business, this volume is valuable because this pioneer editor championed the cause of the Negro slave, believing that no human being is inferior to another.

Schuman, Henry (Ed.). *Dr. Daniel Drake's Letters on Slavery to Dr. John C. Warren, of Boston.* Reprinted from the National Intelligencer. Washington, April 3, 5 and 7, 1851. New York. Schuman's. 1940. 69 p. These letters are pro-slavery and the writer expresses his opinions on many phases of the slavery question including colonization.

Shugg, Roger W. *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana.* A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and after 1840-1875. Louisiana State University Press. University, La. 1939. 372 p. "Undertakes to discover in the Old South the origins of the powerful class movements which resulted in the agrarian revolts of the nineties and in more recent conflicts which have swept Louisiana and the rest of the South."

World War II

Beecher, John. *All Brave Sailors.* The Story of the SS Booker T. Washington. New York. L. B. Fischer. 1945. 208 p. The story of Captain Hugh Mulzac, the first Negro Captain commissioned by the United States Merchant Marine and of the officers and crew, made up of whites and Negroes who worked under him, and were proud of it.

Butcher, Harry C. *My Three Years with Eisenhower.* New York. Simon and Schuster. 1946. 911 p. In this personal diary the author who lived intimately with General Eisenhower gives the highlights of each day in the General's life from the invasion of North Africa to the disintegration of the German army forces. Negro troops are mentioned a number of times in the recital.

Pictorial History. *Forty-sixth Field Artillery Brigade.* Army of the United States. Atlanta, Ga. Army Press. 1942. 134 p. A story of the 46th Artillery Brigade which came into being on February 10, 1941. This was the first time in the history of the United States that a unit as large as a Brigade was formed completely of colored troops.

Report by the Supreme Commander to the Combined Chiefs of Staff on the operations in Europe of the Allied Expeditionary Force 6 June 1944 to 8 May 1945. Washington 25, D. C. U. S. Govt. Print. Off. 1946. 123 p. The story of the campaign against fortress Europe by General Eisenhower crystallizes all of the news that has come from the press, the radio and moving pictures about this great historical event.

Schoenfeld, Seymour J. *The Negro in the Armed Forces.* His Value and Status—Past, Present, and Potential. Washington, D. C. Associated Publishers. 1945. 84 p. The bases for this volume are the observations and experiments which the author conducted in the course of his duties aboard ship as a Lieutenant Commander. This evidence shows "that the Negro is the equal of his white comrades in intelligence, skill and courage when afforded corresponding opportunities for education and participation."

Selective Service as the Tide of War Turns. The 3rd Report of the Director of Selective Service 1943-1944. Washington, D. C. Govt. Print. Off. 1945. 666 p. In Part II, Section 2, Special Problems of Selective Service, "Racial Minorities and Selective Service" is discussed. In Part IV, Appendices: Documents and Statistics, "Negroes and Selective Service" is discussed.

Selective Service in Peacetime. First Report of the Director of Selective Service 1940-41. Washington, D. C. Govt. Print. Off. 1942. 424 p. Chapter XVIII discusses "Induction Quotas and Credits" and Chapter

XIX discusses "Race Relations and Racial Discrimination especially with Reference to Negroes." There are a number of enlightening tables and charts.

Selective Service in Wartime. Second Report of the Director of Selective Service 1941-1942. Washington, D. C. Govt. Print. Off. 1943. 674 p. Chapter XIII deals with "Negroes and Selective Service." There are a number of enlightening tables and charts.

†*White, Walter. *A Rising Wind.* Garden City, New York. Doubleday Doran and Co. 1945. 155 p. A report made by the Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on his tour of the European theater of war. It contains first hand information concerning what Negro troops were doing and what was happening to them.

Literature

Anderson, George K. and Walton, Edna Lou. *This Generation. A Selection of British and American Literature from 1914 to the Present with Historical and Critical Essays.* New York. Scott, Foresman and Co. 1939. 975 p. Shows the "dominant moods, manners, and content of British and American Literature from 1914 to the present." Sterling Brown is included here under the subject, "American Revolutionists."

*Brewer, J. Mason (Ed.). *Humorous Folk Tales of the South Carolina Negro.* Orangeburg, S. C. The South Carolina Negro Folklore Guild. 1945. 64 p. These folktales cover a wide range. Social types, such as farmers, teachers, preachers; and a variety of folktale types—tall tales, jests, humorous mistakes, noodles, clever retorts, tricksters tricked, etc.

†*Brown, Sterling A.; *Davis, Arthur P.; *Lee, Ulysses. (Eds.). *The Negro Caravan.* New York. Dryden Press. 1941. 1082 p. An anthology of the writings of American Negroes. It covers the entire period of Negro expression from the writings of Phyllis Wheatley and Jupiter Hammon to the current fiction of Richard Wright.

†*Burley, Dan. *Dan Burley's Original Handbook of Harlem Jive.* Dan Burley, Amsterdam News. New York. 1944. 158 p. In the preface the author states, "This volume is intended as a guide and handbook designed primarily to give students of Jive, and those who would like to 'be in the know' on this newest and most popular addition to the modern American dialect, an idea of what it is all about."

*Dykes, Eva Beatrice. *The Negro in English Romantic Thought, or A Study of Sympathy for the Oppressed.* Washington, D. C. Associated Publishers. 1942. 197 p. It is the purpose of this study to ascertain from the great bulk of poetry and prose of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries any sympathetic attitude toward the Negro and also to find out reasons for this attitude.

*Johnson, John H. and *Burns, Ben (Eds.). *The Best of Negro Humor.* Chicago. Negro Digest Publishing Co. 1945. 106 p. There are sixteen topics, each with a number of humorous sketches.

*Lawson, Victor. *Dunbar Critically Examined.* Washington. Associated Publishers. 1941. 149 p. "This essay aims at an evaluation of the poetry and prose of Paul Laurence Dunbar, in an attempt to find his place in American letters and especially among the authors who followed an impulse similar to his."

Molohon, Bernard (Comp.). *Voices of Democracy.* A Handbook for Speakers, Teachers, and Writers. Washington, D. C. Govt. Print. Off. 1941. 84 p. Brings together memorable expressions on liberty and democracy by philosophers, statesmen and writers of all times. It contains also a list of persons who have spoken out for democracy as well as a list of books for further reading.

Roark, Eldon. *Memphis Bragabouts.* New York. London. McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. 1945. 224 p. Short stories presenting a profile of Memphis, Tennessee of the history, people, folkway, and its characters, eccentric and attractive, who periodically come to town.

Stewart, Donald Ogden (Ed.). *Fighting Words.* New York. Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1940. 168 p. A number of writers make this volume. Among the discussions are: the "Craftsmanship and Direction of the Modern Novel"; an essay on

"Tempo in Fiction"; "Sophisticated Verse and the Hell With It"; "Widening the means of communication between the writer and the Audience"; "The Position of the Negro in Literature"; "The Richness of Folksay and Folksong in American Life"; "The Writers Relation to Politics."

Warfel, Harry R. and Orians, G. Harrison. *American Local-Color Stories.* New York. American Book Co. 1941. 842 p. There are sixty-three stories by thirty-eight authors contained in this volume. Among them is Charles W. Chestnutt.

*Washington, E. Davidson (Comp.). *Quotations of Booker T. Washington.* Tuskegee Institute. Tuskegee Institute Press. 1938. 37 p. These quotations were compiled by the younger son of the founder of Tuskegee Institute.

Music

American Negro Songs. A Comprehensive collection 230 folk songs, religious and secular, with a foreword by John W. Work. New York. Howell, Soskin and Co. 1940. 259 p. The foreword discusses "Origins," "The Spirituals," "The Blues," "Work Songs," "Social and Miscellaneous" songs. The songs with music are then presented.

Arlen, Harold and Koehler, Ted. *Americanegro Suite.* New York. Chappell and Co. 1941. 70 p. Four spirituals, a dream and a lullaby make up this group of songs.

Bakeless, Katherine Little. *Story-Lives of American Composers.* New York. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1941. 288 p. A story of the growth of a national American music beginning with that of the Indian up to the important contributions of the Negro. The life stories of fifteen important American composers are given including that of William C. Handy.

Browning, Alice C. (Ed.). *Lionel Hampton's Swing Book.* Chicago, Ill. Negro Story Press. 1946. 160 p. A summary of the origin and development of swing music, with pictures and notes about outstanding swing personalities.

Buchanan, Annabel Morris (Comp.). *American Folk Music.* Native Folk Music Found in America including Anglo-American, Indian, Negro, Creole, Canadian, Mexican and Spanish-American, and a small amount from German, Norwegian, Hungarian and Portuguese sources. Ithaca, New York. National Federation Publications and Business Office (Music Clubs Magazine). 1939. 57 p.

Clark, Edgar Rogie (Comp.) *Negro Art Songs.* New York. Edward B. Marks Music Corporation. 1946. 72 p. This album for voice and piano is an anthology of songs by contemporary Negro composers.

Coleman, Satis N. and Bregman, Adolph. *Songs of American Folk.* New York. John Day Co. 1942. 128 p. According to the authors this is a sampling of authentic American songs that represent the "folk" element that are good to sing. They feel that one of the greatest fields of usefulness for these songs is with boys and girls of high school age.

Downes, Olin and Siegmeister, Elie. *A Treasury of American Song.* New York. Howell, Soskin and Co. New York. 1940. 351 p. These songs range from the early hymns of the American colonists to the modern blues and jazz classics. There are almost 200 of them recorded here.

Ewen, David. *Men of Popular Music.* Chicago. New York. Ziff-Davis Publishing Co. 1944. 213 p. Sketches of King Oliver, Louis Armstrong, W. C. Handy, Meade Lux Lewis, and Duke Ellington are included.

Goffin, Robert. *Jazz.* Garden City, N. Y. Doubleday, Doran and Co. 1944. 254 p. "Jazz is a serious, critical book on the American phenomenon of hot jazz, written by an acknowledged authority in the field and covering every aspect of its history from the yesterday of the African Congo to the today of the jazz concerts at the Metropolitan."

*Handy, W. C. (Ed.). *Unsung Americans Sung.* New York. Handy Brothers Music Co. 1944. 236 p. Memorializes in song some of those Americans whose lives and works have played a significant and determining role in the long and eventful history of colored Americans, such as Crispus Attucks, George Washington Carver, Phyllis Wheatley, Thaddeus Stephens, Booker T. Washington, etc. The songs are accompanied by biographical notes, and there are added other songs from the literature of the Negro, such as the Aframerican Hymn, The Memphis Blues.

*Handy, W. C. *W. C. Handy's Collection of Negro Spirituals.* For Mixed Voices, Male Voices, also Vocal Solos with Piano Accompaniment. New York. Handy Brothers Music Co. 1938. 116 p. There are thirty-two spirituals in this collection.

Jackson, George Pullen. *White and Negro Spirituals.* Their Life Span and Kinship. New York. J. J. Augustin. 1943. 351 p. Traces 200 years of untrammeled song making and singing among our country folk, with 116 songs as sung by both races.

*Johns, Altona Trent. *Play Songs of the Deep South.* Washington, D. C. Associated Publishers. 1944. 33 p. There are fifteen play songs beautifully illustrated by James A. Porter.

Kramer, Worth (Arranger). *Wings Over Jordan.* Favorite Spirituals of 1939. Philadelphia. Rodeheaver, Hall-Mack Co. 1940. 31 p. There are ten spiritual arrangements in this pamphlet. They were selected as the most popular by the listening audience of the "Wings Over Jordan" program.

Loesser, Arthur. *Humor in American Song.* New York. Howell, Soskin, and Co. 1942. 178 p. A panorama of American musical humor in a single volume. It contains "minstrel songs, college songs, 'barber-shop' ballads, parlor pleasantries, Army and Navy ditties."

Parrish, Lydia. *Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands.* New York. Creative Age Press. 1942. 256 p. The dances, work songs, religious chants, burying music of the Georgia Island Negroes are carefully transcribed in this work, which covers the effort of more than 20 years.

Scally, Sister Mary Anthony. *Negro Catholic Writers 1900-43.* Detroit, Mich. Walter Romig & Co. 1945. 152 p. A brief biographical sketch of each writer is given. This is followed by a list of the writings of each author.

*Thurman, Howard. *Deep River.* An Interpretation of Negro Spirituals. Mills College, Calif. The Eucalyptus Press. 1945. 39 p. There are four meditations which are "the result of reflexions upon the insights that are implicit in the texts of the songs." These are preceded by a section on backgrounds.

Novels On Or Relating to the Negro in the United States[4]

Novels Concerning Lower Class Negroes

Allen, Glenn. *Boysi Himself.* New York. Samuel Curl, Inc. 1946. 265 p. The story of Boysi, the privileged cook in the Oates family.

†*Attaway, William. *Blood on the Forge.* A novel. New York. Doubleday, Doran and Co. 1941. 279 p. This story is of the Negro in steel. It is about the "Moss boys, Big Mat, Melody, and Chinatown, who forsake a starving farm in the Kentucky hills during the First World War for the big quick money offered by the mills in the war-booming steel towns of Pennsylvania. They find a bleak and brutal land, as alien as another world," and they are destroyed by it.

Bell, Ed. *Tommy Lee Feathers.* New York. Farrar and Rinehart. 1938. 308 p. The setting of this story is Tennessee, Negrotown, where Tommy Lee, the colored football hero lives. It is also the story of his mother, the leading revivalist of Marrowbone, who loved him too much; of Lury, the "high-yellow" who loved him too little; of sister Never-Die and her "fatherless" children; of Witherspoon Rawls "inshoance insomnia"; of Doctor Fleetwood and his practical joke, and of the many other colorful characters.

†*Caldwell, Lewis A. H. *The Policy King.* Chicago. New Vista Publishing House. 1945. 303 p. This is a fictitious story of Jerry Marshall, policy king, from his early youth until he was sent to a Federal prison for operating the policy game. Though not authenticated, this method of gambling is supposed to have been brought to the United States by way of New Orleans, shortly after the Civil War.

Cowley, Malcolm (Ed.). *The Portable Faulkner.* New York. Viking Press. 1946. 756 p. "Selections from four volumes of stories and complete episodes from five novels, arranged as a chronological picture of Faulkner's Mythical County in Mississippi."

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[4] For other novels by Negroes see division, "Negro American Literature."

*Gilbert, Mercedes. *Aunt Sara's Wooden God.* Boston. Christopher Publishing House. 1938. 271 p. A first novel. Herself an actress, the author brings to the story the drama of life as it is played by many Negro families in the South. It is the story of many Negro boys balked by poverty, the color line, and weakness born of conceit and fear.

Kuhl, Arthur. *Royal Road.* New York. Sheed and Ward. 1941. 189 p. "The story of a Negro who suffers about all that a Negro can suffer from white man's law. He knows abject poverty and is mangled by the machinery of charitable relief." Accused of a crime he did not commit, he is convicted to bring prestige to some small party hack, and, by the same process of law, is executed.

Matthews, Harold. *River-Bottom Boy.* New York. Thomas Y. Crowell. 1942. 354 p. Burden's mother and father, Luella and Pentacost, took him and his two sisters to New Orleans, leaving the river bottom plantation because they could never get ahead growing cotton. The city destroys them all, and Burden in trying to get back to the plantation is killed by a train.

Meade, Julian R. *The Back Door.* New York. Toronto. Longmans, Green and Co. 1938. 310 p. The social problems of poverty, disease and racism form the basis for this novel of the South. It is the story of Mary Lou and Junie who were unable to accumulate even a few dollars ahead with which to pay either the law or the preacher to marry them

Murray, Chalmers S. *Here Come Joe Mungin.* New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1942. 316 p. This story is about the Gullah Negroes of the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina shortly after the Civil War. Joe Mungin, the main character, has universal appeal. We see him as "man at work, in his cups, in love, fighting to hold his own and wresting a living from his surroundings."

Peeples, Edwin A. *Swing Low.* Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1945. 293 p. Willy Mack, born and reared in the country, came to Atlanta at the insistence of his wife, Amy, who was born in the city. She wanted the kind of life the city afforded. Settling in Billiard Alley where poverty, shame, violence, kindness, and deceit existed side by side, Willy Mack experiences a little of the good but most of the evil that slum life brings. At last he and Amy are driven by events back to the farm in the country.

Wheaton, Elizabeth Lee. *Mr. George's Joint.* New York. E. P. Dutton and Co. 1941. 375 p. George had a weakness for beer and gambling joints. He also liked to beat his wife, Annie. Run out of one Texas town into another, George established himself in the "Big Spoon," until he again beats Annie, is jailed and has to seek refuge in Houston where he plans to start another joint and send for Annie.

Novels Concerning Poor Whites

*Attaway, William. *Let Me Breathe Thunder.* New York. Doubleday, Doran and Co. 1939. 267 p. A novel by a Negro writer concerning whites. Step and Ed accustomed to precarious living became attached to Hi Boy, a little Mexican boy of ten; and they all made their way to Yakima, on the Western Coast by way of a boxcar. For a short while they got along well on Sampson's ranch, then Step becomes involved with Anna, Sampson's daughter, and they start again "looking for a job of work."

Baker, Charles H., Jr. *Blood of the Lamb.* New York. Toronto. Rinehart and Co. 1946. 275 p. A novel about Florida Crackers. The leading character is Lane Gudger, a preacher who believed that God would not bother him about keeping the seventh Commandment, if he kept the other nine.

Collier, Tarleton. *Fire in the Sky.* Boston. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 1941. 459 p. Lolly was born in a one-room, dirt-floored cabin in Georgia. Her story is that "of the working woman and the discriminations against her, of her career from a southern lumber camp to the splendor of a luxury hotel in Chicago."

Elam, Samuel M. *Weevil in the Cotton.* New York. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1940. 231 p. In order to keep itself in power, the political machine of a small town commits crimes on white women with their cooperation, blames the crimes on Negroes, punishes the Negroes and in this way become heroes because they have wiped out a widespread crime wave of Negroes against whites.

Novels Concerning Race Mixture

Caldwell, Erskine. *A House in the Uplands.* New York. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1946. 238 p. The story of "the sorrow Grady brings to his lovely wife, whose affection he spurns for the sultry charms of the quadroon."

Faulkner, John. *Dollar Cotton.* New York. Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1942. 306 p. A story of the Mississippi delta country. There is the poor farmer who becomes a plantation owner; "mammy" by whom he has a half-white son; his wife, who hates "niggers"; his profligate children; the uncertainties of cotton itself; immorality; and a lynching. There is kindness as well as cruelty. The subtitle could well be, The Rise and Fall of a Cotton King.

Harris, Mark. *Trumpet to the World.* New York. Reynal and Hitchcock, Publishers. 1946. 242 p. Tells the love story of a Negro boy and a white girl in the State of Georgia.

Heth, Edward Harris. *Light Over Ruby Street.* New York. Smith & Durrell. 1940. 294 p. Aggie's idea of sparing her near-white daughter the squalor of Ruby Street was to secure for her a "flat away from Ruby Street, a Frigidaire in the dining-room, a nickel victrola in the parlor . . . Julee was white . . . Julee would become a lady of class." Julee, however, had other plans, for she was in love with Juvenile Bates, unmistakably Negro.

Joseph, Donald. *Straw in the South Wind.* New York. Macmillan Co. 1946. 297 p. The story revolves around a prominent white citizen and his Negro mistress, and the reaction of the citizen's wife to the situation.

Shearing, Joseph. *The Golden Violet.* The Story of a Lady Novelist. New York. Smith and Burrell. 1941. 321 p. The setting is Jamaica. It is the story of the love of a white woman for a half-caste.

Smith, Lillian. *Strange Fruit.* New York. Reynal and Hitchcock. 1944. 371 p. The love of a white man for a Negro girl. The setting is a small southern town. What happens as a result of this unsanctioned affair is "Strange Fruit."

Steen, Marguerite. *The Sun is My Undoing.* New York. Viking Press. 1941. 1176 p. This comprehensive novel of the African slave trade gives a picture not only of how slave traders operated from England and of the manner in which slaves were captured, but vividly describes the middle passage, and the distribution of slaves. Here is shown also how the slave trade controlled the destiny of persons in England, Africa and the West Indies.

Novels Concerning Southern Plantation Life

Beverly—Giddings, A. R. *Larrish Hundred.* New York. William Morrow and Co. 1942. 282 p. A novel of the landed gentry in Virginia—of "Larrish Hundred" an area which took its name from the original grant made by the crown to one hundred families, of whom only two remained. One was prosperous, upright, respected. The other semi-vagabond, undisciplined, reckless, immoral; a cunning poacher living by making devastating raids on the marshes of neighbors. The story deals not only with the intimate life of these white families but also with the intimate life of their Negro retainers. To tell the story of one is to know the story of the other.

Harris, Bernice K. *Sweet Beulah Land.* Garden City, N. Y. Doubleday, Doran and Co. 1943. 389 p. The love of Alicia Donning, daughter of landed gentry, for Lan Holt, a homeless tramp, whom she tries to remold from a free, unsophisticated man of nature into the pattern of her class. An interesting story of class against class; of wealth against poverty, of white against black.

Kirkbridge, Ronald. *Winds Blow Gently.* New York. Frederick Fell. 1945. 313 p. The Jordans, a devout Quaker family, leave their Pennsylvania home and move to South

Carolina to a rundown plantation swarming with Negro help who make less than a dollar a day for 12 hours work. They are appalled at the condition of the Negroes and set about trying to raise the general standard, both social and economic, among them. Father Jordan is killed when he tries to prevent the tarring and feathering of Boe Garry, a Negro youth, whom he sent North to learn new farming methods so he could help his own people. This does not run the family away. They remain to see the town grow into a community that permitted Negroes to organize into unions, to earn enough to purchase adequate clothing and food and to attend school. They show the way to diversification of crops and to new uses of crops and farm by-products.

Nisbet, Alice. *Send Me An Angel.* Chapel Hill, N. C. University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 122 p. Story about Delilah, an humble southern field hand and washerwoman, who had been careless and free with her love in her youth.

Ramsey, Robert. *Fire in Summer.* New York. Viking Press. 1942. 266 p. The story of a poor white man whose hatred of Negroes consumed him. They took "the living right out of a man's mouth." He thought, "Even the Negroes on the chain gang have work while the poor white man is laid off when the appropriation for WPA stopped."

Richards, Robert. *I Can Lick Seven.* Boston. Little, Brown and Co. 1942. 312 p. Going back to his Mississippi plantation after the Civil War, "a Confederate officer finds the reconstruction of his life and the seductiveness of women more formidable than the cruelty of war." This story is about planters, poor whites and Negroes.

Welty, Eudora. *Delta Wedding.* New York. Brace and Co. 1946. 247 p. Deals with plantation life in the Mississippi Delta country.

Novels Concerning the Race Problem in the United States

Carter, Hodding. *The Winds of Fear.* New York. Toronto. Farrar and Rinehart. 1944. 278 p. Says the author, "It is principally through the South that the winds of fear are rushing today. The winds are created and are fed by the hate and suspicion and intolerance that are the unhappy heritage not only of Carvel City but of many, many places and many peoples. For these are the causes and not the results of fear."

Coates, Robert M. *The Bitter Season.* New York. Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1946. 180 p. The lonely life men lead within themselves, with World War II as the setting. A lonely Negro sailor is portrayed.

Cobb, Irvin S. *Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!* Indianapolis. New York. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1941. 61 p. Taken from Irvin S. Cobb's Autobiography, "Exist Laughing." It is about a post-war mass meeting in honor of a war hero of the first world war at which he spoke.

*Cuthbert, Clifton. *The Robbed Heart.* New York. L. B. Fischer. 1945. 219 p. The story of "a restless young man of Manhattan whose quest for happiness in Harlem led him beyond the color line."

Edmunds, Murrell. *Red, White and Black.* Twelve stories of the South. New York. Bernard Ackerman, Inc. 1945. 154 p. These stories "which reveal the cancer eating at the heart of democracy" are from all sections of life in the South—"the little people," radicals, Negroes, mill workers, and domestic servants.

Edmunds, Murrell. *Time's Laughter in Their Ears.* New York. The Beechhurst Press. 1946. 220 p. The story of Charlie who went from a southern town to a northern college and returned to find himself regarded with suspicion by the townspeople who not only did not know what to make of an educated Negro, but certainly not of one who spoke of trade unionism, decent wages and cooperation between whites and Negroes.

Gibson, Jewel. *Joshua Beene and God.* New York. Random House. 1946. 238 p. "The story of a Texas messiah; folksy, humorous and as American as a flapjack." Chapter 3 is entitled, "The Mob Strikes."

Gollomb, Joseph. *Up at City High.* New York. Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1945. 217 p. Jeff Bennett, Negro, left the small Wisconsin town where he was born and brought up, to enter famed City High School in New York City. The city and school he found were racked with prejudices and conflicts. This is the story of how he fought with fists and brain in extra-curricular activities as well as in the classroom to break through the racial prejudices that prevent progress and cooperation.

Greer, Genevieve. *The Aristocrat.* New York. The Vanguard Press. 1946. 236 p. Of all the people in the world Dan Blake, aristocrat, found that only in Abe, Negro, can he place complete trust. Between them there is neither humility nor pretention—only friendship, utter and absolute.

Halsey, Margaret. *Some of My Best Friends Are Soldiers.* New York. Simon and Schuster. 1944. 207 p. The stand taken against prejudice by three volunteer workers in the canteen in New York, during World War II.

*Henderson, George W. *Jule.* New York. Creative Press. 1946. 234 p. Being born and bred in the backwoods of Alabama did not prevent Jule from wanting to be somebody, even as his mother had inspired him to be. His flight to New York after a fight with Boykin Key, his white rival for the affections of Bertha Mae, his experiences in Harlem, his final return for his sweetheart, all make up the story of this novel of Negro life.

Jenkins, Deaderick J. *It Was Not My World.* Los Angeles, Calif. The Author. 1943. Deals with socio-economic conditions in the South; exposes secret romances between whites and Negroes, the exploitation of Negroes and the rise to power of politicians whose appeal is through people's prejudices.

Kendrick, Baynard. *Lights Out.* New York. William Morrow and Co. 1945. 240 p. This story is about a soldier, blinded in World War II, who conquers both physical and mental blindness. He learns to become "a useful normal citizen, capable of work, laughter and love."

Kimbrough, Edward. *Night Fire.* New York. Rinehart & Co. 1946. 343 p. This novel is about Mississippi and is built around Ashby Pelham, aristocrat; Temp, his Negro friend, and Laurel, whom he loved. The problems of the South are shown through this story by a Mississippian.

Le Blanc, Doris Kent. *Dear to This Heart.* New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1942. 282 p. The story of the Chester family who lives in Avenel, a little town in Mississippi—of Tim and Tony, the twins, and of John, the little cripple that May and Charlie Chester took to their hearts. It is also the story of the family retainers, the gardener, the nurse, the cook.

Lee, Mildred. *The Invisible Sun.* Philadelphia. The Westminster Press. 1946. 307 p. The influence of the work of a Baptist preacher among people both white and Negro in a small backward southern town is the theme of this first novel.

Lewis, K. Quinn. *We Go This Way But Once.* Philadelphia. Dorrance and Co. 1943. 355 p. The scene of this novel is the Missouri Ozarks and the adjoining fertile lands of the boot heel of southeast Missouri. Fiction and history are blended in the romance between a girl from the hills and a young man from the swamps, and with their experiences with sharecroppers, floods and lynchings.

†*Lucas, Curtis. *Flour is Dusty.* Philadelphia. Dorrance and Co. 1943. 166 p. Jim Harrell, Negro, was born in the clutches of southern tradition. He fought those who oppressed him then fled North. Here he also found discrimination everywhere and he fought to change it. What he achieved is the story of the novel.

McCullers, Carson. *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter.* Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1940. 356 p. Gives a glimpse of human struggle and of human valor. This is the story of John Singer, the deaf mute, of Benedict Copeland, the Negro doctor, and of others who, like them, were seeking for an "unrealized goal."

*McGee, Alice E. *Black America Abroad.* Boston. Meador Publishing Co. 1941. 289 p. This narrative centers around Mary Ann Tillman, a refined intelligent midwestern girl who had one great obsession—a desire to travel in Europe and study among the German people because of their scientific achievements. History, geography and romance are interwoven in this story of Mary Ann's Adventures in Nazi Germany, just before Munich.

Means, Florence Crannell. *Great Day in the Morning*. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1946. 183 p. A realistic and sympathetic story of a girl from St. Helena, an island off the South Carolina Coast, who reaches her goal of nurse-training after spending a year at Tuskegee Institute.

Means, Florence Crannell. *Shuttered Windows*. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1938. 206 p. Life in the sea-islands of South Carolina, as viewed by a sixteen-year-old girl from Minneapolis.

Miers, Earl Schench. *Big Ben*. Philadelphia. Westminster Press. 1942. 238 p. This is a novel based on the life of Paul Robeson. Says the author: "I should like it to be the story of a struggle for a high goal in our own America—the right of a member of any minority to be treated with the dignity which God bequeathed to all men."

†*Petry, Ann. *The Street*. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1946. 436 p. This first novel is the result of the things the author saw and heard during the six years she worked and lived in Harlem.

Sumner, Cid Ricketts. *Quality*. Indianapolis. New York. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1946. 286 p. The struggle of "Pinkey" (with curly, brown hair, born in Liberty Grove, Mississippi and educated in a nurse training school in Boston, where she was mistaken for white) to "find her place in a world that won't give her the things that are hers by the basic law of the land."

Swados, Felice. *House of Fury*. Garden City, New York. Doubleday, Doran and Co. 1941. 263 p. Social disadvantages of reformatories are brought out in this story. Negro and white girls were at the same reformatory but were kept in separate dwellings. The sex-hungry white girls were always making up vulgar stories about the Negro girls and the Negro girls were always angry because they did not have the privileges the white girls had.

Sylvester, Harry. *Dearly, Beloved*. New York. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1942. 262 p. The work of Jesuit priests among the fishermen and farmers of southern Maryland. Though the labor of the priests is three hundred years old, they have done and can do little to help the age-old conflicts between white and black in the area.

*Wood, Odella Phelps. *High Ground*. New York. Exposition Press. 1945. 209 p. Deals with the problems of the Negro in America revolving mainly around two characters, Jim Clayton and his wife, Marthana. It begins with World War I and ends with present-day conditions.

*Wright, Richard. *Uncle Tom's Children*. New York and London. Harper and Bros. 1938. 384 p. There are five stories in this volume as follows: I, "Big Boy Leaves Home"; II, "Down by the Riverside"; III, "Long Black Song"; IV, "Fire and Cloud"; V, "Bright and Morning Star."

Novels Concerning Slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction

Crabb, Alfred Leland. *Lodging at the Saint Cloud*. A Tale of Occupied Nashville. Indianapolis. New York. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1946. 255 p. This story about the Civil War contains sketches not only of outstanding war figures, but of the role that Negroes played in the espionage system of the South.

Darby, Ada Claire. *Look Away, Dixie Land!* New York. Toronto. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1941. 339 p. A girl's strong love of her home and her friends, in conflict with loyalty to her country, is the theme of this novel. Family retainers play their role in the story.

Gaither, Frances. *Follow the Drinking Gourd*. New York. Macmillan Co. 1940. 270 p. "The story of the life and death of an ante-bellum plantation, from the day of its founding on the Alabama river until the day, a generation later, when its slaves began to hear the songs of the Abolitionists calling them to freedom."

Miller, Helen Topping. *Dark Sails*. Tale of Old St. Simon. Indianapolis. New York. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1945. 256 p. Tells about the settlement of St. Simon's Island, a Georgia outpost, during the colonial period. Among the settlers sent out by the Georgia Trust Company were Christopher Delanay and his daughter, a sprinkling of gentlemen adventurers, and the scourings of Debtors' prisons for whose plight Oglethorpe had pity.

Robert, W. Adolphe. *Brave Mardi Gras*. A New Orleans Novel of the 60's. New York. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1946. 318 p. The setting is New Orleans just before and during the Civil War. Faithful Negroes are incidentally a part of the story.

Robertson, Constance. *Fire Bell in the Night*. New York. Henry Holt and Co. 1944. 352 p. Concerning the underground railroad movement in upstate New York in the days before the Civil War. A number of historical characters and historical facts are woven into this novel concerning slavery.

Schachner, Nathan. *By the Dim Lamps*. New York. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1941. 577 p. A panorama of the culture of the New Orleans of the Day of the Creole aristocrats, feudal planters, merchant traders, Federal soldiers, slaves, steamboat captains, gamblers, prostitutes and carpetbaggers is revealed in this novel. Incidents and characters drawn from unpublished diaries and manuscripts make this story powerful and realistic.

Sims, Marion. *Beyond Surrender*. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott Co. 1942. 492 p. The story of the condition of life in South Carolina immediately after the Civil War—the breaking down of social classes, the rise of the sharecropping system, the political upheaval—are told in this novel.

Street, James. *Tap Roots*. New York. Dial Press. 1942. 593 p. There were in the South many Unionists, Abolitionists and slavery haters. Union sentiment was stronger in East Tennessee than in many parts of New York. This story has as its setting one of the most famous Free States, Jones County, Mississippi.

Weld, John. *Sabbath Has No End*. A novel of Negro Slavery. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. 329 p. Quash had the reputation of being a "bad nigger" and a runaway, but Webb Montgomery said, "No nigger's bad if he's kindly and justly treated."

†*Yerby, Frank. *The Foxes of Harrow*. New York. The Dial Press. 1946. 534 p. This romantic, historical novel with setting in New Orleans, is highly descriptive of the clash of races and strife of warfare between 1825 and the Civil War.

Poetry[5]

*Borders, William Holmes. *Thunderbolts*. Atlanta, Ga. Morris Brown College Press. 1942. 50 p. A collection of sermonic poems. Says the author, "A preacher must be a poet."

Braman, Constance Lee (Comp. & Arranger). *The Negro Sings*. Negro Recreation Program. Jacksonville, Fla. Work Projects Administration of Florida. Professional and Service Division Statewide Recreation Project. 1940. 55 p. Brief biographical sketches and excerpts from the works of the best known Negro writers, with a few sketches by other than Negro writers.

†*Brooks, Gwendolyn. *A Street in Bronzeville*. New York and London. Harper and Bros. 1945. 57 p. These are poems of contemporary Negro life in a large city, of matters that make up the substance of living—"The mother"; "Mrs. Martin's Booker T."; "Sadie and Maude"; and the long poems, "The Sundays of Satinlegs Smith"; and the "Ballad of Pearl May Lee."

*Brooks, Walter Henderson. *The Pastor's Voice*. A Collection of Poems. Washington, D. C. Associated Publishers. 1945. 391 p. Completing sixty-eight years in the Christian ministry and serving sixty-three of these in one church, is the record of Dr. Brooks. He often expressed himself in verse throughout those years.

Chapin, Katherine Garrison. *Plain-Chant for America*. New York. Harper and Bros. 1942. 140 p. Contains "And They Lynched Him on a Tree."

†*Clark, Peter Wellington (Ed.). *Arrows of Gold*. Selected poems from the Deep South. An Anthology of Catholic Verse from "America's First Catholic College for Colored Youth." New Orleans, La. Zavier University Press. 1941. 85 p.

*Coleman, Edward Maceo. *Creole Voices*. Poems in French by Free Men of Color. First published in 1845. Washington, D. C. Associated Publishers. 1945. 130 p.

*Cotter, Joseph S., Sr. *Collected Poems of Joseph S. Cotter, Sr.* New

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[5] For other poems by Negroes see division, "Negro American Literature."

York. Henry Harrison. 1938. 78 p. Mr. Cotter has been elected teacher and principal in the Louisville, Kentucky School system for the fiftieth year.

*Ford, Nick Aaron. *Songs From the Dark.* Boston. Meador Publishing Co. 1940. 40 p. There are twenty-one poems in this volume by the author of "The Contemporary Negro Novel."

†*Hughes, Langston. *Shakespeare in Harlem.* New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. 124 p. A book of light verse—"blues, ballads and reels to be read aloud, crooned, shouted, recited and sung." These poems are the first published by the author since 1932.

*Langford, Ruth Welles. *Moods and Memories.* Boston. Christopher Publishing House. 1941. 77 p. These poems, as the title indicates, deal with such things as "Joy," "Spring," "Dreams," "Hills," "Disappointment," "Quiet," "Angels," "Moonlight," "Wishes."

†*Murphy, Beatrice M. *Love is a Terrible Thing.* New York. Hobson Book Press. 1945. 65 p. This book of poems "presents a composite picture of a woman's love life, starting with her first love, and describing the stages."

*Porter, Dorothy B. *North American Negro Poets.* A Bibliographical Checklist of their Writings 1760-1944. Hattiesburg, Miss. The Book Farm. 1945. 90 p. An expansion of the Schomburg checklist published in 1916. Includes primarily works by Negro authors born in the United States, but there are a number of works by West Indian poets who have lived for a long time in the United States.

Taggard, Genevieve. *Long View.* Harper and Bros. New York. London. 1942. 113 p. Four poems entitled "To the Negro People" are included in this volume.

*Turner, Lucy Mae. *'Bout Cullud Folkses.* New York. Henry Harrison. 1938. 64 p. There are 38 poems in this volume written by the granddaughter of Nat Turner, of slave rebellion fame.

Walden, Henry Thoreau. *Walden's Wanderings.* Philadelphia. Dorrence and Co. 1940. 149 p. These poems on Negro life are written in dialect and deal with a wide variety of subjects.

†*Walker, Margaret. *For My People.* New Haven. Yale University Press. 1942. 58 p. The title of this volume comes from the first poem in the book, "For My People." Miss Walker writes of the things she has seen and felt as she moved among her people in Birmingham, Meridian, New Orleans, Chicago.

Weaver, Edwin E. *The American.* New York. Exposition Press. 1945. 63 p. This book is divided into four parts. Part One introduces the American Indian; Part Two, the American Negro; Part Three, the American White Man; Part Four, The Spirit of Three Men. The spirit of these poems is that all sections of America are equally the land of the free and the home of the brave for all people regardless of race.

Politics and Suffrage

Beard, Charles A. *The Republic. Conversations on Fundamentals.* New York. Viking Press. 1943. 365 p. The Dean of American historians presents here political discussions through the medium of conversations with real and imagined persons. Of particular interest from the point of view of the rights of Negroes are the chapters on "Democracy and Rights under the Constitution," "Lincoln Exemplifies Constitutionalism," "Rights of American Citizens."

*Darton, Andrew W. *Citizenship in Wartime.* New York. Fortuny's. 1940. 47 p. This volume contains six essays directed to youth on various topics which will help them to think seriously about the obligations of citizenship.

Gaer, Joseph. *The First Round.* New York. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1944. 478 p. The story of the CIO Political Action Committee. This volume attempts to give answers to such questions as: How justified was the abuse or praise given the Political Action Committee during the 1944 Presidential campaign? What were the events that led up to formation of the committee? Who were the people or organizations that gave it prominence and what were the sources of its strength? Finally, what is the outlook for its future?

Halloway, William Vernon and Smith, Charles W., Jr. *Government and Politics in Alabama.* University Supply Store. University, Alabama. 1941. 210 p. A description of the government of Alabama dealing not only with its political aspects but also with current problems.

*Logan, Rayford W. (Ed.). *The Attitude of the Southern White Press Toward Negro Suffrage 1932-1940.* Washington, D. C. Foundation Publishers. 1940. 115 p. A survey of the attitude of the southern press toward Negro suffrage made without comment, approval or rebuttal.

*Logan, Rayford W. *The Senate and Versailles Mandate System.* Washington. Minorities Publishers. 1945. 112 p. An analysis of the attitude of the United States Senate toward the World War I Mandates, showing the views of both Democrats and Republicans from 1917 to 1920.

Nelson, Bernard H. *The Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro Since 1920.* Washington, D. C. Catholic University of America Press. 1946. 185 p. "The study is an attempt to examine the interpretation and application of the Fourteenth Amendment between 1920 and 1943 to determine its effectiveness in protecting the rights and privileges of the Negro citizen" and "to determine the impact of these developments upon the interpretation and application of the Amendment in matters affecting the Negro."

Smith, Samuel Denny. *The Negro in Congress 1870-1901.* Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1940. 160 p. A survey of the careers of the twenty-two Negroes who served in the United States Congress during and immediately after the reconstruction period. The author also evaluates their achievements.

Post War and Peace Plans

*Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt. *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace.* New York. Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1945. 143 p. Scrutinizes post war plans from the point of view of the colored races and of colonials. Here are discussed problems which present themselves as barriers to democracy, thus preventing permanent peace. It is a challenge to the control of civilization by the white race.

*Logan, Rayford W. *The Negro and the Post-War World.* A Primer. Washington. Minorities Publishers. 1945. 95 p. "This is the first attempt to explain in simple language that a high school student can understand the basic facts about the Negro in Africa, the Colonial West Indies, the Pacific Islands, Latin America and the United States."

*Stephens, P. A. *Lasting Peace and Democracy.* New York. F. Hubner & Co., Inc. 1946. 111 p. A doctor, interested in civic affairs and in securing peace, has written a treatise appealing to peoples of the world for cooperation between nations, races and individuals.

Walker, Eric A. *Colonies.* Cambridge. (England). At the University Press. 1944. 168 p. The author shows that colonies may no longer be thought of except in terms of their dependence upon the strong powers since new inventions in communication and defense have eliminated whatever self sufficiency they may have had in the pre-war period. He indicates the policies of the chief colonizing powers toward other powers and toward their own colonial people and discusses the problems attending the liberation of the colonies.

Race Problem and Race Relations

*Adams, Frankie V. *Soulcraft.* Sketches on Negro-White Relations Designed to Encourage Friendship. Atlanta, Ga. Morris Brown College Press. 1944. 65 p. Personal experiences of the author with the racial situation in the South and her reactions to them.

Alland, Alexander and Wise, James Waterman. *The Springfield Plan.* New York. Viking Press. 1945. 136 p. A photographic record of how the Springfield Plan operates to dispel racial and religious intolerance and to promote understanding and a cooperative spirit among the people of Springfield, Massachusetts.

Alpenfels, Ethel J. *Sense and Nonsense About Race.* New York. Friendship Press. 1946. 46 p. "This pamphlet is a primer of scientific truth for all who wish to know the essential facts about race."

Becker, John. *The Negro in American Life.* New York. Polygraphic Company of America. 1944. 56 p. An illustrated booklet sponsored by the Council Against Intolerance in America. It tells about some of the Negro men and women who have made great contributions to the common welfare of America.

Bell, Juliet O. and Wilkins, Helen J. *Interracial Practices in Community Y. W. C. A.'s.* A study under the auspices of the Commission to gather interracial experience as requested by the Sixteenth National Convention of the Y. W. C. A.'s of the U. S. A. New York. National Board Y. W. C. A. 1944. 116 p. An objective account of the interracial practices of the Y. W. C. A. based upon evidence gathered by two staff members of the National Board, one Negro, one white.

Benians, E. A. *Race and Nation in the United States.* Cambridge. University Press. 1946. 48 p. A lecture delivered by the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, which is "a brief and vivid account of the intermingling of the peoples in the making of . . . an entirely new nation based not upon racial foundations, but upon a political idea, the liberal notion of freedom."

*Bricknell, Marguerite E. and McCulloch, Margaret C. *Guide to Information About the Negro and Negro-white Adjustment.* Memphis, Tenn. Brunner Printing Co. 1943. 39 p. Contains guides to information on books, periodicals and manuscripts; to libraries and university centers of research, to philanthropic foundations and learned societies; to governmental agencies; to action and propaganda associations.

Boas, Franz. *Race and Democratic Society.* New York. J. J. Augustin, publishers. 1945. 219 p. This volume published posthumously, by Ernest P. Boas, is a collection of the papers and addresses directed at lay audiences by Dr. Boas setting forth the view that "an understanding of the culture and behavior of man under conditions fundamentally different from our own, can help us to a more objective and unprejudiced view of our own lives and our own society."

Brameld, Theodore. *Minority Problems in the Public Schools.* A Study of Administrative Policies and Practices in Seven School Systems. New York. Harper and Bros. 1946. 264 p. A realistic analysis relating community problems to educational practice. One of the Bureau for Intercultural Education Publication Series.

Brown, Francis J. and Roucek, Joseph S. *One America.* The History, Contributions, and Present Problems of our Racial and National Minorities. New York. Rev. ed. Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1945. 717 p. In the preface the authors state that so many social changes have taken place in the life of minority groups in America especially in their life during these eight years to World War II that "it is necessary to describe these changes and to appraise them in the light of their potential continuance in the postwar period." The materials have been brought up-to-date and in several instances have been completely rewritten.

Buck, Pearl S. *American Unity and Asia.* New York. John Day Co. 1942. 140 p. The theme is "freedom for all" wherever located in Europe, Asia, Africa, America.

Chatto, Clarence I. and Halligan, Alice L. *The Story of the Springfield Plan.* New York. Barnes and Noble. 1945. 201 p. A complete, official account of what Springfield, Massachusetts has done to solve its religious, racial and related hatreds during the period of five years.

Dabney, Virginius. *Below the Potomac.* A Book About the New South. New York and London. D. Appleton-Century Co. 1942. 332 p. A story of what is happening in the South at the present time in politics, in economic conditions, in race relations, in education, in public opinion.

Daniels, Jonathan. *A Southerner Discovers the South.* New York. Macmillan Co. 1938. 346 p. An account of what the author, then editor of the *News and Observer* in Raleigh, N. C., saw on the trip which he took through the South. What he saw, heard and felt makes a fascinating story. He also gives suggestions for creating a better South.

de Huszar, George B. (Comp.). *Anatomy of Racial Intolerance.* New York. H. W. Wilson Co. 1946. 283 p. The volume is divided into four parts as follows: "What Race Is"; "General Discussion"; "Causes of Race

Prejudice"; "Remedies for Race Prejudice."

Directory of Agencies in Race Relations. National, State, Local. Chicago. Julius Rosenwald Fund. 1945. 214 p. The purpose of assembling the material in this volume is to find out "more about the total picture" of the efforts of organizations that are working "on the side of unity, democracy, and better understanding."

Dreiser, Theodore. *America is Worth Saving.* New York. Modern Age Books. 1941. 292 p. "The author analyzes here the relationships between peace and democracy and also the inevitable effects of war. He reviews the historical relations between Britain and America, between England and its Empire, and between the Empire and Europe. He writes of the significance for us of what is going on in China, Japan, and Russia. He examines the life of the Common man in warring countries and in neutral ones. He does not take it for granted that England is a democracy in the American sense, and he indicates the true democratic goal of our national effort. He names the enemies of that effort at home and abroad, cutting through and under the current attitudes and agreements and slogans that have been known as 'isolationism,' 'appeasement,' or 'aggressive foreign policy.' He calls upon his fellow-Americans to remember the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States."

Embree, Edwin R. *American Negroes.* A Handbook. New York. John Day Co. 1942. 78 p. A summary of all that bears on the Negro and his relations to American life. It outlines his development since the first African slaves landed at Jamestown in 1619, showing his adjustment to his new environment, his contributions in music, the dance, art, literature and zest for living. It also shows prejudices and discriminations practiced against him.

Gallagher, Buell G. *Color and Conscience.* New York. Harper and Bros. 1946. 244 p. The former President of Talladega College has "endeavored to bring the tangled problems of color caste under the scrutiny of an unsentimental ethical religion."

Goodman, Jack (Ed.). *While You Were Gone.* A Report on Wartime Life in the United States. New York. Simon and Schuster. 1946. 625 p. Chapter IV deals with "What We Did About Racial Minorities" by Carey McWilliams.

Graves, John Temple. *The Fighting South.* New York. G. P. Putnam Sons. 1943. 282 p. The author analyzes the South as he presents what he considers its good and its bad points. He touches the sacred and the not so sacred. He discusses areas charged with emotional qualities regardless of who is viewing them—the white South, the South of the Negro, the white North or Negroes in the North.

Halsey, Margaret. *Color Blind.* A White Woman Looks at the Negro. New York. Simon and Schuster. 1946. 163 p. Based on experience in an inter-racial canteen during the War, Color Blind is witty and humorous, yet a practical approach to the achievement of better race relations.

Hartley, Eugene. *Problems in Prejudice.* New York. King's Crown Press. 1946. 124 p. This volume seeks to discover and evaluate the common sources from which racial and cultural prejudices spring, and is based on the behavior of college students in test situations. The students of Bennington, College of the City of New York, Columbia, Princeton and Howard University were the subjects.

Height, Dorothy I. *America's Promise*—The Integration of Minorities. New York. The Woman's Press. 1946. 24 p. One of the conclusions of this booklet is that integration "depends upon the growing appreciation of persons of all races and religions as individuals of equal worth."

Height, Dorothy I. (Ed.). *The Core of America's Race Problem.* New York. The Woman's Press. 1945. 31 p. Discusses segregation as it operates against Negroes in America from many points of view.

Height, Dorothy I. *Step by Step with Interracial Groups.* New York. The Woman's Press. 1945. 56 p. This is a guide for persons who are interested in developing programs in inter-racial relationships.

Hercules, Eric E. L. *Democracy Limited.* Cleveland, Ohio. Central Publishing House. 1945. 183 p. A presentation of one of America's greatest problems—Negro-white relationships. The author discusses the problem from many viewpoints—political, economic, social and national.

Herskovits, Melville J. *The Myth of the Negro Past.* New York. Harper and Bros. 1941. 374 p. "The author contends that attempts to meliorate the interracial situation in the United States have been handicapped by a failure to appreciate the Negro's past in its true light." This has been true of Negroes as well as of whites.

†*Johnson, Charles S. *Pattern of Negro Segregation.* New York. London. Harper and Bros. 1943. 332 p. A study concerned with the current sociological aspects of the pattern of racial segregation and discrimination with particular reference to the Negro in the United States. Areas selected for intensive study were: the rural South, namely, Bolivar County, Mississippi; Poinsett County, Arkansas; Johnston County, North Carolina. The urban South, namely, Nashville, Tennessee; Richmond, Virginia; Birmingham, Alabama; Atlanta, Georgia; Houston, Texas. The border area, namely, Baltimore, Maryland; Indianapolis, Indiana. The urban North, namely, Chicago, Illinois; New York City.

*Johnson, Charles S. and Associates. *To Stem This Tide.* A Survey of Racial Tension Areas in the United States. Boston. Chicago. Pilgrim Press. 1943. 142 p. This volume is concerned with factual data dealing with tension areas in industry, in rural communities, on public carriers, in housing, in politics, in contact with law enforcement officers, in the treatment of Negro soldiers, in the matter of the morale of Negroes and in the patterns of racial etiquette. There is also a chapter on what the problems of America will be in the matter of racial tensions when World War II is over.

Kennedy, Stetson. *Southern Exposure.* Garden City, N. Y. 1946. 372 p. A book about the South in three parts by a southerner. The first part gives the problem of the South and the historical roots of its evils; the second part exposes southern fascist elements; the third part indicates that the South is "ripe" for democracy.

Kluckhorn, Clyde; Clinchy, Everett R.; Embree, Edwin R.; Mead, Margaret; Abernethy, Bradford S. *Religion and our Racial Tensions.* Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1945. 106 p. Five chapters present the materials of this book: "The Myth of Race"; "The Right to be Different"; "Color and Christianity"; "How Religion has Fared in the Melting Pot"; "Agencies of Inter-Racial Cooperation."

Landry, Stuart Omer. *The Cult of Equality.* New Orleans. Pelican Publishing Co. 1945. 359 p. This is a book that affirms the theory of the inequality of the races.

Lee, Alfred McClung and Humphrey, Norman D. *Race Riot.* New York. Dryden Press. 1943. 143 p. This is the story of the Detroit Race Riot, by two persons who witnessed it.

Lerner, Max. *Public Journal. Marginal Notes on Wartime America.* New York. Viking Press. 1945. 414 p. This is a collection of more than 100 pieces by a newspaper man of PM, a New York newspaper. Contains articles on "Negroes," "Race Prejudice," "Detroit Race Riot."

†*Locke, Alain and Stern, Bernhard J. (Eds.). *When Peoples Meet.* A Study in Race and Culture Contacts. New York. Progressive Education Association. 1942. 756 p. A comprehensive study of what happens when dominant and minority groups meet—in the past, in the present, in America, and all over the world.

†*Logan, Spencer. *A Negro's Faith in America.* New York. Macmillan Co. 1946. 88 p. Tells frankly what one Negro thinks of America, and how he believes democracy can be achieved for all. It received the first prize in non-fiction given by the Macmillan Centenary Awards.

†*Logan, Rayford W. *What the Negro Wants.* Chapel Hill, N. C. The University of North Carolina Press. 1944. 352 p. The fourteen Negro leaders who present the case of the Negro in America are: Mrs. Mary M. Bethune, Sterling A. Brown, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Gordon B. Hancock, Leslie P. Hill, Langston Hughes, Rayford W. Logan, Frederick D. Patterson, A. Philip Ran-

dolph, George S. Schuyler, Willard S. Townsend, Charles H. Wesley, Doxey A. Wilkerson, and Roy Wilkins.

MacIver, R. M. *Civilization and Group Relationships.* A series of addresses and discussions. New York. Harper and Bros. 1945. 177 p. Minority problems are considered from two points of view—from the national point of view and from the view point of the intellectual and spiritual effects within minority groups.

Malherbe, E. G. *Race Attitudes and Education.* (Hoernle Memorial Lecture). Johannesburg. South African Institute of Race Relations. 1946. 29 p. Gives results of the Army Education Services Attitude Test showing the influence of education on attitudes towards the Native, and emphasizes the importance of adult education in attitude building, particularly in the field of citizenship.

*Maloney, Arnold H.; *Maloney, Clarence M. and *Maloney, Arnold H., Jr. *Pathways to Democracy.* Boston. Meador Publishing Co. 1945. 589 p. The purpose of this volume is to render intelligible the voice of oppressed peoples in their desire to become self directive. It is the belief of the authors that minorities might well turn away from bitter resentment and from self-commiseration and join with forces making for Democracy, because force has played itself out as an historical device for coping with tension, unrest and belligerency.

Mangum, Charles S. Jr. *The Legal Status of the Negro.* Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1940. 436 p. A review of the statutes and cases concerning the relations of the white and colored races since the Civil War.

McMahon, Francis E. *A Catholic Looks at the World.* New York. Vanguard Press. 1945. 334 p. Chapter VIII deals with the racial problem in America as it relates to Negroes. Says the author, "The Choice facing America is not whether the Negroes will or will not get those rights. The real choice is whether we whites will cooperate with the Negro in his conquest of freedom, or whether we shall cleave to our prejudices and privileges at the expense of internal peace and international respect."

*McKay, Claude. *Harlem: Negro Metropolis.* New York. E. P. Dutton and Co. 1940. 362 p. A story of Harlem as seen through the eyes of one who knows the area well and who tells about it in a revealing manner. He describes the "honky tonks," and theatres; the games and gambols, the steady rise of the people in business and professional life. Here also is told the story of Father Divine and of Marcus Garvey, of organized labor and many other facts of interest to the reader.

McWilliams, Carey. *Brothers Under the Skin.* Boston. Little, Brown and Co. 1943. 325 p. The past history of discrimination against the minority groups in this country—Negro, Indian, Mexican, Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian, Puerto Rican, Filipino—is traced. This situation is related to the war effort and to the peacetime world. The author feels that America will be at a decided disadvantage in after-war councils of democratic peoples because of the discrimination she now practices, and he proposes a procedure by which the government can eradicate the problem.

More Than Tolerance. Suggestions to Teachers on inter-group education. Washington, D. C. Commission on the Defense of Democracy through Education. National Education Association of the United States. 1946. 32 p. This bulletin focuses "attention upon what schools can do to build up group understanding within the United States."

Myers, Henry Alonzo. *Are Men Equal?* An inquiry into the Meaning of American Democracy. New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1945. 188 p. In his first two chapters the author outlines the general problem and in the following three chapters traces the development of the idea of equality in this country. He concludes . . . "The story of American democracy is the discovery of new ideals for personal freedom and of the transformation of these ideals into realities, into private rights obtainable by all."

Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American Dilemma.* The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy. New York. London. Harper and Bros. 1942. 2 vols. This is the most comprehensive report on the Negro in America that has ever been made. It is an encyclopedic study which covers all of the major phases of Negro life. The underlying theme of these two volumes is that America faces a dilemma between what she professes and what she practices. She declares for democratic ideals, but indulges in behavior which is grossly undemocratic.

O'Hanlon, O. P. *Racial Myths.* River Forest, Ill. Rosary College. 1946. 32 p. This booklet discredits racial myths relating to inheritance of physical and psychological characteristics and advocates abolition of race segregation and discrimination.

†*Ottley, Roi. *New World-A-Coming.* Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1943. 364 p. This Life-in-America Prize Book describes intimately and in detail what is happening in Harlem at the present time. The author feels that for Black America a new day is coming, not only because of developments in world conditions but due to the fact that Negroes in America are feeling more and more akin to colored peoples the world over. Hardly an aspect of Negro life is neglected here.

Powdermaker, Hortense. *Probing Our Prejudices.* A Unit for High School Students. New York. Harper and Bros. 1944. 73 p. An attempt not only to help High School students become aware of their prejudices, but also to help them reduce their prejudices. There are five chapters with discussion questions at the end of each.

†*Powell, A. Clayton, Jr. *Marching Blacks.* New York. The Dial Press. 1945. 218 p. The story of the development of group consciousness among the Negro masses from 1562 up to the present time, by the first Negro Congressman from the State of New York.

*Powell, A. Clayton, Sr. *Riots and Ruins.* New York. Richard R. Smith. 1945. 171 p. Dr. Powell discusses factors which create what he calls the riot atmosphere. Daily incidents happen between whites and Negroes which add fuel to the fire of racial strife and hatred. When riots break out not only do whites and Negroes suffer materially and psychologically, but retrogression takes place in American progress. The author believes that both whites and Negroes can work out the differences existing between them if they put their minds to working them out.

Race: Nation: Person. Social Aspects of the Race Problem. A Symposium. New York. Barnes and Noble. 1944. 346 p. "This symposium, comprising ten monographs by internationally known savants, both European and American, probes the causes of Nazi Totalitarianism and prescribes the cure."

†*Redding, J. Saunders. *No Day of Triumph.* New York. London. Harper and Bros. 1942. 342 p. A narrative of how a college bred graduate utterly confused with life starts out in 1940 to try to find an answer that would end this confusion and bring to him an understanding. An auto journey takes him through the back country from Washington to New Orleans. What he saw, heard and felt is recorded here.

†*Rogers, J. A. *Sex and Race.* New York. J. A. Rogers. 3 vols. The sub-title of vol. I, published in 1940, is "Negro-Caucasian Mixing in all Ages and All Lands." The sub-title of vol. II, published in 1942, is "A History of White, Negro, and Indian Miscegenation in the Two Americas." The sub-title of vol. III, published in 1944, is "Why White and Black Mix in Spite of Opposition."

*Shaw, Esther Popel. *Personal Adventures in Race Relations.* New York. The Woman's Press. 1946. 24 p. Based on the author's experiences as a Negro in a white world. It shows that "the practices of racial segregation and discrimination" are . . . "costly, stupid and stultifying."

Sickels, Alice L. *Around the World in St. Paul.* Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press. 1945. 262 p. "Tells the story of progress (in race relations) in one mid-western city, where people of more than thirty nationalities have learned to work and play together." In a week-end festival the whole community dances, sings, eats together on the basis that in becoming acquainted prejudices will drop away and barriers dwindle.

Simon, Emily Parker. *Strong as the People.* New York. Friendship Press. 1943. 165 p. This volume has for its purpose the promotion of better race relations. The question, "When do we begin to be Americans," is a very potent one. Its thesis is that many groups and individuals have had a share in making America, and its future depends on what present day Americans will make it.

Smith, Ruth. *White Man's Burden: A personal testament.* New York. Vanguard Press. 1946. 222 p. Miss Smith tells how the trend of her whole life was changed by the chance meeting with Juliette Dericotte at a Y. W. C. A. meeting. This meeting led her to become a teacher in a Negro school for girls in the South. Not only did she teach the students, but she shared their experiences, even to the "Jim Crow" sections of street cars and buses.

Stegner, Wallace and Editors of *Look. One Nation.* Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1945. 340 p. A survey of racial and religious stresses in wartime, with text and pictures recording the violation of guaranteed rights. Filipinos, Japanese, Chinese, Mexicans, Indians, Negroes, Catholics and Jews are the groups surveyed.

*Stemons, James Samuel. *As Victim to Victims.* An American Negro Laments with Jews. New York. Fortuny's. 1941. 268 p. "The author makes it plain that the principle of give-and-take is imperative to any placid adjustment of human relations; that it is as important to Jews as to Negroes; and that it represents the only hopeful approach to the problems of proscribed and persecuted minorities."

*Thomas, Jesse O. *Negro Participation in the Texas Centennial Exposition.* Boston. Christopher Publishing House. 1938. 154 p. A description of the exhibit which Negroes displayed in the Hall of Negro Life Building at the Texas Centennial Exposition held from June 6, 1936 to November 31, 1936 in Dallas, which told of the educational, cultural and industrial development among Negroes.

Thompson, Edgar T. *Race Relations and the Race Problem.* A Definition and an Analysis. Duke University Press. Durham, N. C. 1939. 338 p. There are ten chapters. Each is by an outstanding scholar. The purpose is "to organize a discussion of race relations with special reference to the South in such a way as to throw emphasis upon the relations rather than upon a particular race."

A Thrilling Narrative from the Lips of Sufferers of the Late Detroit Riot, March 6, 1863 with the hair breadth escapes of men, women and children, and destruction of colored men's property, not less than $15,000. Detroit, Michigan. Published by the Author. 1863. Hattiesburg, Miss. The Book Farm. 1945. 24 p.

Walker, Anne Kendrick. *Tuskegee and the Black Belt.* A Portrait of a Race. Richmond, Va. The Dietz Press. 1944. 180 p. Part one of this volume discusses the coming of Booker T. Washington to Alabama and the work of Tuskegee Institute. Parts two and three deal with the race problem in the South.

*Wesley, Charles H. (Ed.). *The Negro in the Americas.* Public Lectures of the Division of the Social Sciences of the Graduate School, Howard University. Washington, D. C. The Graduate School. Howard University. Washington, D. C. 1940. 86 p. These lectures deal with the Negro in the British West Indies, in the French West Indies, in Spanish America, in Brazil, in Haiti, in the United States and Canada and with the inter-relations of the West Indian Negro and the United States Negro.

†*Wright, Richard. *12 Million Black Voices.* A Folk History of the Negro in the United States. New York. Viking Press. 1941. 152 p. This is the story of that large number of persons making up the majority of the Negro population. Photographically illustrated, a glimpse of what is qualitative and abiding in Negro experience is shown—triumphs, defeats, gains—whether in the cotton fields of the South or in the industrial life of the North.

Racial Characteristics and Racial Differences

Benedict, Ruth. *Race: Science and Politics.* New York. Modern Age Books. 1940. 274 p. In the first section of this volume the author has brought together what is scientifically known about race; in the second part the history of racism has been reviewed. In the last chapter are answers to such questions as: "Why is there an epidemic of racism in the world today?" and, "How could we stop the epidemic?"

Bonger, Willem Adriaan. *Race and Crime.* Tr. from the Dutch by Margaret Mathews Hordyk. New York. Columbia University Press. 1943. 130 p. The theory of this volume is that crime is a social and not a biological phenomenon. The third chapter, "Race and Crime. Case Studies," discusses criminality among various groups, including Negroes.

Dahlberg, Gunnar. *Race Reason and Rubbish.* A Primer of Race Biology. Tr. from the Swedish by Lancelot Hogben. New York. Columbia University Press. 1942. 240 p. Deals with the biological aspects of the race problem. This discussion by a leading authority on Human Genetics and Medical Statistics gives a peculiar piquancy to what he has to say about the supposititious superiority of the Nordic man.

Hooten, Earnest Albert. *Crime and the Man.* Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press. 1939. 403 p. Contains the results of a twelve years' survey of the anthropology of the American criminal. Chapter IX deals with "Negro and Negroid Criminals and Civilians."

Klineberg, Otto (Ed.). *Characteristics of the American Negro.* New York. London. Harper & Bros. 1944. 409 p. A survey "of what is known about Negro intelligence, personality, attitudes, psychological differences, mental diseases, with some suggestions of the directions in which future research might profitably be undertaken."

*Lewis, Julian Herman. *The Biology of the Negro.* Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1942. 433 p. "Differentiating between biological and environmental factors in disease, the author examines the greatest liabilities of the Negro—his excessive morbidity and mortality rates from heart disease, tuberculosis, and syphilis. He suggests that the two last mentioned diseases are more virulent in Negroes because they are four hundred or more years younger in them than in white people. The Negro's assets are his birth rate, his physical stamina, and his resistance to malaria, exanthemata and certain surgical conditions."

Social Conditions

Alinksy, Saul D. *Reveille for Radicals.* Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1945. 228 p. Written from first hand personal experiences of the author and his associates, this volume tells how People's Organizations are built out of apathy and disinterest to fiery power in the hands of the people. It is the story of how people of all races, nationalities, religions, occupations, and ages are banded together under their own leadership fighting for their ideal—Democracy.

Ames, Jessie Daniel. *The Changing Character of Lynching.* Review of Lynching, 1931-1941, with a Discussion of Recent Developments in this field. Atlanta, Ga. Commission on Interracial Cooperation. 1942. 70 p. Part I deals with the changing character of mobs participating in lynchings and the forces operating to eliminate it from American life. Part II indicates the complexities involved in any definition of lynching. The appendix contains a detailed report on lynching, 1931-1941, by States and several pertinent speeches made by persons on lynching.

Anderson, Sherwood. *Home Town.* New York. Alliance Book Corporation. 1940. 145 p. A photographic and verbal study of small town life presented jointly by the author and the photographers of the Farm Security Administration.

Campbell, Marie. *Folks Do Get Born.* New York. Rinehart & Co. 1946. 245 p. The story of the Negro granny—midwives of Georgia, who are attendants at the birth of the majority of the rural population, both white and black.

Child Care Facilities for Dependent and Neglected Negro Children in Three Cities. New York City, Philadelphia, Cleveland. New York. Child Welfare League of America. June, 1945. 289 p. A study in three large northern cities of recent changes in community facilities for the care of dependent and neglected Negro children in pre-war years.

*Clark, Peter Wellington. *Delta Shadows.* "A Pageant of Negro Progress in New Orleans." New Orleans. Graphic Arts Studios. 1942. 200 p. A story in words and pictures of what the Negro is doing and thinking in New Orleans at the present time.

*Cobb, W. Montague. *The First Negro Medical Society.* A History of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of the District of Columbia 1884-1939. Washington, D. C. 1939. 159 p. An account of the first Negro Medical Society formed in America and probably in the world.

Crum, Mason. *Gullah.* Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands. Durham, N. C. Duke University Press. 1940. 351 p. Deals with the social history of the Negroes who live on the sea islands and in the coastal region of South Carolina where until recently they were isolated both culturally and geographically.

*Davis, Allison; Gardner, Burleigh B.; Gardner, Mary R. *Deep South.* A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1941. 558 p. A study which describes the life of Negroes and whites in a community in the "deep South," that area which includes South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. It was made by a Negro couple and by a white couple, who lived for two years among the people whose life is presented here.

†*Drake, St. Clair and *Cayton, Horace R. *Black Metropolis.* A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City. New York. Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1945. 809 p. A sociological study of that area of Chicago where Negroes are concentrated and where they function almost independently of the surrounding white communities. "Using the objective, historical approach to their materials the authors have examined the elaborate structure of the South Side and dissected the layers of culture and customs which make it unique."

Drums and Shadows. Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes. Athens, Ga. University of Georgia Press. 1940. 274 p. This volume represents an effort to delve into certain aspects of the folk culture of the Negroes of the Coastal region of Georgia. Many communities in and near Savannah were studied as well as Darien, Sapelo Island, St. Simons Island and St. Mary's.

*Duncan, Otis Durant. *Social Research on Health.* New York. Social Science Research Council. 1946. 168 p. A report of the work group on research in the social aspects of health sponsored by the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Committee.

*Evans, William L. *Race Fear and Housing.* New York. National Urban League. 1946. 44 p. The effect on the city of Buffalo, N. Y. of the segregation and discrimination policy of the Municipal Housing Authority.

*Frazier, E. Franklin. *The Negro Family in the United States.* Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1939. 686 p. A "basic study of the family in its two chief aspects—as a natural human association and as a social institution subjected to the severest stresses and strains of social change." It is the first study of the natural history of the Negro family in the United States "which epitomizes and telescopes in one hundred and fifty years the age-long evolution of the human family."

Graham, Mary Ruth. *These Came Back.* A Study of Alabama Parolees. Tuscaloosa, Ala. Bureau of Public Administration. University of Alabama. 1946. 104 p. Deals with the persons released by the Alabama Board of Pardons and Paroles indicating who may or who may not be released into society with some assurance.

Health Problems in Negro Colleges. Proceedings of the Second Regional Conference of College Health Workers, Nashville, Tennessee, April 5 and 6, 1940. New York. National Tuberculosis Association. April, 1941. 78 p. The contents: "Business Meeting"; "Relationships of the Physical Education Department to the Student Health Program"; "Problems in Hygiene Teaching"; and "Health Service Problems."

*Johnson, Charles S. and Associates. *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties.* Listing and Analysis of Socio-Economic Indices of 1104 Southern counties. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1941. 355 p. "Provides data by individual counties and significant classifications of counties on population, economic organization, and social characteristics, with particular reference to the factor of education. Since many of the statistics assembled are organized around the common school, the compilation and classification should prove valuable to school and administrators, teachers, social workers and public officials who are interested in observing the relationship between socio-economic factors and educational factors in the organization of the life of different areas."

Lumpkin, Katharine Du Pre. *The South in Progress.* New York. International Publishers. 1940. 256 p. A portrait of the South in its economic, political, social and cultural aspects during the 1930's. No major subject touching the social economy of the South and the problems of Southern people is neglected.

Minor, Robert. *Lynching and Frame-up in Tennessee.* New York. New Century Publishers. 1946. 95 p. A story of the riot at Columbia, Tennessee.

†*Murray, Florence (Comp. and Ed.). *The Negro Handbook 1944.* A Manual of Current Facts, Statistics and General Information Concerning Negroes in the United States. New York. Current Reference Publications. 1944. 283 p. In the foreword the editor states that "although the primary object of the Handbook is to give current information, it also includes some historical matter, references to which are useful in present day affairs."

Percy, William A. *Lanterns on the Levee.* Recollections of a Planter's Son. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1941. 348 p. These recollections of life in the Mississippi Delta country vividly present southern life in its various aspects. The chapter on "A note on Racial Relations" presents the views of one who has dealt with underprivileged plantation Negroes.

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work. Selected Papers Seventy-First Annual Meeting Cleveland, Ohio, May 21-27, 1944. Published for the National Conference of Social Work. New York. Columbia University Press. 1944. 492 p. These papers directed the attention of the conference to pressing problems of the war and of the peace to come.

Report of the Ninth Annual New York Herald Tribune Forum on Current Problems. "The Challenge to Civilization." The Waldorf-Astoria, October, 24, 25 and 26, 1939. New York. Herald-Tribune. 1939. 256 p. George Washington Carver spoke on this forum program. His subject was entitled, "Chemistry and Peace."

Shay, Frank. *His First Hundred Years.* New York. Ives Washburn, Inc. 1938. 288 p. This account of lynching traces its history from its origin, revealing that lynching is a national problem and that the victims are both white and Negro. The author also traces the reasons for and the results of the persistence of lynching.

Social Work Year Book, 1945. A Description of Organized Activities in Social Work and in Related Fields. Russell H. Kurtz, Ed. New York. Russell Sage Foundation. 1945. 620 p. Includes a description of organized activities in social work and related fields as they relate to Negroes.

A Study of the Social Effects of Public Housing in Newark, N. J. Newark Housing Authority of the City of Newark. November 1944. 96 p. "This study shows that public housing in Newark is paying dividends to the entire community by improving the health and social life of rehoused families and by relieving suffering and unhappiness at a dollar and cents saving to society at large."

Vance, Rupert B. *All These People.* The Nation's Human Resources in the South. Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press. 1945. 503 p. This is a book about the Nation in which a long time view of the population trends of the nation and the South is taken. Some of the questions raised are: "To what extent is the Nation's population likely to maintain itself in the future?" "What is the position of the South—the seed bed of the Nation—with the highest birth rate, the lowest income and the greatest rate of migration in the country?" "To what extent does the Nation possess unrealized human resources in the South and how can they be developed in terms of health, education, skill, and future leadership?" "How can we best employ our human resources in the agrarian economy and how are they making the transition to the new industrial order in the South?" "What is to be our national population policy and how does the South fit in?"

Warner, Robert Austin. *New Haven Negroes.* A Social History. New Haven. Yale University Press. 1940. 309 p. Explains the manners, customs and social position of present day Negroes in New Haven.

Sport

Durant, John and Rice, Edward. *Come Out Fighting.* New York. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1946. 245 p. The history of the ring, with foreword by Quentin Reynolds, this is "the first book about the ring to combine fast moving prose and exciting pictures."

Fleischer, Nat. *Black Dynamite.* The Story of the Negro in the Prize Ring from 1782 to 1938. Vol. I. New York City. C. J. O'Brien. 1938. 182 p. The story of the Negro in the prize ring is told from the time Joe Lashley, the first Negro fighter, appears in 1791, up to the early 1900's.

Fleischer, Nat. *Fighting Furies.* Story of the Golden Era of Jack Johnson, Sam Langford and their Contemporaries. New York. C. J. O'Brien. 1939. 282 p. The exploits of colored fighters in the boxing arena.

Fleischer, Nat. *Jolting Joe.* The Amazing Story of Joe Louis and his Rise to World Heavyweight Title. "Homicide Hank," The Socking Saga of Henry Armstrong. New York. C. J. O'Brien. 1938. 165 p. This is the story of "two kings of pugilism."

Fleischer, Nat. *The Three Colored Aces.* George Dixon, Little Chocolate," Joe Gans, "The Old Master," Joe Walcott, "The Barbados Demon," and several contemporaries. New York. C. J. O'Brien. 1938. 314 p. Joe Gans was lightweight champion, George Dixon, Champion of the bantams and featherweights and Joe Walcott was champion welterweight.

*Henderson, Edwin Bancroft. *The Negro in Sports.* Rev. Ed. Washington, D. C. Associated Publishers. 1939. 371 p. Some of the outstanding athletes of the Negro race who have achieved distinction in the various types of sports.

Youth

*Atwood, J. Howell; Wyatt, Donald W.; Davis, Vincent J.; Walker, Ira D. *Thus be Their Destiny.* The Personality Development of Negro Youth in Three Communities. Prepared for the American Youth Commission. Washington, D. C. American Council on Education. 1941. 96 p. Shows how Negro boys and girls grow up in three small cities and towns of liberal tradition, in both the North and the South; and how the fact of being born a Negro affects the developing personality of a boy or girl.

*Davis, Allison and Dollard, John. *Children of Bondage.* The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South. Prepared for the American Youth Commission. Washington, D. C. 1940. 299 p. The authors reveal what it means to be born a Negro by presenting the life experiences of eight selected Negro adolescents from the lower, middle and upper classes.

*Frazier, E. Franklin. *Negro Youth at the Crossways.* Their Personality Development in the Middle States. Washington, D. C. American Council on Education. 1940. 301 p. This is one of a series of investigations conducted concurrently in different sections of the United States by the American Youth Commission in order to see "wherein Negro Youth faced destructive problems in their development as individual personalities."

*Johnson, Charles S. *Growing Up in the Black Belt.* Negro Youth in the Rural South. Washington, D. C. American Council on Education. 1941. 360 p. In this volume the inner realm of the Negro's attitudes toward race relationships in their range of variation as they exist in the black belt are revealed.

Kirkpatrick, E. L. *Guideposts for Rural Youth.* Prepared for the American Youth Commission. American Council on Education. Washington, D. C. 1940. 167 p. "The programs here described suggest practical steps that communities can take to improve the situation of rural youth: employment; vocational education; general education; recreation; religion; health; home and family; unique older youth programs; and young people's cooperation in well-balanced Community activities."

Lister, Joseph J. and Kirkpatrick, E. L. *Rural Youth Speak.* Detailed analysis of the replies from rural young people interviewed in a comprehensive survey by the American Youth Commission. 1939. 96 p. A mimeographed report of farm youth primarily. Consideration is given to their present status as well as to the background and future possibilities.

McGill, Nettie Pauline and Matthews, Ellen Nathalie. *The Youth of New York City.* New York. Macmillan Co. 1940. 420 p. This study is the result of interviews with nearly ten thousand young people as to their family background, education, recreation, employment, and social life. The results are analyzed and discussed with special reference to employment. The Negroes in Harlem receive special attention.

Menefee, Louise Arnold and Chambers, M. M. *American Youth.* An Annotated Bibliography. Prepared for The American Youth Commission. Washington, D. C. American Council on Education. 1938. 492 p. Chapter XVII, "Negro Youth," contains information on Social Problems of the Negro; Interracial Understanding; Interests and Attitudes of Negro Youth; Negro Education; Vocational Adjustment of the Negro.

**The Social World of the Negro Youth.* Interviews with Southern Negro Youth on Personal, Social and Racial Adjustment Experiences. Nashville, Tennessee. Fisk University Social Science Institute. 1946. 293 p. No. 5, Social Science Source Documents.

Warner, W. Lloyd; Junker, Buford H.; *Adams, Walter A. *Color and Human Nature.* Negro Personality Development in a Northern City. Prepared for the American Youth Commission. American Council on Education. Washington, D. C. 1941. 301 p. A systematic study in which the effects of color discrimination upon personality are examined for every shade of negroidness and for every type of social position within Negro society in Chicago.

Youth and the Future. The General Report of the American Youth Commission. Washington, D. C. American Council on Education. 1942. 296 p. Specific recommendations for dealing with the complex of economic, educational and social problems that will confront American youth in the years to come are here presented.

BOOKS CONCERNING THE NEGRO IN AFRICA

Books Discussing the History And Problems of Africa

The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint. A Study by the Committee on Africa, the War and Peace Aims, the Application of the "Eight Points" of the Charter to the Problems of Africa and especially those related to the Welfare of the African People Living South of the Sahara, with Related Material on African Conditions and Needs. New York. Africa Bureau, 156 Fifth Avenue. 1942. 164 p.

Banks, Emily. *White Woman on the Congo.* New York. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1943. 192 p. A personal record of pioneer missionary work on the upper Congo before modern means of transportation and communication affected the whole structure of community life.

Booker, George W. *What About Africa?* Scotch Plains, N. J. Flanders Hall. 1941. 58 p. Gives an idea of the sufferings of Africans under white rule.

Bourdillon, Sir Bernard. *The Future of the Colonial Empire.* London. S. C. M. Press. 1945. 85 p. Some of the problems that face the colonial empire in Africa and some methods that may help in solving them.

Brett, B. L. M. *Makers of South Africa.* Toronto. New York. Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1944. 167 p. A history of the development of South Africa as revealed in the life stories of the men who played an important part in moulding the destiny of the country.

*Brown, George W. *The Economic History of Liberia.* Washington, D. C. Associated Publishers. 1941. 366 p. The result of extensive research made by the author in Liberia, using government records and official documents, visiting native towns, as well as the Firestone Plantations Company.

Browne, G. St. J. Orde. *Labour Conditions in West Africa*. London. His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1941. 149 p. A report by the Labour Adviser to the Secretary of State for Colonies. Reports conditions in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Gambia.

Cary, Joyce. *The Case for African Freedom*. London. Secker and Warburg. 1941. 128 p. The thesis is that "Africa is a poor continent and is steadily growing poorer, losing forests, rainfall, soil"; and in order to save it there needs to be organizations of native help, cooperative groups, adult education, local industry and attacks on poverty, backwardness and exploitation.

Childers, James Saxon. *Mumbo Jumbo, Esquire*. A Book about the Two Africas. New York. London. D. Appleton Century Co. 1941. 421 p. These are the two Africas the author saw as he traveled from Capetown in the south to Tangiers in the northwest corner. One is the Africa of cannibals, rogue elephants, witch doctors, fever ridden swamps, poisoned arrows and man eating lions. The other is the Africa of air-conditioned trains, thriving business, skyscrapers, night clubs, golf courses and highways linking magnificent cities.

Christian Action in Africa. Report of the Church Conference on African Affairs held at Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio, June 19-25, 1942. New York. Africa Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. 1942. 200 p. Some of the problems dealt with are: Evangelism and building of the indigenous church; Christian education; Christian literature; the ministry; rural life; relationships and Muslims and the Roman Catholic Church; and peace.

Cloete, Stuart. *Against These Three*. A Biography of Paul Kruger, Cecil Rhodes and Lobengula, Last King of the Matabele. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1945. 472 p. Lobengula, African priest-king; Kruger, leader of the Boers; Cecil Rhodes, empire builder, each fought passionately though independently for a way of life in which he believed. All lived at the same time and hoped to occupy the same land.

Considine, John J. *Across A World*. Toronto. New York. Longmans, Green and Co. 1942. 400 p. A picture of the peoples of Asia and Africa whose destinies are tied up in World War II. It presents a contemporary picture of the world mission effort of the Catholic Church.

Cullen, Lucy Pope. *Beyond the Smoke that Thunders*. New York. Oxford University Press. 1940. 341 p. The vivid and unusual experiences of the author who worked as secretary for six years in the Rhodesian copper fields. It presents African superstitions and beliefs.

Davis, Jackson, *Campbell, Thomas M., Wrong, Margaret. *Africa Advancing*. A Study of Rural Education and Agriculture in West Africa and the Belgian Congo. New York. The Friendship Press. London. International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa. 1945. 230 p. The result of the tour of West Africa and the Belgian Congo by the authors made under the auspices of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

Davis, Jackson; *Campbell, Thomas M.; Wrong, Margaret. *Liberia*. (Chapter II of Africa Advancing, reprinted as a pamphlet.) New York. The Friendship Press. 1946. 20 p. The material is descriptive of Liberia and makes suggestions for her educational development.

Demaison, Andre. *The New Noah's Ark*. New York. Macmillan Co. 1940. 294 p. Adventures in an old schooner, along the coast of Africa, from Gaboon to Guinea, of a young man interested in collecting rare beasts of all kinds.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family Among the Nuer*. Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. 1945. 70 p. "Among the most stimulating analyses of African life yet written."

Farson, Negley. *Behind God's Back*. New York. Harcourt Brace and Co. 1941. 555 p. The result of a trip made before World War II began, across the Continent of Africa during which the author sought every kind of pertinent information. He foresaw that the fate of Europe might depend upon events there. He writes an intimate, vivid study of real life conditions.

Fitzgerald, Walter. *Africa.* A Social, Economic and Political Geography of its Major Regions. New York. E. P. Dutton and Co. 1939. 499 p. Part I deals with "The Physical Environment." Part II with "The People—Immigrant and Native." Part III with "Regional Studies."

Fortes, M. and Evans—Pritchard, E. E. *African Political Systems.* London. New York. Toronto. Oxford University Press. 1941. 301 p. A comparative study of political organization found in Africa and the basic principles underlying these traditional forms of government.

Gatti, Ellen and Attilio. *Here is Africa.* New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. 170 p. A personally conducted tour from French Morocco, along the North Coast through the Sahara and the Equatorial jungles to the Cape of Good Hope. Illustrated, this narrative presents also interesting people—the Tuaregs, the Bushmen, the Giants of Rwanda Urundi and the Zulus.

Graves, Anna Melissa (Ed.). *Benvenuto Cellini Had No Prejudice Against Bronze.* Letters from West Africans. Baltimore, Md. Waverly Press. 1943. 176 p. These letters were written by a student; a lawyer; a mother; a school principal; by founders of schools; a poet; a priest.

Handbook of Liberia. New York. Liberian Consulate General Published by Authority. 1940. 64 p. Gives ready information on the history and government, cities and towns, geography and climate, the military, transportation and communication, agriculture, education, trade, commerce, hospitals, churches and fraternal organizations.

Harley, George Way. *Native African Medicine.* With Special Reference to its Practice in the Mano Tribe of Liberia. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press. 1941. 294 p. Presents the curative practices of the Mano tribe which are wholly overt or practical, those which are magical, and those which combine the two principles. The use of drugs, the work of bone-setting and their work in surgery are also discussed.

Hattersley, Alan F. *Portrait of a Colony.* The Story of Natal. Cambridge. The University Press. 1940. 233 p. The political and social life of this British Colony as a whole, which includes both colonial and native people.

Hayman, Arthur I. and Preece, Harold. *Lighting Up Liberia.* New York. Creative Age Press. 1943. 279 p. A compendium of the lore, the political problems and the social problems of Liberia.

Hoernle, R. F. Alfred. *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit.* Lovedale Press. Published on behalf of the Phelps Stokes Fund of the University of Cape Town. 1939. 190 p. Offers a point of view towards an interpretation of the interracial situation in South Africa. Lectures I and II analyze present-day Native Policy in the Union; lecture III is an analysis of the "liberal spirit" and the meaning of liberty; lecture IV expresses the idea that liberal ideals have to be re-examined and re-thought in their application to a society such as is found in South Africa.

Hofmeyer, Jan H. *Christian Principles and Race Problems.* Johannesburg. South African Institute of Race Relations. 1945. 31 p. Inaugurates a series of lectures memorializing R. Albert Hoernle, former president, who was an outstanding promoter of the welfare of the underprivileged people.

Huxley, Elspeth. *East Africa.* London. Harrison and Sons. 19—. 47 p. The author feels that the greatest problem in East Africa is how to preserve for the use of future generations the only real resource that Africa possesses, its good earth. Other problems deal with the impinging of European upon Native culture.

James, Selwyn. *South of the Congo.* New York. Random House. 1943. 347 p. The result of close association with blacks and whites which revealed to the author "a drama of seething conflicts on the vast stage of the territory south of the Congo."

Kellersberger, Julia Lake. *God's Ravens.* New York. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1941. 207 p. The work of a missionary to the Belgian Congo. It is the story of how she and her husband, a medical missionary, had been fed and helped whenever they were in need and how in turn she had fed and helped those who were suffering both in body and mind.

Kiewiet, C. W. De. *A History of South Africa*. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1941. 292 p. A social and economic history of South Africa.

Lambie, Thomas A. *A Doctor Carries On*. New York. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1942. 173 p. Activities of a medical missionary in the Egyptian Sudan close to the border of Ethiopia; of service to the British army during the Ethiopian campaign and the problems confronted in rounding up Italian citizens and hostile bands.

Latouche, John and Cauvin, Andre. *Congo*. Willow, White and Co. 1945. 194 p. This verbal and photographic picture of the Congolese which attempts to demonstrate to people elsewhere in the world the way peace is being created today with harmony, patience, and collaboration by white and black industrious inhabitants of the Congo.

Lide, Alice Alison and Johansen, Margaret Alison. *Mystery of the Mahteb*. New York. Longmans, Green and Co. 1942. 237 p. A tale of thirteenth century Ethiopia, describing how Amlak searches for and finds the sign of "that which was lost" in order that the tribes might rise against the usurper and place the rightful line on the throne.

Maisel, Albert Q. *Africa*. Facts and Forecast. New York. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1943. 307 p. A handbook on the past, present and future of Africa. It shows also the changes that are taking place in social and economic relationships; foretells that decisions made in regard to it by world leaders will affect not only Africans but the lives of the peoples of the world.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. *The Dynamics of Culture Change*. An inquiry into Race Relations in Africa. Edited by Phyllis M. Kaberry. New Haven. Yale University Press. 1945. 171 p. "This posthumous book represents Professor Malinowski's considered views on the African question; and by extension, on the whole problem of race where the white man has moved into the territories occupied by other men of a different color."

Marais, Josef. *Koos the Hottentot*. Tales of the Veld. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. 128 p. Koos, the hero of this book, is a real character, a sheep tender, in that area in the southern section of the Union of South Africa known as "the Great and the Little Karoo." The stories and songs of this volume make delightful reading.

Marwick, Brian Allan. *The Swazi*. An Ethnographic account of the Natives of the Swaziland Protectorate. Cambridge. The University Press. 1940. 319 p. A detailed account of the social organization, social and economic life, religion, magic, medicine, political organization and legal system of the Swazi.

Noon, John A. *Labor Problems of Africa*. Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Press. 1944. 144 p. Gives a general view of the African as a laborer and then separately discusses West Africa, Equatorial Africa, East Africa and South Africa in regard to the problems peculiar to each.

*Ojike, Mbonu. *Portrait of a Boy in Africa*. New York. East and West Association. 1945. 36 p. A very interesting account of the life of an African boy whose father had ten wives. He describes his life in his father's compound, in his Nigerian Village compound, in his Nigerian Village, his education, and finally his break to study abroad.

*Orizu, A. A. Nwafor. *Without Bitterness*. Western Nations in Post War Africa. New York. Creative Age Press. 1944. 395 p. Prince Orizu, educated in American universities, comes from one of the strongest and most advanced kingdoms in Nigeria. He sets forth the problems that face Africa in the post-war period, traces the history of the continent, analyzes its ethical and religious traditions and sets forth its philosophy.

*Phillips, Hilton Alonzo. *Liberia's Place in Africa's Sun*. New York. The Hobson Book Press. 1946. 156 p. The story of Liberia told from the observations and viewpoint of a layman.

Prorok, Byron De. *Dead Men Do Tell Tales*. New York. Creative Press. 1942. 328 p. Exciting adventure and information concerning the past and present of Abyssinia by an explorer and trained archaeologist.

Rainier, Peter W. *My Vanished Africa.* New Haven. Yale University Press. 1940. 307 p. An autobiography by the great-great-grandson of the British Admiral for whom Mount Rainier was named. Born in Africa, he gives an exciting story of his life, work and travels.

Report of Native Production and Trade Commission, 1944. Salisbury, S. Rhodesia. C. S. R. 2-1945. 107 p. The result of the work of commissioners appointed to inquire into all economic and social aspects of present and potential trade by and with the natives of Southern Rhodesia.

Ritchie, J. F. *The African as Suckling and As Adult.* (A Psychological Study.) Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1943. 61 p. The writer gives some very early infantile experiences of the African and his mental reactions to them, with certain of their effects on character and general outlook.

*Robeson, Eslanda Goode. *African Journey.* New York. John Day Co. 1945. 154 p. The journal which Mrs. Robeson kept of her trip to Africa in 1936. She saw much and tells the reader about it not only in challenging words but in valuable pictures.

Rosa, Guido. *North Africa Speaks.* New York. John Day Co. 1945. This book gives an insight into the lives of the ordinary people of Algeria and Morocco—merchant, shepherd, potter, nomad chief, turbaned house-painter, Senegalese guard at the Sultan's palace, cobbler, barber, etc.

The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal. Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. A medium for discussion of "man's problems in Central Africa, and what is known about them, what research is being done and needs to be done on them, and how they are being faced, are set out simply but with scientific accuracy."

Schapera, I. *Married Life in An African Tribe.* New York. Sheridan House, 1941. 364 p. Marriage and family life in the Kgatla tribe of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South Africa is herein described. Because this group has been exposed for a century or more to Western European civilization, the author indicates not only details of modern Kgatla life but ancient customs as well, showing how they have survived or have been displaced and reasons for the changes.

Schapera, I. *Select Bibliography of South African Native Life and Problems.* Compiled for the Inter-university Committee for African Studies under the direction of I. Schapera. London. Oxford University Press. 1940. 233 p.

Shepherd, Robert H. W. *Lovedale, South Africa.* The Story of a Century 1841-1941. Lovedale, C. P., South Africa. The Lovedale Press. 1941. 531 p. The story of the development of Lovedale Missionary Institution from a small missionary seminary to a large Christian Educational Center, acting as the interpreter and mouthpiece of the country's changing native policy.

Southern Rhodesia. Report of the Social Security Officer. Part I. Social Security. September, 1944. 137 p.

Southern Rhodesia. Report of the Social Security Officer. Part II. Social Services. October, 1944. 210 p.

Stuart, Mary. *African Pattern.* Letters to an Administrator. London. Edinburgh House Press. 1945. 100 p. These letters written by a missionary in Africa to an administrator deal with problems in Africa including education, religion, politics, labor, etc.

Tracy, Hugh and Masinga, K. E. *Chief Above and Chief Below.* A Musical Play for Africans Based on a Zulu Legend. Pietermaritzburg. Shuter and Shooter. 1944. 95 p. One of the age-old fertility myths common in all folklore. It illustrates the parable of the people who live upon the earth, by the fruit of the earth, through working the earth.

Vroom, Eugen. *The Hapless Boers.* Translated from the Dutch of Eugen Vroom. Scotch Plains, N. J. Flanders Hall. 1941. 43 p. The story of the conquest of the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State, "the citizens of which were the descendants of Dutch, French Huguenot and German settlers."

Wrong, Margaret. *For a Literate West Africa.* The Story of a Journey in the Interests of Literacy and Christian Literature 1944-45. New York. Friendship Press. 1945. 64 p. "The running story" of the trip made by Miss Wrong, Dr. Jackson Davis and Mr. Thomas M. Campbell into certain parts of Africa with highlights on literature, literacy and post-war Africa.

Novels Concerning African Life

Knight, Brigid. *Walking the Whirlwind.* New York. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1941. 543 p. The setting of this novel is "a few hours' horseback ride from Capetown." Three generations of life-loving, full-blooded people march through this story—Dutch, English and French—their lives form a pageant of trading and wars, droughts and slaves, trecks and diamond mines and above all, love and adventure.

LoCascio, Alfred, Jr. *The Tom Toms Speak.* Boston. Meador Publishing Co. 1940. 163 p. Stories of Africa, of the Pacific, the West Indies and the Far East. They are about the yellow-skinned, the cinnamon, the browns and the blacks.

Lyndon, Barre. *Sundown.* New York. Toronto. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1941. 254 p. "A novel of white men and women against the backdrop of empire in modern Africa." They are held together by a common peril—"a dark, furtive menace which whispers across desert sands and thornbush, and spans incredible miles by habari, the inexplicable native telegraph" which operates without the use of jungle drums.

Masefield, John. *Dead Ned.* The Autobiography of a Corpse who recovered life within the Coast of Dead Ned and came to what fortune you shall hear. New York. Macmillan Co. 1938. 289 p. After being hanged for a crime he did not commit, then brought back to life by a benefactor, Ned Mansell sets out in a slaving ship for further adventure on the Coast of Dead Ned—the slave Coast of Africa. A Negro prize fighter is one of the characters in the story.

Millan, Sarah Gertrude. *The Dark Gods.* New York. London. Harper and Bros. 1941. 296 p. The black blood in the veins of Rev. Barry Lindell drove him to ally himself with his mother's people and work to save them from the corrupt influence of the Nazi missionaries who preached of a new life under a new god—Hitler.

BOOKS CONCERNING THE NEGRO IN LATIN AMERICA

Brown, Wenzell. *Dynamite on our Doorstep.* Puerto Rican Paradox. New York. Greenberg Publishers. 1945. 301 p. Written by one who spent two years teaching in Puerto Rican schools. Of the people he says, "There's not enough food, not enough clothing, not sufficient shelter. . . . There's sickness and hunger, the worst slums in the world, and natural beauty that takes your breath away. But all things could be endured, if there could only be—hope."

Callcott, Wilfrid Hardy. *The Caribbean Policy of the United States, 1890-1920.* Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. 524 p. An examination of the successful overseas program of the United States.

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